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# **Grierson Commemoration VOLUME**

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## **FOREWORD.**

It was in 1928 that the Crierson Commemoration volume was undertaken by the Linguistic Society of India. So many years have naturally involved considerable inconvenience for the writers of the various papers and disappointment to the Society. But the conditions under which the work was undertaken were far from encouraging. The phonetic types had to be originally cast in India by the Mercantile Press, Lahore, a process which required considerable time. The proofs were to be generally read by the Secretary unaided. These circumstances delayed the printing.

The Punjab University generously contributed Rs. 1000 to the publication of this work. Our thanks are particularly due to Dr. A. C. Woolner, the Vice-Chancellor.

As regards the merits of the work, we leave it to the critical public to judge them. But we cannot help expressing our supreme satisfaction at the consummation of a work embodying such a vast range of subjects.

SIDDHESWAR VARMA,  
*Prince of Wales College, Jammu.*

1. 1. 1936.



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**GRIERSON COMMEMORATION VOLUME**



**Sir George Abraham Grierson.**

## **COMMEMORATIVE ESSAYS**

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**THE LINGUISTIC SOCIETY OF INDIA, LAHORE.**

**1933.**



THIS VOLUME OF ESSAYS, THE WORK OF FRIENDS AND  
ADMIRERS IN DIFFERENT COUNTRIES,  
IS PRESENTED IN GRATITUDE AND AFFECTION TO

*Sir George Abraham Grierson*

UPON THE COMPLETION OF THE LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA  
AND UPON HIS GETTING O. M. IN RECOGNITION THEREOF



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## THE GROUPING OF THE INDO-EUROPEAN DIALECTS

*By A. Berriedale Keith*

Holger Pedersen in a very interesting paper<sup>1</sup> has adduced evidence to show that Italo-Celtic, Tocharian, Phrygian, and Hittite constituted at a remote period a continuous group of dialects of Indo-European, and that later these branches were violently separated, the former to dominate Europe, the latter to disappear ultimately in the sea of the nations of Asia. This thesis, which naturally is only one of the many reconstructions of the history of Indo-European suggested by the discovery of Tocharian and Hittite, deserves careful consideration.

The close connection of Italian and Celtic is proved specifically in the author's opinion by the possession by both of the passive and deponent in -r and the genitive singular of -o- stems in -i. These characteristics may be found also, it has been suggested by Sommer<sup>2</sup>, in the speech of the Veneti, and the genitive in -i is probably to be recognised in the Lepontine inscriptions which may present the speech of a Ligurian tribe. But elsewhere -i is very doubtful; in Albanian forms such as *guri* may stand for *gurōi*, and be originally dative, not genitive. Nor is the significance of the use of -i destroyed even by the acceptance of the ingenious suggestion of Wackernagel<sup>3</sup> that there is to be found the same -i in the Sanskrit, *vasi-karoti*, an idiom which is clearly closely akin to the Latin *dicionis facere*. This parallelism may be explained in either of two ways; it may be assumed that the original Indo-European genitive of -o- stems ended in-i, and that by the influence of the pronominal form it came to be altered, so

(1) *Le groupement des dialectes indo-européens* (1925).

(2) *Indogermanische Forschungen*, XLII. 90-132.

(3) *Mélanges*, Saussure (1908), pp. 125ff. The idiom is hardly known in the Rgveda, but may be old.

that an original \*ekwI passed into \*ekwosyo through \*tosyo \*ekwI. Or it may be held that the -i form was originally confined to adverbial uses, which are preserved in Indo-Iranian, but was extended widely in Italo-Celtic. Thus it is possible that from a phrase such as *populum regni sui facere*, "to reduce a people under his sway", there might arise a *populus regni mei*, "a people under my sway", whence the genitive force of -i might spread. Whether either of these views is correct, the fact remains that the general use of -i in Italo-Celtic<sup>1</sup> serves to prove a distinctive connection between these speeches, comparable with that between Indian and Iranian or the Baltic and the Slav speeches.

That Tocharian is specially related to Italo-Celtic is suggested by the appearance in it of deponents and passives in -r. But it is clearly necessary to adduce much further evidence than this one point of similarity, and the question is whether it is possible to attach much weight to the proofs so far adduced.

1. We find in Tocharian the roots šam-, "be seated", iyam-, "lie down", and stam-, "stand". The last mentioned is clearly an enlarged form of the common root sta- which is actually found in Tocharian. There is also found beside the form šam- the unenlarged form. Probably too we have both unenlarged and enlarged forms of the I. E. root denoting "to live" seen in Greek zēn, and Old Slav ži-ti, for we find šayemo, "we live", on the one hand, and šam-tsi, "to live" on the other. The latter form may be compared<sup>2</sup> with the Lithuanian gem-ù, Infinitive gím-ti, "enter into life". In Latin, it is pointed out, as in Tocharian the alternation was living, a fact which is significant of a close connection. The evidence, however, for this view seems wholly

(1). It is true that -i is not found in Britannic or Oscan-Umbrian but there is no real doubt of its Italo-Celtic character; cf. Mellet, *Làngue latine*, pp. 28ff. Hirt holds -i to be a suffix denoting appurtenance; *Indogermanische Grammatik*, III. 47.

(2) More probable is connection with I. E. \*gʷem-; so Hirt, *Indogermanische Grammatic*, IV. 324.

inadequate; it consists of a comparison of *premo*, the Perfect *pressi*, and the Slav root *per-* seen in Russian *perē-t*, “to press”. But we have in Sanskrit<sup>1</sup> side by side the roots *gam-* (e.g. *agamat*), and *gā-*, and *dram-* and *drā-*, and there seems no reason whatever to see any special relation between Tocharian and Italic, while it is not even claimed that Celtic shows this phenomenon.

2. It is pointed out that in Celtic the name *Vocorii* is probably to be understood as containing in its first member the word for “two”, as in *Tricorii* and *Petrucorii* we have numerals as the first part of the compounds. With this is compared the fact that in Tocharian “two” is represented by *wi* or *we*, whereas *save* in the compound for “twenty” I. E. uses *dw-* or *duw-*. But this is inconclusive in the extreme. Admittedly the Tocharian form may merely be a development of the normal *dwo-* or *dwi-* of Indo-European, and, apart from this view, the form without *d* may be seen as suggested by Hirt<sup>2</sup> in Sanskrit *vayām*, Gothic *weis*, and Lithuanian *vedu*, and not impossibly it is to be traced in the *ɔ-u* duals, if these stand for *-owe*.

(3) In Tocharian we have a word for “woman” in the forms *kle* or *kʷle*. With this may be compared the Irish *caile*, on the assumption that the original I. E. form may be put down as something like *\*kʷllos*. But in fact not merely is the resemblance insufficient, but apparently the Tocharian forms point to a feminine in *-yā* or *-yē* in Indo-European, as was to be expected from the sense of *kle*.

(4) Again Tocharian has a remarkable comitative suffix *ssle*, and it has also *sle-* as a prefix with a similar sense. Comparison with the Irish *céle*, “companion” is suggested. The suggestion, however, is clearly implausible, for it fails in any way to explain the double *ss* in the suffix. That the prefix has but one *s* is much more easily explained by the theory of the dropping of an initial letter than is the presence of a double letter in the suffix.

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(1) Greek has *trēmō* and *ṭressa*, *didrāskō* and *dramein*.

(2) *Indogermanische Grammatik*, III. 22.

Moreover it is not at all clear that the suffix was originally **ssele** or not rather **assele**. In any case, however, it is impossible to ignore the fact that in Mitanni<sup>1</sup> we have the form *Mitraśsil*. No doubt there is a long interval in space between Tocharian and Mitanni, and thus the comparison would be invalid if we could prove that the Tocharian comitative was an innovation in Tocharian A of a late date. But unfortunately we cannot establish anything of the kind, and the similarity of form and use strongly supports the view that in this comitative suffix we have a borrowing from some non Indo-European language. In any case the parallel with **cele** is far too remote.

(5) The Tocharian *walo*, *wlo* "king" doubtless has a parallel in the Old Irish *flaith*, "Kingdom", and kindred terms, but admittedly the root exists also elsewhere, and it is impossible to attach weight to the suggestion that *krente*, "good", is really a participle in *-nt-* transferred to the *-o-* declension, and comparable with the Irish *care*, "friend", which has a participle form. The case of the *-n-* suffix form *kektséne*, "body"; illustrates well how little exclusive coincidence we find between Tocharian and Italo-Celtic. Accepting the view that *-tsen-*, goes back to a suffix *-tyen-*, and that we are to compare Irish *cucht*, "external appearance", we are faced by the fact that the Irish word presupposes a quite different suffix *-tu-*, and that it accords exactly with the Norse *hátt-r*, "appearance, manner", where the suffix again is *-tu-*. The *-tyen-* suffix is doubtless, if it is admitted to exist in Tocharian, on the theory that in *kektséne* and in *klautso* the *-ts-* represents *-ty-*, parallel to the suffix seen in Latin *mentio*, Irish *teimtiu*, "opinion", etc.; but the occurrence of the same suffix in Armenian deprives the fact of importance. A further suggestion of a remarkable correspondence of suffix is based on the form *wašamo*, "companion", this is held to be from a stem in *-n-*, as also is *aifamo*, "learned man". The suffix in these cases, it is suggested, must have begun with a palatal letter to explain

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(1) E. Lewy, KZ. XLV. 365.

the š and the š respectively, and is probably to be compared with the suffix -iyamon- of the Irish *brithem*, "judge". It must, however, be remembered that it would be equally satisfactory to take the first part of the suffix as -e- and to compare the Greek *kēdemón*, and so on, thus destroying the parallel entirely. Moreover it is significant that of the two words neither has a parallel formation in Italo-Celtic, and only *wašamo* from *vas-*, "dwell", has cognates in Celtic alone, not Italic. Contrast the fact that Sanskrit has the root *is-*, "rule", Gothic *aih*, to set beside *aisamo*, and also the root *vas-*. What is wanted for purposes of proving close connection is not mere possession of the same roots, but of the roots used in the same formations and these of a rare character, a phenomenon absolutely lacking in the cases adduced. It must be added that it cannot be taken as absolutely certain that in *klautso* or *wašamo* we are really dealing with -n- stems.

(6) This point becomes of importance when we consider the suggestion that Tocharian *witsako*, "root", ought to be regarded as having the suffix which is seen in the Latin *plantago*, *ferulago* etc. The fact is that the word *witsako* is not declined like a stem in -n-, for it gives *witsakai*, and there is no reason whatever to assume that there is a confusion of -n- stems and feminines in -ā-. It is, therefore, unimportant that Gaulish knew the same suffix as Latin, nor, it may be added, does it seem possible to hold that there is connection with the Greek word for "root". Still less is it acceptable to treat *palsko*, "thought", as an -ago- stem. It is worth noting that here again there is no adduction of any Italo-Celtic parallel for the root, which instead is compared with Sanskrit *nibhālayati*, "he observes", and Old High German *bilidi*, "image".

(7) The greatest stress is laid on the identity in Tocharian, and Italo-Celtic of the word for silver, Tocharian *ärkyante* Italian *argentum*, Old Irish *argat*. But after all we must assign to the same root \*areg the Sanskrit *rajata* and the Greek *anguros*

as well as the Armenian *arcath*, and the Avestan *ərəzata*, : it is impossible to lay any stress on the argument; we may well look to Avestan and Armenian as to Italo-Celtic for parallel<sup>1</sup>. Similarly nothing can be made out of the possess by Tocharian of a parallel for Latin *aurum*, which is not sha by Celtic, for Lithuanian and Old Prussian have *auksas* a ausis. What is clear is that Tocharian shows constantly poi of contact with one or another Indo-European speech, but wi out any clearly marked affinity to one special group. Thus, we accept Pedersen's own views, we have an amazing parallel Greek *ethelō* in *ȳselme* "desire", the *y* corresponding on t theory with the Greek *e*<sup>2</sup>, and again in *aitsi* "to give", we have parallel of the Greek *aīsa*,<sup>3</sup> which has an Oscan cognate in *aīta* genitive, meaning "part", the semantic development bei comparable to that between the Greek *ēporon*, "I gave" and *peprōmēne*, "fate". There are many other parallels whic ha been adduced by other writers to support Italo-Celtic affinities f Tocharian; but it is needless to go into them, for they are neith more nor less cogent than the instances already discuss. Quite as remarkable as anything else is the fact that in Tocharia *soye* we have a parallel to the distinctive Greek word for so and there are other points in which we can find a remarkab similarity between Tocharian and Greek. So again it has bee suggested by Hermann<sup>4</sup> that there is a certain affinity betwee Tocharian and Phrygian whic he regards as a *centum* speech It is not necessary to accept the latter suggestion, which run counter to the view, based on the testimony of Herodotos an Eudoxos, which holds that the Armenians were an offshoot of the Phrygians. Armenian is unquestionably a *satem* speech, an

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(1) Walde, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanische Sprachen, I. 82.

(2) For this prefix see Hirt, Indogermanische Grammatik II. 166.

(3) Cf. Hirt, op. cit. II. 182.

(4) KZ. L. 302ff.

though there is a lack of absolutely conclusive evidence, there is a good deal to suggest that Phrygian was really a *satem* speech. Pokorny<sup>1</sup> again has suggested that there is much in Tocharian akin to Armenian, and the evidence for his thesis is quite as good as that for affinity with Italo-Celtic. The truth is that in no case have we such a number of striking identities in formation and vocabulary that it is possible to postulate any close affinity.

There remains, therefore, as the ground for asserting a special connection of Italo-Celtic, Tocharian and Phrygian nothing more substantial than the middle and passive forms in -r. Armenian forms in -r might also be adduced to extend the number of connected speeches, but Pedersen, despite Meillet's arguments, does not himself believe that the Armenian forms *bera-r*, "you have been carried", and *bere-r*, "he carried", or "he was carried" have anything historically to do with the -r forms of the other languages. The matter is further complicated by the evidence of Hittite<sup>2</sup>. That strange speech seems to add -er or -ir to form preterite third plurals; thus *kuenzi*, "he kills", *kuuenta*, "he killed", and *kuennir*, "they killed", *dai*, "he takes", *daš*, "he took", and *dair*, "they took". On the other hand -ri is added to terminations of medio-passive forms, without alteration of the meaning and only facultatively, so far as can be judged; thus we have the third persons present *kiš-a* or *kiš-ari*, *iya-tta* or *iya-ttari*; third plural *iya-nta* or *iya-ntari*. In the Imperative we have corresponding forms in -ru, *kiš-aru*, *iya-ttaru*, and *iya-ntaru*. Hittite thus provides parallels for the Latin forms; -tari being akin to -tur, -ntari to ntur, while the -ari forms remind us of Old Irish *berir*, "he is carried", and Oscan *sacrafir*, "let one sacrifice" (if this is the meaning; the verb may really be passive). The Phrygian evidence is confined to **addaketor**, which stands beside the simple **addaket**, corresponding to Latin **afficit**.

(1) Berichte des Forschungsinstituts für Osten und Orient in Wien III.

(2) E. H. Sturtevant, *Language*, IV. 165 ff.

as well as the Armenian *arcath*, and the Avestan *ərəzata*, and it is impossible to lay any stress on the argument; we may as well look to Avestan and Armenian as to Italo-Celtic for the parallel<sup>1</sup>. Similarly nothing can be made out of the possession by Tocharian of a parallel for Latin *aurum*, which is not shared by Celtic, for Lithuanian and Old Prussian have *auksas* and *ausis*. What is clear is that Tocharian shows constantly points of contact with one or another Indo-European speech, but without any clearly marked affinity to one special group. Thus, if we accept Pedersen's own views, we have an amazing parallel to Greek *ethēlo* in *yśelme* "desire", the *y* corresponding on this theory with the Greek *e*<sup>2</sup>, and again in *aitsi* "to give", we have a parallel of the Greek *aīsa*,<sup>3</sup> which has an Oscan cognate in *aiteis*, genitive, meaning "part", the semantic development being comparable to that between the Greek *époron*, "I gave" and *he peprōmēne*, "fate". There are many other parallels which have been adduced by other writers to support Italo-Celtic affinities for Tocharian; but it is needless to go into them, for they are neither more nor less cogent than the instances already discussed. Quite as remarkable as anything else is the fact that in Tocharian *soye* we have a parallel to the distinctive Greek word for son, and there are other points in which we can find a remarkable similarity between Tocharian and Greek. So again it has been suggested by Hermann<sup>4</sup> that there is a certain affinity between Tocharian and Phrygian which he regards as a centum speech. It is not necessary to accept the latter suggestion, which runs counter to the view, based on the testimony of Herodotos and Eudoxos, which holds that the Armenians were an offshoot of the Phrygians. Armenian is unquestionably a satem speech, and

(1) Walde, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen, I. 82.

(2) For this prefix see Hirt, Indogermanische Grammatik, II. 166.

(3) Cf. Hirt, op. cit. II. 182.

(4) KZ. L. 302ff.

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though there is a lack of absolutely conclusive evidence, there is a good deal to suggest that Phrygian was really a *satem* speech. Pokorny<sup>1</sup> again has suggested that there is much in Tocharian akin to Armenian, and the evidence for his thesis is quite as good as that for affinity with Italo-Celtic. The truth is that in no case have we such a number of striking identities in formation and vocabulary that it is possible to postulate any close affinity.

There remains, therefore, as the ground for asserting a special connection of Italo-Celtic, Tocharian and Phrygian nothing more substantial than the middle and passive forms in -r. Armenian forms in -r might also be adduced to extend the number of connected speeches, but Pedersen, despite Meillet's arguments, does not himself believe that the Armenian forms *bera-r*, "you have been carried", and *bere-r*, "he carried", or "he was carried" have anything historically to do with the -r forms of the other languages. The matter is further complicated by the evidence of Hittite<sup>2</sup>. That strange speech seems to add -er or -ir to form preterite third plurals; thus *kuenzi*, "he kills", *kuenta*, "he killed", and *kuennir*, "they killed", *dai*, "he takes", *daš*, "he took", and *dair*, "they took". On the other hand -ri is added to terminations of medio-passive forms, without alteration of the meaning and only facultatively, so far as can be judged; thus we have the third persons present *kiš-a* or *kiš-ari*, *iya-tta* or *iya-ttari*; third plural *iya-nta* or *iya-ntari*. In the Imperative we have corresponding forms in -ru, *kiš-aru*, *iya-ttaru*, and *iya-ntaru*. Hittite thus provides parallels for the Latin forms; -tari being akin to -tur, -ntari to -ntur, while the -ari forms remind us of Old Irish *berir*, "he is carried", and Oscan *sacrafir*, "let one sacrifice" (if this is the meaning; the verb may really be passive). The Phrygian evidence is confined to **addaketor**, which stands beside the simple **addaket**, corresponding to Latin **afficit**.

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(1) Berichte des Forschungsinstituts für Osten und Orient  
in Wien III.

(2) E. H. Sturtevant, *Language*, IV. 165 ff.

Pedersen's view is that the -r forms are an innovation which never belonged to more than a part of the Indo-European family, in which he inclines definitely to include Hittite. But, even if Hittite is not to be treated as Indo-European in the usual sense, but to be held to be a sister speech of Indo-European,<sup>1</sup> he holds that in the period before the separation of the two families of speeches, Indo-European and Hittite, there must have sprung up in the area separate dialects, one of which possessed the -r conjugation. The alternative, of course, is to hold that the -r formations have Indo-European status.

The evidence of Sanskrit on the whole favours the view that Indo-European knew -r formations, but that the several branches of the family have gone their own way in developing their use. The same remark applies to Hittite, whether it is regarded as a member of the family or a mere cousin speech. The use of the forms as given above is clearly specialised, and the same remark appears to apply to Sanskrit. We have the common -ur as the termination of the third plural Perfect, e.g. *vidu'r*; the Optative *syu'r*, the Aorist *ādur*; it is added to the second dual and third Perfect as in *bubudhāthur*, *bubudhātūr*, or again -r is followed by other endings as in the regular Perfect Middle *bubudhīrē* and even *bubhujrīrē*; in the third plural Aorist Middle we have -ran or -ram, as in *ādrśran* or *ādrśram*, *ābudhran*, or *ābudhram*, while more sporadically we have forms such as *duhrē*, *duhrātē*, *duhrām*, *duhratām*, and *aduhra*. It will be seen that both Active and Middle forms are found, but, save in so far as outside the Present system Middle forms afford the Passive in Sanskrit, there is no special connection between -r forms and the Passive. When we remember the existence of Latin *stetere*, Tocharian *stāre* and the Hittite forms, it seems legitimate to suppose that, whatever the source of the -r formations, there was nothing essentially Passive connected with them at the earliest stage.

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(1) *Ibid.* II. 25-34; IV. 169f. cf. Kretschmer, *Glotta*, XTV. 300-19.

Zimmer<sup>1</sup>, as is well known, traced the origin of deponents and passives alike to the Indo-European use of a third plural Active in -r; thus a hypothetical \*widr, "they see", passes over to "one sees", and thence to the impersonal Passive "it is seen". This is supported to some extent by such cases as the Umbrian *pone esonom-e ferar*, "when there is carrying to the sacrifice;" Latin *vitam vivitur*; Old Irish *doberr* or *doberar*, "they give," "one gives"; Breton *gweler*, "they see", "one sees". On the other hand it is pointed out that Tocharian does not show signs of an impersonal use of -r forms<sup>2</sup>, and that the same is true of Hittite, so far as we at present know it. Stress instead has been laid on the view that the Passive is a natural development from the Middle which, unlike the Passive on one view, is Indo-European, and it has been suggested that -r formations are naturally connected with deponents<sup>3</sup>. In that case Indo-Iranian in its use of -r formations has often employed them in an Active sense, as has also Latin in the *fecere* type, and it may be doubted whether the connection can be sustained for Indo-European. Again the impersonal use in the third singular is deemed by Ernout<sup>4</sup> among others to be the original; he points out that it is common to Italian and Celtic. The deponents of Italic and Celtic seem to have taken over this -r. It is true that Walde held that it was in Gælo-Latin as a unity that the deponent developed<sup>5</sup>, to the exclusion of Britanic on the one hand, and Oscan-Umbrian on the other; but though the evidence of Britanic deponents is not strong, it is improbable that they were unknown, and Umbrian

(1) KZ. XXX. (1887), 224-89; cf. Lindsay, Latin Language, p. 523.

(2) Vendryes, Revue Celtique, XXXIV. 113.

(3) Cf. Claflin, Language, V. 232 ff.; Am. Journ. Phil. XLVIII. 157 ff.

(4) Morphologie historique du latin (1927), pp. 181, 195 ff.

(5) Über älteste sprachliche Beziehungen zwischen Kelten und Italikern (1917). Contrast Vendryes, Revue Celtique, XLII. 387 ff.

is credited with herter, "he desires" and Oscan with karanter, possibly, "they feed themselves". Nor generally is it possible to accept Walde's ingenious suggestion.

It is clearly impossible to arrive at any certain results as to the mode in which the -r suffixes developed, but the important point for the purpose of dialect grouping is that Tocharian shows nothing of the impersonal use of -r which is clearly Italo-Celtic, and thus cannot on that ground be grouped closely with Italo-Celtic. Phrygian and Hittite are in like case with Tocharian in not showing evidence of this impersonal use, which we may, therefore, regard as specifically Italo-Celtic, either in the sense that it developed in Italo-Celtic or that it was preserved in Italo-Celtic from Indo-European, while it died out in other Indo-European dialects. The theory, therefore, that Italo-Celtic, Phrygian and Tocharian once formed a continuous series of dialects marked by the innovation of the -r conjugation cannot be held to be plausibly proved by the grounds so far adduced. There is, of course, no objection *a priori* to any theory of dialectic grouping, but the question is of the extent to which such a group can be established as more probable than another. That Hittite and Tocharian have certain remarkable similarities is perfectly true, but the same remark applies equally to Hittite and most of the other dialects, and we certainly cannot prove the continuity of Hittite and Tocharian from the material available. Indeed, in view of the great difference in date between our records of the two speeches, it would be extremely difficult to expect to find sufficient proof of early contiguity.

As regards the -r suffix it may be added that it is unreasonable to treat as impossible<sup>1</sup> the suggestion that it originally was the characteristic of the impersonal verb, as taken by Morris Jones<sup>2</sup> among others. The idea that such an impersonal could

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(1) Claffin, Language, V. 233, 241.  
 (2) Welsh Grammar (1913).

pass over to the service of the third person plural as in Sanskrit -ur and -re or -ire is certainly not more difficult than Zimmer's view that the third plural Active in -ur could pass over to a Passive sense. It may really be the case that the Indo-European possessed this impersonal in -r, and that the variant uses developed separately in each of the dialects or groups Indo-Iranian, and Italo-Celtic. The Hittite evidence, so far as it goes, shows the most regular uses of -er or -ir as the suffix of a preterite, just as in Sanskrit the third plural perfect Active and Middle is the special form of which -r forms a part. That an impersonal verb expression should be used to denote past time is certainly not surprising.

The origin of -r has often been seen in a locative suffix<sup>1</sup> used predicatively as in the case of the suffix -i seen in the Infinitive, e.g. Latin *agere* or Sanskrit *dṛśi*. We have -r in such a use often in Germanic, e.g. Gothic *her*, but also in other languages, as in Latin *quor*, and apparently in Greek *gár*, and in -per, Latin *paulisper*. Hirt,<sup>2</sup> on the other hand believes that we have in -r a particle of the type seen in that use in Greek *ar*, *ra*, and he compares Greek *ē ra* "he spoke" with Sanskrit *āh-ur*, "they say", *stē ra* with *asthur*, and so on. It is impossible to arrive at any conclusion in the absence of decisive arguments, but either hypothesis is at present preferable to any attempt to revive the once prevalent idea, still maintained by Pedersen<sup>3</sup>, that in the -r we should find a trace of the reflexive *se*, a view which is untenable in the absence of any proof that outside Latin *s* became *r*. An alternative suggestion, that *r* at an early period itself had a sense similar to *se*, is not specially attractive; we have no satisfactory proof that the force of -r was primarily reflexive, which is certain-

(1) Cf. Johansson, Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen, XIV 163; XVI 133 ff.

(2) Indogermanische Grammatik, III. 137; IV. 134.

(3) Vergleichende Grammatik der Keltischen Sprachen, II

ly not borne out by Sanskrit or Hittite. It is noteworthy that Pedersen himself in his later discussion of the grouping of the dialects does not pronounce definitely in favour of any theory. He refers to the suggestions in Odé's work,<sup>1</sup> but insists that it is to Celtic that we must look if at all for the possibility of tracing the development of the use of -r, in view of the linguistic particularism which has, on the one hand, produced so many bizarre forms in the later development of the language, but on the other has preserved many irregularities removed in other speeches. It is, however, difficult in view of the late date at which Celtic is recorded to distinguish between what is novel, and what is old material preserved. Thus there is a complete divergence of view between those who, like Pedersen, claim that the Celtic passive is ancient by reason of peculiarities of form and syntax, and those who contend that it is a secondary development and that originally deponent and Passive coincided as in Latin. Nor is it possible to accept as cogent Pedersen's view that there was no Passive in Indo-European, a doctrine which influences his view that -r Passives were a dialectical innovation.

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(1) De uitgangen met r van het deponens en het passivum in de indoeuropeesche talen (1924).

## SYANDANIKĀ.

*By Sylvain Lévi.*

Le Karmavibhāga sūtra est un texte encore inédit dont j'ai trouvé au Népal, en 1922, deux manuscrits, entièrement indépendants l'un de l'autre, coupés l'un et l'autre de lacunes qui fort heureusement ne coïncident presque jamais. C'est un ouvrage qui a dû connaître une popularité extraordinaire puisque je l'ai retrouvé en tibétain, en chinois, en koutchéen, et qu'il a servi de texte aux illustrations de la galerie inférieure au Boro-Budur de Java. Ecrit dans un sanscrit fort classique, il foisonne de citations curieuses. Je compte en donner au cours des années prochaines une édition et une traduction complètes avec les textes parallèles. Pour le moment, je me contente de signaler un mot qui peut être intéressant pour le linguiste, et spécialement pour ceux qui, comme l'illustre auteur du Bihar Peasant Life, ne séparent pas l'étude des mots de l'étude des choses.

Le Karmavibhāga s'ouvre par l'histoire de Śuka Māṇavaka, fils de Taudeyya. Le Bouddha en tournée de quête à Śrāvasti se présente au seuil de la maison, en l'absence du Maître. Le chien favori de Śuka aboie méchamment. Le Bouddha qui a reconnu dans l'animal le père même de Śuka, à qui son avarice a valu cette fâcheuse renaissance, lui rappelle son passé par une allusion que seul le chien peut comprendre. Le chien, humilié, saute de la couchette matelassée où il se prélassait, et va se tapir dans la syandanikā de bois (evam ukte śankhakuñjare 'tiśayitaroṣaś caṇḍībhūto 'nāttamanā goṇikāstrtāt paryaṅkād avatīr-yādhastāt paryaṅkasya dārusyandanikāyām niṣaṇṇah).

Le mot syandanikā paraît avoir embarrassé les interprètes. Un texte chinois traduit par Guṇabhadra dit "Il descendit du matelas de son lit et alla en bas du seuil de la porte" (S 門 闕 下) Un autre texte chinois, traduit par

T'ien Si tsai dit : " Il quitta la place où il était et s'en alla sous un siège de santal 旃 檀 座 下 ce qui suppose une lecture *candanikāyām*. La traduction du Śukasūtra dans le Madhyama Āgama Tok. XII, 7, 16, a : " Il descendit de sa litière et s'en alla près du tas de bois " 木 聚. Pourtant le mot **syandanikā** est connu par ailleurs : Le Pet. Wört. l'enregistre avec une référence au Rāmāyaṇa III, 53, 56 de l'éd. Gorresio—47, 45 de l'éd. Bombay. Sita menace son ravisseur de la vengeance que Rāma saura tirer et compare dédaigneusement Rāvaṇa avec son époux : " Il y a entre toi et lui autant de différence qu'entre un ruisseau et l'Océan" (*yad antaram syandanikāsamudrayoh*). Syandanikā doit donc désigner un tout petit cours d'eau. La trad. donnée par T'ien Si tsai "un siège de santal" atteste que certains MSS. avaient substitué à ce mot la forme **candanikā** que l'interprète n'a pas su comment traduire. Mais ce mot **candanikā**, ignoré en sanscrit, est bien connu en pali. Le Dict. pali de la P.T.S. le rend par : "a pool at the entrance of the village (usually, but not necessarily, dirty)" et donne une longue série de références qui sont insuffisantes pour préciser le sens. Le mot est en général accolé à un autre mot, **oligalla**, qui est également obscur. Pourtant un passage du Visuddhimagga, p. 343 est nettement en contradiction avec la trad. du Dict. pali ; le texte énumère toutes les saletés et les ordures qui encombrent la porte de la maison : tam tam gehadvāram patvā macchadhovana-mamsadhovana-taṇḍuladhovana-khaṭasimghānika-su-nakha-sūkaravaccādīhi sammissāni kimikulāni nīlamakkikaparikiṇṇāni oligallāni ceva **candanikaṭṭhā-nāni ca daṭṭhabbāni honti** : "En arrivant à la porte d'une maison ou d'une autre, la vue tombe fatalement sur les **oligalla** et les emplacements de **candanikā** où les vers et les mouches se mêlent aux eaux de lavage du poisson, de la viande, du riz, avec les crachats et les morves, avec les crottes des chiens, des porcs etc,

On peut serrer davantage le sens. Et cependant, par une étrange fatalité, la plupart des textes palis donnés en référence n'ont pas de correspondants connus en chinois, et dans le cas bien rare où le texte correspondant existe en chinois, les interprètes embarrassés semblent avoir laissé de côté le mot. Dans le sūtra du Madhyama Āgama Tok. XII, 7, 46a col. 16 qui correspond au Laṭukikopamautta du Majjhima Nikāya I, 448, et où reparait une énumération analogue (à celle du Visuddhimagga ci-dessus, il semble bien que les caractères **keou tou 溝瀆** correspondent à **candanikā**; **keou 溝**; signifie “fosse, rigole”; la Mhv. 齋 et 劍 l'emploie pour traduire **parikhā** “fossé, d'enceinte”; **tou** désigne un canal destiné à l'arrosage des champs. Dans le sūtra du Samyukta Āgama XIII, 3, 76a qui répond au Brāhmaṇa-sutta de Samyutta V, 361, au cours d'une énumération assez analogue (“Va droit devant toi; n'évite ni humeurs, ni précipice, ni troncs d'arbre, ni épines, ni **candanikā**, ni **oligalla**”) le chinois a **kien 潤** en regard de **candanikā**; **kien** désigne un cours d'eau resserré, un ruisseau. Dans le Vacchagottasutta de l'Ānguttara I, 161, **candanikā** et **oligalla** sont les endroits où on déverse les eaux de vaisselle et où grouille la vermine; le sūtra correspondant se trouve dans deux versions du Samyukta Tok. XIII, 2, 21a et 5, 84b, mais les deux traducteurs se contentent de dire; “là où l'on jette les eaux de lavage de la vaisselle et les résidus de nourriture”.

Il ressort de tous ces exemples que **candanikā** est exactement ce que nous appelons “le ruisseau”, la rigole plus ou moins profonde par où s'écoulent les eaux ménagères au devant de la maison. Le mot est donc une simple déformation du sanscrit **syandanikā**, déformation voulue, consciente, d'intention ironique: les puanteurs du ruisseau évoquaient par antiphrase le parfum du santal.

Quant à l'expression composée **dāru-syandanikā** “le ruisseau (la rigole) en bois”, on en a le parallèle dans le Vinaya

pali, Cullavagga V, 17 où sont réunies les prescriptions relatives au bain des moines : "Les Mendiants se baignaient partout dans le jardin et le jardin était tout sangeux. On en fit rapport au Très Saint. "Je vous permets, Mendiants, la **candanikā**", dit-il. La **candanikā** était à ciel ouvert ; les Mendiants étaient gênés pour se baigner. "Je vous permets, Mendiants, dit-il, trois sortes de murs à l'entour : mur en briques, mur en pierre, mur en bois (**dāru**)". Suit une prescription relative au pavage du fond (**santhāra**), qui peut être fait également en briques, en pierre ou en bois. La **syandanikā** (pali **candanikā**) était donc 1° la rigole d'évacuation des eaux ménagères qui partait de la cuisine pour rejoindre le ruisseau, 2° le ruisseau lui-même, c'est à dire la tranchée creusée dans la rue au long des maisons. La rigole domestique pouvait être tout entière en bois, creusée dans du bois plein ou formée de lattes assemblées, ou être revêtue de boisage pour empêcher les terres d'être entraînées par l'eau ; le Japon contemporain montre encore partout, dans les grandes cités comme dans les villages, ces tranchées boisées, tantôt à ciel ouvert, tantôt couvertes avec des dalles de pierre. Leur existence dans l'Inde ancienne est attestée par la *Śukraniti* I, 352 :

**Kuryān mārgān pārśvakhātān nirgamārtham jalasya ca** "Il faut faire, pour l'écoulement des eaux, des conduites creusées sur les côtés (de la rue)". M. Binode Behari Dutt, à qui j'emprunte cette citation, rapporte en outre dans son livre vraiment remarquable : *Town Planning in Ancient India*, Calcutta 1925—un des meilleurs travaux publiés au cours de ces dernières années—un passage d'un livre récent que je n'ai pu consulter directement, *Town Planning in Ancient Deccan*, par M. Venkataram Ayyar, passage qui semble écrit à dessein pour éclairer la question de la **syandanikā-candanikā**: "As in other cities, so also in Vanji the ditch encircled the walls of the city. The water from the palace, public halls, and private residences fell into this ditch by means of a conduit

sluice known as Tumbu. The conduit-pipe discharged the water of the city into the ditch near the entrance gate where it was covered over with a stone culvert. By such a drainage system, the water used in private homes for domestic and bathing purposes, was conducted by pipes into the main conduit which poured its contents into the ditch. Those who could afford the expense had separate baths specially constructed for them in such a manner that water might be filled in or let out of such baths at their pleasure. When they had finished bathing they opened the outlet of the baths which emptied water into the drain which led to the ditch outside."

Observons encore que dans le récit correspondant en pali, Sumangala Vilāsinī, éd. siamoise I, 437 (récit très étroitement apparenté à notre texte) le chien mécontent va se coucher dans les cendres à l'intérieur du fourneau (**uddhanantare chārikāya nipanno**) ; ici encore l'obscurité du terme **candanikā** paraît avoir décidé le narrateur à lui substituer un autre mot et une autre chose, plus facilement intelligibles.

J'ai fait usage, chemin faisant, des récits parallèles que j'ai rencontrés en pali. Notre Karmavibhāga sūtra est le développement du sutta pali intitulé Cūla Kammavibhāga qui forme le 135e sutta du Majjhimanikāya Le personnage à qui ce sutta sur la classification des actes est adressé y est appelé Subha Māṇava Todeyyaputta ; le commentaire sur ce texte, dans la Papañcasūdani (éd. Siam. III, 648) raconte en guise d'introduction l'histoire du Bouddha et du chien qui est rené le père de Suka. L'identité est donc incontestable. Le même Subha Māṇava Todeyyaputta reparaît dans un certain nombre d'autres textes que nous laisserons ici de côté. En face du pali Subha, la forme sanskrite Śuka est attestée non seulement par le Karmavibhāga, mais aussi par les textes chinois correspondants ou apparentés qui rendent ce nom soit par une transcription : Chou kia, soit par une traduction "Perroquet". Le tibétain, contrairement à sa

pratique générale, ne traduit pas le nom et se contente de le transcrire. Nous avons donc d'une part Śuka, de l'autre Subha (sk. Śubha). On ne peut passer directement d'une de ces formes à l'autre; ni Śuka n'a pu aboutir à Subha ni Subha à Śuka. Il devient donc nécessaire de supposer à la base une forme antérieure d'où auraient pu diverger deux restaurations différentes. Le mot **Suka** est dans les pracrîts, et notamment dans le pracrît jaina où il se rencontre fréquemment comme nom de personne, **Sua** susceptible de se développer en **Suva** (=śrûta, **suta**, etc.). De l'alternance **bh** pali en face de **v** par ailleurs, nous avons tout au moins un exemple dans un des termes les plus importants de la théorie du saint bouddhique; le pali a **paṭisambhidā** tandis que le sanscrit a **pratisamvid**. Nous sommes ainsi ramenés par un nouvel exemple à la théorie que j'ai eu l'occasion de présenter, il y a déjà longtemps, sur l'emploi dans le bouddhisme ancien, antérieurement au pali et au sanscrit, d'un dialecte disparu, cousin germain de l'ardhamāgadhi jaina, et qui avait atteint déjà un stage avancé d'usure phonétique (Cf. Journ. Asiat., 1912, II, 495-514).

Le mot **syandanikā** avait déjà attiré l'attention du Rev. Richard Morris, dans la série des Notes and Queries où se rencontrent tant d'indications importantes. A propos du mot **ekodibhāva** (Jour. Pali Text Soc., 1885, p. 35), dont il propose d'ailleurs une interprétation fausse, il est amené à citer le mot **oligalla**, et **oligalla** attire **candanikā** dont il est presque inséparable. Il signale l'usage du mot **syandanikā** dans un passage du Saddharma Pûñdarîka (Chap. VI, éd. Kern-Nanjo, p. 144, l. 10) que d'ailleurs il connaît seulement par la traduction de Kern (Sac. Books, Vol. XXI), et il écrit: "A very good instance of this sanskritizing process [la marotte des Palisants de cette époque!] in the Saddharma Pûñdarîka (pp. 142, 146, 395) which has escaped the keen eye of Prof. Kern, is seen in **syandanika** [corr. kā, que donne bien le texte sanscrit imprimé]-**gūthodilla** (var. lect. -**odigilla**, -**odigalla**) translated by 'gutters and dirty

pools'. Prof. Kern acknowledges that his rendering of **gūthodilla** is conjectural. Here we may call in Pali to throw some light upon the whole compound **syandanika**. Not seldom we find the Pali terms **candanikā** and **oligalla** occurring together (see Anguttara Nikāya, III, VI. 8; Milinda Panha, p. 220; Sabbāsava Sutta) the former meaning, according to the Abhidhānappadīpikā, 'a dirty pool at the entrance of a village'. The Pali **candanikā** is probably to be referred to a more original **candānikā**, from the root **cand**, and signifies a turbid pool, or one liable to become so on account of not being inclosed (see Thera Gāthā, I. 567; Cullavagga, V. 17, 1). Buddhaghosa defines it as **asucikala-lakūpo**. The Sanskrit **syandanikā**, according to the lexicographers, does not mean a tank, well, or pool, but 'a drop of saliva', and the meaning 'gutter' given to it by Prof. Kern, is deduced by him from the root **syand** (**syandana**, oozing water). It is one of those words that may be restored to its primitive form since it is in fact a clever sanskritizing of Pali **candanikā**."

Morris discute ensuite le terme **gūthodilla** associé à **syandanikā** dans le texte du Saddharma-puṇḍarīka. **Udilla** serait une sanscritisation (une de plus) faite sur le pali **oligalla**, qui pourrait être une altération de **allagalla**, "from **alla** wet" (**ulla**, **olla** well-known Prakrit forms, Sanskrit **ārdra**) "swampy, marshy" and **galla**, Sanskrit **garta**, Prakrit **gadḍa** "well, pit". Et il ajoute sagement: "But all this is by way of conjecture".

Pour ajouter une conjecture de plus, je signale que, d'après un informateur hindou venu de Madras (M. Venkata-chalpati), le télougou a **ōdagalavādu** pour désigner "le nettoyeur, le boueux" (où **vādu** est un simple suffixe d'emploi analogue à **wāla** de l'hindoustani). Le tamoul possède aussi le mot **ōdugāl** pour désigner une "conduite d'eau", comme me l'indique mon collègue M. Bloch.

Enfin la substitution de **chārikā** "les cendres" "dans le récit pali à **syandanikā** de la rédaction sanscrite peut

remonter à une confusion entre *kṣāra* ” caustique “ et *kṣara* ” coulant.

Burnouf qui n'avait pas rencontré le mot dans le premier des MSS. sur lequel il traduisait et où ce mot est omis, n'a rien naturellement qui puisse y correspondre dans sa traduction ; mais dans ses notes sur le chapitre VI (p. 385), il observe que les deux MSS. de Hodgson, qu'il a pu consulter depuis, lisent *syandanikā* devant *gūthodillam* ce qui ajoute (dit-il) à la précision de l'idée, car *syandanikā* peut répondre au sanscrit *syandinī* et signifier “ salive ”.

Aucune des trois traductions chinoises du Saddharma Pundarika n'apporte d'éclaircissement sur ce passage ; elles se contentent toutes trois d'écrire : “ sans ordures ”.

M. Grierson, à qui cette note a été communiquée en manuscrit, me signale que *syandanikā* survit encore en hindi comme mot tatsama, et qu'il est enregistré dans le Dictionnaire de le Nāgarī Prachāriṇī Sabhā, le Hindi Sabda Sāgara, pp. 37–36, avec le sens de “ salive ”, “ petit ruisseau ”, et “ conduite d'eau, rigole (nahar)”.

## REMARQUES SUR LES VERBES DE MOUVEMENT INDO-EUROPEEN

By J. Vendryes

Dans un article des Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique (t. XXIII, p. 264 et ss.), M. Meillet a attiré l'attention des linguistes sur la distinction du déterminé et de l'indéterminé dans les verbes de mouvement en grec. Un examen sommaire permet de reconnaître la même distinction en celtique (cf. Rev. Celtique, t. XLVI, p. 215 et ss.). Il s'agit d'un fait général, qui devait en indo-européen tenir une place importante et dont il est possible de marquer des maintenant certains caractères.

Un verbe indo-européen pouvait être employé avec ou sans régime, c'est à dire que le processus pouvait être considéré comme portant ou non sur un objet. En latin, **amo** signifie "j'aime", **amo patrem** "j'aime mon père". Dans un cas, le processus est considéré en lui-même, avec toutes les modalités qu'il comporte; dans l'autre, il s'étend à un objet qui peut même devenir l'élément prépondérant, en exprimant la raison d'être du processus. Considéré en lui-même à l'exclusion de tout objet, le processus, confiné dans l'activité du sujet, prend aisément une valeur neutre ou même réfléchie: **φέρω** ne veut dire en grec "je porte quelque chose", comme en latin **uerto id** "je tourne cela"; mais **φέρω** et **uerto**, tout court, veulent dire "je me porte" ou "je me tourne".

Cette distinction vaut pour la plupart des notions verbales. Elle est toujours possible en indo-européen, grâce à l'autonomie des mots, qui résulte des conditions mêmes de la morphologie (cf. Meillet-Vendryes, Traité, p. 519). Mais pour certaines notions la distinction est tellement importante qu'elle se traduit dans le vocabulaire par l'emploi de mots différents. Elle n'est pas seulement syntaxique, mais aussi lexicographique: à côté d'un verbe ayant la valeur déterminée, il existe alors un verbe tout différent qui est indéterminé. Ainsi en français pour la notion de "parler". Le verbe **dire** est déterminé: il ne se conçoit pas aujourd'hui sans l'addition d'un régime indiquant ce que "dit" le sujet. Au contraire le verbe **parrer**, qui est indéterminé, n'é-

comporte d'autre régime que ceux qui portent sur les modalités variées de la parole. Le fait est ancien. En latin le verbe **dicere** est déterminé, comme le grec δικεῖν et le gotique **teihan**; cela explique le sens particulier qu'ont pris ces verbes en grec et en germanique, celui de "dénoncer, accuser".

Les verbes déterminés sont relativement stables: le verbe latin **dicere** survit encore aujourd'hui dans toutes les langues romanes. Au contraire les verbes indéterminés sont éminemment instables; ils s'usent vite et se renouvellent fréquemment. Les diverses langues indo-européennes présentent pour l'idée de "parler" les verbes les plus variés, souvent d'origine inconnue; à ce point de vue même, les langues romanes ne s'accordent pas, et en français populaire on remplace aujourd'hui le verbe **parler** par un bon nombre de synonymes (**causer, bavarder, jasiner, etc....**). C'est que le verbe indéterminé comporte des nuances affectives dont le déterminé est dépourvu. Par l'emploi du déterminé, le procès se présente sous sa forme brute, dépouillé de circonstances accessoires. En employant l'indéterminé, le sujet parlant s'exprime lui-même, manifeste l'action de sa personnalité sur le procès que marque le verbe. Ainsi s'ajoutent à l'idée du procès des modalités variées qui entraînent un renouvellement fréquent de l'expression.

Un procédé dont usait l'indo-européen pour renouveler l'expression d'une notion - en dehors de l'emploi d'une racine différente - était l'élargissement de la racine. L'addition d'un élément phonétique à une racine donnée permettait de souligner certains caractères particuliers de la notion verbale. Peu importe l'origine de cet élément phonétique; il est permis de penser qu'il n'était parfois qu'un débris morphologique de dérivation ou de composition. Il ajoutait en tout cas à la racine une nuance de sens souvent compatible avec l'emploi indéterminé. Ainsi dans le cas de la racine marquant le "tremplement" d'où l'"effroi": \**tre-m-*, \**tre-p-* à côté de \**ter-* (skr. *tarala-*). On peut dire que la présence d'un élargissement est un indice que la racine était employée avec une valeur indéterminée.

Un autre indice de même ordre est dans l'existence d'une formation de causatif. Lorsqu'on impose un acte à quelqu'un, l'essentiel n'est pas que cet acte porte sur tel ou tel objet, mais bien que l'acte lui-même se produise. C'est bien pour que quelqu'un dise quelque chose qu'on le fait parler; mais l'important est qu'il parle, c'est à dire qu'on le décide à parler. Un aphrodisiaque fait aimer, comme l'opium fait dormir; la personnalité de l'être qu'on aime est secondaire.

Les observations qui précèdent éclairent l'histoire et la formation de certains verbes de mouvement. C'est dans les verbes de mouvement qu'apparaît le plus nettement l'opposition du déterminé et de l'indéterminé, suivant qu'on considère le mouvement comme comportant un certain objet ou un certain but qu'il serve de terme (*agit boues, peto urbem*), soit qu'on se borne à la considération du mouvement en lui-même avec ses diverses modalités (*bene ou male agit, ambulat in horto*).

La présence d'un élargissement implique indétermination; à côté de la racine \* *ei-* (cf. skr. vād. **sabham** *eti*, lat. **eo Romam**), il existe une racine \* *eit-*, qui est nettement indéterminée (cf. Bull. Soc. Lingu., XXV, p. 45), comme suffiraient à le prouver en latin *iter*, en osque *eituns*, en grec *ιταυσες* “hardi, impudent” et peut-être en germanique et en celtique le nom du “serment”, got. *aids*, irl. *oeth*.

Lorsqu'une racine de verbe de mouvement comprend un élargissement et sert en plus à former un causatif, on est doublément assuré que la valeur de ce verbe était indéterminée. C'est le cas des racines \* *leudh-*, \* *leit-*, \* *sent-*.

La racine \* *leudh-* sort d'une racine \* *leu-*, attestée en grec dans *ἔληγμεν* et dans *προσῆλυτος*; un autre élargissement apparaît d'ailleurs dans la racine \* *leugh-* des formes sanskrites *aruhat*, *aruksat*, *rokṣyati*, *rūḍhah* “grandi, accru” et dans la racine \* *leup-* du skr. *ropāyati* “il fait grandir, il soulève”. C'est de \* *leudh-* que sortent à la fois les formes gr. *ἔλευσομαι*, *ῆλυθοι*,

got. **liudan**, skr. **rodhati**; la formation nominale  $\ddot{\epsilon}\lambda\epsilon\ddot{\theta}\epsilon\phi\phi\phi$  en montre bien le caractère indéterminé. Et l'on a le causatif correspondant dans l'irlandais **luadim** “je mets en mouvement, je lance”, particulièrement employé au figuré **luadim molad** “je développe, je fais grandir la louange”.

Dans les racines \***leit-** et \***sent-** l'élargissement est moins apparent, mais elles ont toutes deux fourni des causatifs: le germanique a v. h. a. **leiten** v. isl. **leida** en face de got. **lei þan** v. h. a. **līdan**, comme got. **sandjan** en face de **sin þan**. Le sens figuré de v. h. a. **līdan** “éprouver, souffrir” s'explique par la valeur indéterminée du verbe. On observe aussi un sens figuré dans le dérivé latin de la racine \***sent-**, à savoir **sentiō**.

Deux autres racines marquant un mouvement se présentent avec des élargissements qui en précisent la valeur; c'est d'une part \***ser-**, d'autre part \***drā-**. La première, bien attestée par le sanskrit **sisarti** et **sarati** a fourni sous la forme \* **serp-** le sanskrit **sarpati** “il rampe” (lat. **serpo**) mais aussi le grec  $\epsilon\sigma\pi\omega$  qui signifie seulement “je vais”. La spécialisation au sens de “ramper” s'accorde bien avec la présence d'un élargissement. Sous la forme \* **serg-** la même racine a donné au sanskrit le verbe **sarjati**, **sṛjati**. La seconde, attestée dans le grec  $\epsilon\delta\pi\alpha\gamma$  et le sanskrit **drāti** est pourvue d'élargissements variés dans skr. **dramati**, gr.  $\delta\pi\mu\phi\phi\phi$  ou dans le skr. **drāvati**. Un autre élargissement apparaît dans le causatif sanskrit **drāpayati**, qui suppose une racine de forme \* **drāp-**, dont l'antiquité est attestée par le grec  $\delta\pi\alpha\pi\epsilon\tau\eta\zeta$  “déserteur”. Ce fait pourrait suggérer une explication du suffixe de causatif sanskrit **-payati**, dont l'origine est énigmatique (cf. Sutterlin, I. F. XIX, 536; Thurneysen, Handb. d. altind., I, 403; Brugmann, Grdr., 2<sup>e</sup> éd., II, 3, p. 256; et P. Persson Beitr. z. idg. Wortforsch., II, 592). On sait que le suffixe de causatif se présente régulièrement sous la forme **-payati** dans les racines qui se terminent par une voyelle: **dādhāti** “il pose”, **dhāpāyati** “il fait poser”; **snāti** “il se baigne”, **snāpāyati** “il fait baigner, il plonge quelqu'un dans l'eau” etc., et dans un

verbe de mouvement, *yāti* "il va" (déterminé, cf. *yād ājim yāti* "quand il va au combat", R. V. VIII, 45, 7), *yāpāyati* "il fait aller".

Il est évident que le **p** joue ici un rôle de phonème de liaison p permettant l'addition d'un suffixe commençant par une voyelle à une racine elle-même de terminaison vocalique. C'est un procédé répandu dans la morphologie de bien des langues; la formation du parfait grec en *-xa* présente un cas analogue. Il est permis de penser que ce **p** est un ancien élargissement, qui aurait été originellement à sa place dans les verbes de mouvement pour le motif qui vient d'être indiqué.

On a peut-être une confirmation de cette hypothèse dans le fait suivant. En plus des racines terminées par une voyelle, le suffixe *-payati* apparaît au causatif dans la racine *ar-* de *iyarti*, *arpāyati* "il met en mouvement". Or, le **p** de *arpāyati* peut passer pour un élargissement, car la racine en présente un autre. À côté de *rñōti* gr. *ἀρνεῖται* on a en effet *rghāyati* "il s'élançee, il s'agitte" (intensif et noncausatif). Ce seraient des causatifs de verbes de mouvement comme *arpāyati*, *drāpēyati*, *yāpāyati*, qu'aurait été tiré le suffixe *-payati* communément utilisé ensuite dans les racines à terminaison vocalique.



# LE PRESENT DU VERBE "ETRE" EN TSIGANE

By Jules Bloch

Le conjugaison normale du présent des verbes tsiganes est claire dans l'ensemble. En voici le paradigme (d'après Sampson, Dial. of the Gypsies of Wales. §385 sq.; Macalister, Language of the Nawar or Zutt, §87):

en Europe:

kamav "i'aime";  
kames  
kamel  
kamas  
kamen  
kamen

en Syrie:

nanam "j'apporte"  
nanék, nanay-  
nanar  
nanan  
nanas  
nanand

Au contraire, dans le verbe "être", non seulement les radicaux, mais les désinences diffèrent de l'Asie à l'Europe, et même dans les diverses parties de l'Europe (Miklosich, Ueber die Mundarten....., XI, p. 49; Sampson, §432; Macalister, §116); voici les types principaux:

Syrie:

aštóm (i)  
aštür (i)  
ašti, ašta  
aštén  
aštës  
ašte

Roumanie:

som  
san  
si  
sam  
san  
si

Hongrie:

som  
sal  
si  
sam  
san  
si:

Au roumain se rattachent le grec (avec i- initial *isom* etc.), le russe et le gallois; au hongrois, le transylvain, le finnois et l'allemand.

L'explication de ces formes, telle qu'elle a été proposée par Sampson, n'est pas exempte d'obscurité et d'arbitraire. En premier lieu, il l'a bien vu, *isom* ne peut dériver directement de skr. *asmi*, la conservation de la sifflante s'y oppose (cf. *ame* "nous"). Faut-il donc poser un verbe du type *asāmi?* Mais alors on attend les désinences du verbe normal; or *som* ne rappelle aucunement *kamav*. De plus les diverses désinences du 2e singulier, en particulier de hongrois *sal*, all. *hal*, restent inexpiquées; in-

expliquée enfin l'opposition des voyelles au singulier et au pluriel, opposition nette en nuri, reconnaissable partiellement en européen.

Puisque les désinences des 2es personnes sont les plus compliquées — et Sampson renonce même à expliquer nuri *aštûr* — il convient de les examiner d'abord; peut-être fourniront-elles un résultat susceptible d'extension aux autres désinences.

Comme Sampson l'a reconnu, la forme de 2e personne commune au singulier et au pluriel, roumain *san*, grec *isan*, est de par son origine une 3e personne du pluriel: de même dans le verbe normal des dialectes européens, *kamen* 3e pl. a été étendu à la 2e pl. Il en résulte que la 3e pluriel actuelle *si*, grec *isi* est récente, et provient du singulier; il en sera question plus loin.

Le hongrois distingue 2 sg. *sal* de 2 pl. *san*; *san* étant, comme nous venons de voir, une 3e personne ancienne, il est facile de reconnaître dans *sal* l'ancienne 2e du pluriel passée au singulier, comme *san* a fait dans le groupe roumain: -*l*- représente ici la désinence sanskritique - *tha*, cf. *sovel* < *śapatha*; on sait d'autre part que le représentant nuri de - *th* - est - *s* -: on a donc le droit de comparer directement, du moins pour la désinence, 2 pl. *aštêš*.

Reste à expliquer nuri *aštûr*, — en fait la seule forme qui soit réellement de deuxième personne du singulier, et dont l'isolement permet d'inférer l'ancienneté. Il ne peut être question ici de rappeler skr. *asi*, puisque dans ce cas le verbe "être" et le verbe normal devraient présenter la même désinence: or *nanék*, obscur du reste, et *nanay* - ne rappellent aucunement *aštûr*. Mais la 3e personne du verbe normal en - *ar*, issue de skr. - *ati*, nous avertit que - *r* final de *aštûr* peut représenter un - *t*-intervocalique. Des lors il apparaît que cette désinence doit renfermer une forme du pronom (*a*)*tu* "toi", qui n'a pas été reconnue <sup>(1)</sup>, parce que les formes pronominales enclitiques

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<sup>(1)</sup> Au moment où j'écrivais ceci, j'oubiais - et j'avais tort d'oublier - que M. Turner avait deviné l'origine de la forme (BSOS, V p. 47). Je me félicite de la rencontre.

annexées aux verbes font normalement fonction de régime, v. Macalister, § 61: or -m - et -r peuvent représenter aussi bien *ama* et *atu* que \**me* et \**te*.

Ceci emporte une conséquence importante qu'il faut souligner avant d'aller plus loin. Si *nuri -r* est un pronom enclitique sujet, le mot sur lequel il s'appuie doit être, comme M. Macalister l'avait entrevu, un participe. Dès lors un trait caractéristique du *nuri* s'explique immédiatement: c'est l'opposition entre les voyelles désinencielles au singulier et au pluriel, qui représentent les désinences nominales, sing. -ō, pl. -e.

La troisième personne du pluriel, accommodée à la forme du verbe normal dans le dialecte noté par Pott (*steindi* comme *awendi* "ils viennent"), est chez Macalister la forme nominale sans verbe: ceci est conforme à la règle constante en indo-européen et en indo-aryen.

La contradiction entre 3 sg. -a et -ō- de *aštōm aštūr* doit s'expliquer par la position: -a est la désinence normale des noms élargis; *kajja* "non-tsigane" paraît s'opposer à européen *gajo*, comme *hindî ghorā* "cheval" à *gujarati ghoro*; mais lep *luriel*, qui est semblable (*nuri kajje*, eur. *gaje*) tandis que h. *ghore*, guj. *ghorā* diffèrent, montre que l'opposition n'est pas de même sorte. Il doit s'agir d'une variation intérieure au *nuri*: -ō- est sans doute le traitement en position protégée; c'est ainsi qu'au présent on a *nanda kajjan* "il amena les gens", mais *nandōs-san* "il les amena", et bien entendu *nandōm* "j'ai amené" (Macalister, §§ 92-93).

Une difficulté plus sérieuse réside dans la forme du thème: *aṣta* ne peut être un participe normal. Le participe normal se termine en *nuri* par -r-, en Europe par -l-, issus de skr. -(i)ta-; ex. *nuri kēra*, eur. *xalō* (*khādita-*); n. *gara*, eur. *gilo* (*gata-*); -t- se rencontre dans les groupes: n. *sita*, eur. *sutō* (*supta-*); n. *vēṣt-* doublet de *vēš*, part. eur. *beštō* (*upavīṣṭa-*). Or as- n'a

pas de participe ancien (*hrômi* "j'ai été" semble contenir **bhûta**, cf. *ðozō* "je suis, serai"); d'autre part, si pkr. **acch-**, tsig. eur. **ac-** a bien laissé une trace dans l'optatif nuri *hōcam* (sur ce point voir J. Gypsy Lore Soc., XI. p. 32), il n'y vit pas de façon indépendante, et du reste ce verbe non plus n'a pas de participe ancien; on attendrait une forme secondaire, comparable à europ *acilō*. Avons-nous dans **a-št-a** une forme syncopée de *sth(i)ta-*, comparable (mais à l'inverse) à celle [*(da) tta-*] contenue dans *tômi* "j'ai donné"? Dans ce cas **a-št-a** serait à *štir-ar* "il se lève" (cf. skr. *uttiṣṭhati* ou pkr. *citt̥hai?*) comme **a-tr-a** "il fut, parut" où *sthita*-est conservé, à *tir-* "mettre", cf. encore *ta-taw* "mettre, placer (*sthāp-*), tan" "lit", eur. *than* "place, maison".

Du reste la difficulté est exactement la même pour eur. **sō**; or il semble qu'on puisse poser **so: aštā=sī: ašti**. Les termes de la correspondance ne sont pas limpides, mais l'existence même d'une corrélation est rassurante, et nous pouvons conclure que **ašt-** et éventuellement **s-**, quelle qu'en soit la formation, se comportent comme des thèmes de participe.

\* \* \* \* \*

Il doit en effet y avoir un participe également à la base du verbe "être" européen. Une indication s'en trouve déjà dans le fait qu'il a conservé dans l'ancienne 2 pl. **sal** la désinence skr. **-tha** disparue dans les verbes normaux; j'ai déjà indiqué (J. Gypsy Lore Soc., VII, p. 113) que la cause de cette disparition avait dû être la rencontre de -l- issu de **-th-** avec -l- issu de **-t-**, donc la double valeur de 3e sg. et de 2e pl. d'une forme comme *kamel*; si dans le verbe "être" la 3e sg. était une forme nominale pure, l'amphibologie n'existe pas et 2e pl. **sal** pouvait subsister.

En second lieu, si **sal** et **san** sont des formes primitivement plurielles, on retrouve dans l'opposition de 1 sg. **som** d'une part, et de l'autre pl. 1 **sam**, 2 **sal**, 3 **san** une opposition vocalique comparable à celle du nuri.

Il y a ici une nouvelle difficulté qu'il faut signaler, mais qui ne paraît pas insurmontable: 1 sg. **so-m** donne la forme attendue,

mais **sa** n'est pas le pluriel normal de cette forme: le pluriel en **-a** des noms élargis en **-o** n'est pas inconnu de l'indo-aryen, et se trouve p. ex. en sindhi, mais il est exclusif du pluriel en **-e** (sauf archaïsme comme le relatif **je**, pluriel de **jo**). En tsigane d'Europe, **-a** est la désinence plurielle des noms non élargis: **phral** "frère", **pl. phrala**. On aurait donc ici, à côté de **so**, le pluriel d'un singulier **s-**. Cette forme étonne au premier abord; mais elle doit sans doute se ranger avec les participes dont j'ai montré ailleurs (*Bull. Soc. Ling.* XXXIII p. 61 sqq.) l'abondance dans les parlers du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde, et qui ont été créés par utilisation d'un ancien **ās** provenant de skr. **asit**. De cette forme le tsigane d'Europe a par ailleurs tiré une particule indéclinable servant à former le prêtérit (*ibid.* p. 59 sq); c'est sans doute la même qu'on retrouve dans le prêtérit composé du nuri **nandō-s-** cité plus haut, où l'on ne voit pas pourquoi **-s-** serait un pronom oblique.

Qu'en tsigane d'Europe ce participe ait pris le sens présent, n'est pas pour étonner; cf. kśm. **chu**, torwali, maiyā **thu** etc, (*ibid.* 62 sq.)

Done ni la forme ni le sens ne s'opposent à ce qu'on voie dans l'opposition **so-: sa-** l'opposition de formes nominales du singulier et du pluriel.

Cette interprétation permet d'abord d'écartier une objection possible à l'interprétation ci-dessus proposée de **sal**: cette forme n'est attestée que comme appartenant au singulier; ne pourrait-on y chercher le pronom **tu**, reconnu dans la 2e sg. du nuri? Cette explication, admissible en ce qui concerne la consonne (cf. 3 sg. -**el** du skr. **-ati**), ne rendrait pas compte de l'identité de la voyelle avec celle des formes plurielles.

A vrai dire si les formes sont claires, leur histoire se devine mal. Pourquoi la 2e sg. ancienne a-t-elle disparu au profit de la 2e pl. **sal** (ou **san**, elle-même ancienne 3e pl.)? A-t-il existé à une époque comparativement récente une forme \***so-l** (**so+tu**) éliminée

au profit de **sal** presque homonyme ? ou une forme **so-s** (**so+asi**) qui gênait comme d'aspect préterit? La syntaxe en tout cas n'y poussait pas: le tsigane d'Europe distingue encore bien **tu** "toi" de **tume** "vous", pluriel réel, comme l'asiatique distingue **atu** de **atme**.

\* \* \* \* \*

Quoiqu'il en soit, il semble qu'à la deuxième personne le participe s'accompagne d'une désinence verbale au pluriel, et, en Asie au moins, pronominale au singulier. Les premières personnes contiennent-elles des pronoms ou des désinences verbales?

Le singulier est ambigu: -**m** peut s'expliquer par **me** ou par **asmi**. La formation avec **asmi** se trouve ailleurs: le **kašmiri** à masc. **chu-s**, fém. **chě-s** "je suis", en regard de **gupa** "je cache"; dans cette langue "moi" se dit **boh**, oblique **me**; donc -**s** ne peut être que **asmi**, ce qui est d'accord avec la phonétique locale, cf. **asi** <**skr. asme**. C'est aussi le cas pour le **shina** (**ma**) **hanus**, f. **hanis** "(je) suis", en regard de **hanu**, **hani** "il, elle est"; cf. le pluriel **hane** s "nous sommes" où -**s** provient de **skr. smah** d'après l'explication que je dois à M. Turner. Avec le même aspect phonétique qu'en tsigane, il semble qu'on reconnaissse **asmi** dans le dialecte **pašai** de Laurowan (Morgenstierne, Report..., p. 93), **hang-ām** "je bats", en regard de **hangā** "il bat", **hang-i-ām** "je te bats", cf. **hanam-i** "je te battraï". Quant à **bengali** -**ām** du préterit, S. K. Chatterji, Origin and dev., p. 977, n'a pu y apporter la clarté.

Si l'hypothèse indiquée plus haut d'un \***sos** 2 sg. perdu était admise, on choisirait pour la 1e sg. **so+pkr. ahmi**; mais c'est un faible appui qu'une hypothèse pour choisir entre deux hypothèses.

Le pluriel européen nous laisse dans le même embarras: **sa-m** peut contenir également bien **pkr. mha** ou **amhe**; peut-être l'absence de trace de voyelle finale serait-elle une indication contre le pronom. Le **nuri** n'est d'aucun secours, d'autant que la désinence

du verbe “être” est ici celle du verbe normal; ce qui permet en tout cas d’écarter l’idée qu’on aurait dans *aṣṭān* affaire à *skr. nah*; du reste *nah* n’est pas un nominatif; et enfin le *nuri* pas plus que le *tsigane* dans l’ensemble n’ont gardé de trace de cette forme (M. Morgenstierne croit la reconnaître dans l’unique dialecte *pashai* de Nilam, Report..., p. 91).

À la 3<sup>e</sup> personne, nous avons vu que le *nuri* a des formes nominales pures. Le *tsigane* d’Europe *si* provient peut-être de *asti* comme l’enseigne Sampson; à vrai dire la présence au *Suket* (G. Bailey, Ling. Studies.....p. 208) de *asi* indeclinable à côté de *ni athi* indeclinable permet d’entrevoir que la question n’est pas simple. On peut rappeler qu’au *Punjab* *sī* primitivement réservé au préterit fém. sing. s’est, sous l’influence de *i* “est” commun aux deux genres, étendu au masculin, et même au pluriel, ainsi que m’en informe M. Siddheswar Varma. En tout cas le passage du singulier au pluriel, et en ce qui concerne *all. hin* le passage inverse, ne font pas difficulté (sur ces points, indications de M. Woolner, J. G. L. S. III p. 181, 183).

Il faut dire un mot de *sen* coexistant avec *sun* en finnois, et unique en gallois. Faut-il y voir la continuation de *santi* (cf. eur. *ivend*<*skr. hemantī*)? Possible à la rigueur, un tel archaïsme étonne dans ces dialectes. Il paraît plus sûr d’y voir une adaptation de *san* au verbe normal, du type *kamen*.

\* \* \* \* \*

Tout n'est donc pas clair dans le verbe “être” du *tsigane*. Mais il semble que le *nuri* fournit la clef des principales difficultés, en laissant apparaître un participe à la base du paradigme. La même formation est, comme on a vu, fréquente dans l’Indoukouch, où le participe se rencontre même à l’état nu, et avec le sens présent, contrairement à l’usage de l’Inde propre. Ce qui est curieux, c'est le mélange des désinences pronominales et verbales, sûr aux deuxièmes personnes en Asie, possible ailleurs,

Le schème est celui-ci :

|       | Europe                                   | Asie                                       |
|-------|--|--|
| 3 sg. | asti?                                    | Participe seul                             |
| 3 pl. | (Participe+désinence du<br>verbe normal) | Participe seul                             |
| 2 sg. | (perdue)                                 | Participe+tu                               |
| 2 pl. | Participe+ -tha                          | Participe+ -tha                            |
| 1 sg. | Participe+ahmi plutôt<br>que me?         | Participe+ahmi<br>ou me                    |
| 1 pl. | Participe+mha plutôt que<br>ahme         | Participe+<br>désinence du<br>verbe normal |

On peut se demander si ce système composite n'est pas issu d'un état comparable à celui du kašmiri qui a à la 1e sg. asmi affixé, et à la 2e pl. -tha : chiwa, f. chewa comme gupiw "vous cachez"; la 2e sing. aussi a été adaptée au verbe normal: chukh comme gupakh). Dans ce cas il est concevable que l'ambiguïté de -m à la 1e personne du singulier ait pu servir de point de départ à l'affixation de formes pronominales à la 1e du pluriel et à la 2e du singulier.

# SUR LES NOMS INDO-EUROPEENS DU "LAIT"

By A. Meillet

L'existence d'un nom ancien, établi par des concordances entre plusieurs langues distinctes, garantit le fait qu'une notion était connue des hommes qui parlaient l'"indo-européen" commun; en revanche l'absence d'un nom commun à plusieurs langues n'est, bien entendu, pas une raison suffisante de douter qu'une notion ait été nettement dégagée dans le monde indo-européen. Les noms du "lait" illustrent ce principe.

Dans une société où le bétail était la principale richesse, le lait était utilisé, donc nommé (v. l'article **Milch** du Reallexikon de Schrader-Nehring). Mais les noms varient d'une langue à l'autre, et, en général, ils n'ont pas cette transparence qui caractérise les noms présentant des innovations dues à des interdictions de vocabulaire. Ils rappellent plutôt ces noms de parties du corps qui diffèrent d'une langue indo-européenne à l'autre même quand ils présentent entre eux des ressemblances et qu'on n'arrive pas à ramener à une forme originelle commune. Il s'agit du vocabulaire technique et familier qui n'avait pas d'unité en indo-européen; seuls étaient communs à l'ensemble du monde indo-européen les termes qui désignaient les actes principaux de la vie, les principales institutions sociales comme la parenté, les grands animaux domestiques. On ne connaît, pour l'indo-européen commun, qu'un seul nom d'oiseau, celui de l'"oie"; mais s'agit d'une volaille, c'est à dire d'une chose qui intéressait proprement les femmes; qu'on se reporte au songe de Pénélope dans l'*Odyssée* I. 535 et suiv. Et le nom se dénonce par sa vocalisation comme un terme populaire: les langues qui révèlent le timbre de la voyelle s'accordent à présenter l'*a*, qui est, on le sait, l'une des caractéristiques du vocabulaire populaire en indo-européen: *xawé* en grec, *ave* en latin. Si le lait n'a pas de nom indo-européen commun, c'est que c'est un produit qui relève des techniques féminines et n'intéresse pas proprement les chefs.

La forme grecque du nom du lait, *gála*, *galaktos* est, par elle-même, insolite au point de vue indo-européen. Le caractère

“populaire” du mot est indiqué par ceci qu’on trouve la consonne géminée intérieure, si rarement attestée en grec, au moins dans une forme d’un glossaire: **glakkòn. galathēnòn.** Hes., dans un dérivé. Et l’on observe des flottements entre **k** et **g**; Homère a **glágos** et **periglagéas** (acc. plur.) tandis que le crétois a **klagós**; le vocalisme est aussi flottant: Homère a **glaktophágos** et on lit chez Hesychius **glakkónes mestai gálkatos** (v. Boisaq, Dict. etym. de la l. gr., p. 1102, et la biblio-graphie citée).

Le latin **lac**, **lactis** ne se laisse rapprocher d’une forme grecque **glakt-** qu’à la rigueur, à cause de l’absence de la gutturale initiale. Et le mot grec n’a aucun correspondant ailleurs.

Le mot grec et le mot latin, qui ont entre eux une grande ressemblance, s’accordent du reste à présenter le vocalisme “populaire” à.

Dans une autre région dialectale de l’indo-européen, on observe une concordance limitée à deux langues: le mot du type archaïque ved. **dádhi, dadhnáh** désigne le “lait aigre”; la langue religieuse en a tiré parti, et on trouve **dadh(i)y áśirah somásah** les **somas** mélangés de lait (aigre). Or, en vieux prussien, le vocabulaire d’Elbing a le neutre **dadan** comme nom du “lait”, et **rustan dadan** “säuermilch” (lait aigre.) Les langues baltiques autres que le vieux prussien et les langues slaves ignorent le mot. On a l’impression qu’il y a ici un nom à redoublement; or, dans les noms indo-européens, le redoublement est une des caractéristiques du type “populaire”. Sur le timbre de la voyelle de la syllabe initiale, on ne peut rien dire, puisque l’**a** baltique comme l’**a** védique peut reposer sur **o** aussi bien que sur **a**; le vocalisme “populaire” à n’est pas exclu.

Un autre groupe de noms du “lait” se trouve à la fois en indo-iranien et en baltique, mais sous des formes différentes dans les deux familles de langues. Le sanskrit a **páyah, payasah**, à quoi l’Avesta récent répond par **payō**; c’est le nom du “lait” en tant que liquide nourricier. Mais l’Avesta aussi une autre

formation, **pāma**, et c'est au dérivé **pāmavaiti** que répond pour le sens véd. **páyasvatī**. Une chienne qui allaite est dite dans, l'Avesta **pāmaini**. Le letto-lituauien a un mot parent, mais qui ne concorde ni avec l'un ni avec l'autre des deux mots cités: lit. **piēnas** lette **piēns**. Le lituanien laisse, comme l'indo-iranien, apercevoir que tous ces mots appartiennent à une racine verbale: en lituanien **pap̄jusi kárve** se dit d'une **vac e** qui ne retient pas son lait, et **py'dyti** "faire donner du lait" (v. A. Walde-Pokorny, Vergl. **Wört** d. indog. Sprachen, II, p. 73 et suiv.). M. H. Pedersen, dans Grammatical Miscellany Jespersen. p. 65, a écarté avec raison le rapprochement qui a été proposé avec v. angl. **fæmne** "jeune femme".

Le sanskrit a un autre mot, **kṣirām** "lait" (**khīr** dans l' Inde actuelle), qui n'a de correspondants connus qu'en iranien: persan **šīr** etc.

Le mot skr. **māstu**, qui distingue la crème montée sur le lait aigre, a des correspondants en iranien, notamment persan **māst** "lait aigre", à côté du verbe **māsidan** "cailler". On rapproche souvent arm. **macanim** "je me colle" et "je me coagule"; mais c'est v. sl. **mazati** "enduire" et gr. **mágis** 'pâte pétrie' que la phonétique et aussi le sens de 'se coller' autorisent à rapprocher du mot arménien. Le mot indo-iranien est donc isolé.

Tous les substantifs cités jusqu'ici sont neutres, parce que le lait était en général envisagé comme un produit. Mais on pouvait aussi considérer le lait comme actif, et en effet l'Avesta oppose **xšvis** (nominatif), désignant le "lait" liquide, à **āzuitiš** qui désigne ce qui est solide; les **gāthā** ont l'accusatif **xšvidəm**.

On s'explique ainsi la différence entre le nom germanique du "lait", got. **miluks**, etc., qui est féminin, et le nom v. sl. **mlěko** (russe **molokó** etc.), qui est neutre. Les deux mots ne concordent pas dans le détail; car le mot germanique repose sur un radical **meleg**, et le mot slave sur un radical **melək**. La différence rappelle celle entre **gлаг-** et **glak-**—en grec. Mais on peut aussi se demander si le mot germanique n'a pas subi

l'influence de la racine signifiant "traire", v. angl. **melcan**, etc. La forme du mot slave exclut l'hypothèse d'un emprunt au germanique; et elle exclut également tout rapport d'origine avec la racine signifiant "traire" qui, en slave, est de la forme **melz-**; du reste, même en germanique, v. angl **meoluc** 'lait', n'est pas conciliable avec **melcan** 'traire'. Mais une 'étymologie populaire' est toujours possible, surtout dans un mot tel que le nom du 'lait'.

Il n'est pas surprenant que la racine signifiant 'traire' ait agi sur le nom du "lait". Car le celtique en a tiré le nom même du 'lait,' irl. **mlicht** (*blicht*), gall. **blith**. Les noms tokhariens, A **malke**, B **malkwer** paraissent aussi appartenir à la racine \***melg-**.

Dans l'**Atharvaveda**, x, 10, 30-31, la 'traite de la vache', **dug-dhām** **vāśāyāḥ**, s'oppose au nom propre du 'lait' **rāyah**; et, par la suite, **dugdham** 'ce qui a été traité' est devenu un nom courant du 'lait', si bien que **dūdh** est demeuré dans l'Inde actuelle au sens de 'lait frais'.

Le genre neutre de la plupart des noms qu'on vient de voir n'est pas inhérent à ces substantifs eux-mêmes, mais provient de la manière dont les choses étaient conçues. Car les mêmes substantifs, s'ils désignent des laitances (de poissons), sont du genre animé (féminin) : **lactēs** en latin, **molōki** en russe.

Les mots déjà indiqués n'épuisent pas, tant s'en faut, la terminologie du 'lait'. On s'est abstenu de citer ici les mots isolés comme arm. **kat'n** (gen. **kat'in**) ou alb. **dhate** (nom du lait aigre).

Si les noms du 'lait' sont variés, et parfois dans une même langue: le sanskrit ayant à la fois, dès le début, **payah**, **dādh** et **kṣīram**, l' Avesta ayant à la fois **payō**, **paēma**, **xšvis** (et de plus, une fois, on lit **xšiptavaiti** à côté de **pamavati**, et ce **xšipta** n'est pas isolé en iranien, voir le Wörterbuch de Bartholomae) c'est que le lait est envisagé d'une manière toute matérielle, comme une chose qu'on considère de manières diverses suivant l'état où il se présente et suivant les usages qu'on en fait,

On aperçoit ici quelque chose du vocabulaire technique indo-européen, et d'une technique féminine, chose exceptionnelle. Le vocabulaire indo-européen ne se bornait naturellement pas aux mots de la langue des chefs que présente en évidence la comparaison des langues indo-européennes et sur laquelle est fondée la grammaire comparée des langues indo-européennes.



# A NOTE ON THE HATHIGUMPHA INSCRIPTION OF KHARAVELA

*By L. D. Barnett*

In his very able and for the most part convincing paper on "Puṣyamitra and the Sunga Empire" in the Indian Historical Quarterly, vol. V. pts. 3 4, Rai Bahadur Ramaprasad Chanda adds to our many obligations to him by giving the true reading of the crucial passage in the Hathigumpha inscription which is commonly but wrongly supposed to contain a date. The actual letters of l. 16, according to the irrefutable evidence of the cast in the Indian Museum, are as follows: panatariya.....[m ?u?r?] iyakāle v o c h i n e c a c o y a t h i a g a s a t i k a m t a r i y a m u p ā d a y a t i\*.

With his ingenious interpretation of these letters I regret that I cannot agree, as it would require the change of **vochine** to **vochinam** and ignores the patent parallelism of the words **panatariya** and **satikamtariyam**, and I therefore venture to put forward with considerable diffidence a new version of the passage.

The Prakrit words of the passage may be naturally converted into Sanskrit and translated thus:—pañcāntarīya.....Mauryakāle (?) vyavacchinne ca catuhṣaṣṭyagram saptikāntarīyam [scil. kālam] utpādayati, "and when the Mauryan (?) time-reckoning ..... which consisted of lustres (antara) of five [years] each, had broken down, he founds [a new time-reckoning] consisting of lustres of seven years each and mounting up to the sixty-fourth year". With such a use of **antara** in the sense of successive periods of time compare e. g. **Manvantara**.

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\*The Rai Bahadur with extreme kindness has sent me a photograph of the passage as it is preserved on the cast, which shows no trace of the chisel-mark where Bhagvanlal Indraji reddi, mu, and only an uncertain trace of an r.

It is well known that in early time a lustre or **yuga** of five solar years of 366 days each, amounting in all to 1830 days, was in use, and that subsequently 12 **yugas** of five years each were combined to make up the cycle of Br̥haspati (Jupiter) or **Bārhaspatya samvatsara-cakra**, which comprises 60 years and thus forms a period combining the five-year solar **yugas** with the twelve-yearly cycles in which Jupiter completes his sidereal revolution. It is this system of five-year **yugas**, I believe, to which Khāravela here refers when he speaks of "the Mauryan(?) time-reckoning consisting of lustres of five [years] each". The system apparently had broken down and ceased to work in Kaliṅga, in other words, astronomical calculations were unable to harmonise the solar with the lunar year; and to reform the calendar, it would seem, Khāravela introduced a new cycle of 64 years consisting of 9 **yugas** of 7 years each (*viz.* 1-7, 8-14, 15-21, 22-28, 29-35, 36-42, 43-49, 50-56, 57-63) with a concluding 64th year. On what astronomical principles this attempt at calendarial reform was based we cannot tell. Apparently it aimed at harmonising somehow the cycle of Br̥haspati with the solar year. It is worth nothing that, as according to the Sūryasiddhānta a year of the cycle of Br̥haspati is about 4·232 days less than a solar year, this deficiency in seven years would amount to 29·624 days, nearly agreeing with the length of the synodic month of  $29\frac{1}{2}$  days, and this deficiency could then be made good by intercalation of an **adhika** month.

For the odd 64th year the following explanation may be suggested. If, as is quite possible, the cycle started from a day other than the first of the calendarial year, say the day of Khāravela's coronation, a year reckoned from this starting-point would run over into the next calendar year; hence after the completion of the 63rd year of the cycle there would remain a certain space of time, less than a calendar year, between the end of the 63rd year of the cycle and the termination of the calendar year in which that end fell. For instance, suppose the calendar

began the year with Caitra, and that the cycle of Khāravela started on the first day of Kārttika; then the 63rd year would end on the last day of Āśvina, after which there would be a period of 5 months (Kārttika to Phālguna) which would be reckoned as the 64th year, after which the following 7 months (from the first of Caitra to the end of Āśvina) would be counted as constituting the first year of a new cycle. Thus the last year and the following first year would in reality comprise only one true year, and the cycle would consist altogether of not more than 63 real years. Such a practice is not unknown: a parallel may be quoted from the Añka or "Onko" system of Orissa (which, it should be observed, was the home of Khāravela), according to which "when a prince dies in the middle of an Onko year, his successor's 1st Onko which commences on his accession to the throne, does not run its full term of a year, but ends on the 11th day of Bhādrapada-Suddha following; consequently the last regnal year of the one and the first of the other together occupy only one year, and one year is dropped in effect" (Sewell and Dīkshit, The Indian Calendar, p. 38).

As the first letter of the word **muriya** in the inscription is quite uncertain, one is tempted to suggest that after all the reading **muriya** may be erroneous, and should be corrected to **suriya**: the system of five-year lustres is a **solar** one. The Rai Bahadur further tells us that before **muriya** are traces of four or five letters which are now "totally defaced". These were read by Bhagvanlal Indraji as **sathivasasate raja-**, and by Mr. Jayaswal as **satasahasehi**. Very little reliance can be placed upon either of these decipherments: but as the inscription was probably in better condition when first found by Bhagvanlal, his reading of the first four letters, **sathivasa**, may possibly be right, and if so, it will support my interpretation. For it means that the cycle superseded or amended by Khāravela was the cycle of 60 years, i. e. of 12 lustres of 5 years each, and may we

conjecturally restore the text to panatariya-sathivasage, . . . . . in Sanskrit pañcantariya-śaṣṭi-varṣāgre . . . . .

A slight difficulty in the way of accepting the above suggestions arises from the fact that *pañca* in the sense of *pañcakam* or *pañcikā*, a group of five, is somewhat unusual; but *pañcāntaram* in the meaning of ‘an interval of five [years]’ may be justified by compounds like *páñcahotā* (RV. V. xl. 1). It may also be remarked that *saptikā* in place of the common *saptakam* is without authority; but it is fully justified by the analogy of *pañcikā*.

# SOME SANSKRIT AND PALI NOTES

By Jarl Charpentier

## 1. Skt. *avadhvamsa*.

In AV. V, 22. 3 we read the following words: *yah paruṣīḥ pāruseyo 'vadhvamṣa ivāruṇāḥ, takmānam viśvadhvāviryādhārañcam para suvā*, where apparently takman, the demon of fever<sup>1</sup>, is spoken of as being “red as *avadhvamsa*.” To this word is ascribed in the dictionaries the sense of “sprinkling, powdering” (Hc. an. IV, 324; Med. p. H 47); and Boehlking - Roth, quoting the AV.-passage, translate the word with “dust” or “flour”.

Professor Lüders some years ago<sup>2</sup> dealt with this verse in the Atharva-Veda and translated the words in question “rot wie Streupulver”, at the same time suggesting that *avadhvamsa* should really mean the same as as *manahślā*, red arsenic, which like the yellow one (*haritāla*) seems to have been frequently used, already at an early time, for paint and powder, for making *tilakas* etc. Although such a suggestion is altogether justified it seems that we can perhaps, with the aid of a fairly late source, fix beyond doubt the real sense of *avadhvamsa*. For, we find in Hemacandra’s *Desināmamālā*, 1,163 the following words: *ohamso candanam candanaghārṣanaśilā ceti dvyaarthah*. The word *ohamsa*- consequently means “sandal” and “a stone for rubbing sandal into powder”. In the sense of “sandal” it is undoubtedly a *tadbhaya* from *avadhvamsa*- and thus proves that this word in the AV.-passage must mean “red sandal”. Again in the sense of “rubbing stone” it is apparently identic with *ohariso.....candana-gharṣana-*

(1) He is said to make men and all beings “green” or “yellowish green” (*harita*, AV. V, 22, 2; VI, 20, 3; cf. I, 25, 2. 3). In VI, 20, 3 he is called *aruna* “red” and *babhu* “tawny” etc.

(2) Cf. Aufsätze... Ernst Kuhn gevidmet (1916), p. 321 sq.

silā in the Desināmamālā 1,169 and must be derived from Skt. \*avaghṛṣṭa.<sup>1</sup>

Takman, the fever demon, is red in colour like red sandal. For, red is the colour of blood, of death, of fear; it is frequently the colour of evil spirits but also the one with which you scare them off, with which you turn off the evil eye and other malign influences.<sup>2</sup>

## 2. P. asimālā.

The Culladhammapälajātaka (358) is one of the most insipid and unattractive of all the texts belonging to the great collection of Jātakas and bears a certain similarity to the often rather unsavoury tales of the various arts of self-sacrifice practised by the Bodhisattva. It tells us how King Mahāpratāpa of Benares got angry with his seven months old son (the Bodhisattva) because his mother paid too much heed to him, and decided to have him killed. He thus called for the chief executioner (coraghātaka)<sup>3</sup> and ordered him to fetch the child and successively to slash off its hands, feet and head.<sup>4</sup> At last even the mangling of the lifeless

(1) The Petersburg Dict. only gives avaghṛṣṭa- in the sense of "rubbing off"; but there is no doubt that \*avaghṛṣṭa- must mean the same thing.

(2) On red as a magic colour cf. above all the articles of Professor Zacharīe in VOJ. XVII, 135 sq. 211 sq. and Kleine Schriften p. 233 sq.; also my article on pūjā in the Festgabe, H. Jacobi p. 276 sq. (reprinted in the IA, LVI; on pūjā Cf. also M. Przyłuski, Revue de l'Hist. des Religions XCV, 347 sq.).

(3) Here as in Jātaka 313 and elsewhere he carries yellow robes (kāsiyavattha) and garlands of red flowers; his chief instrument is an axe (phārasū). In Jātaka 313 he carries a thorny whip (kaṇṭikakasā) while in our text he is provided with an upadhāna-ghaṭkā (a word, it seems, of uncertain sense but which must mean the same as dhāmmaganṭhikā in Jātaka I, 130, 24. 27, viz. "an executioner's block"). On yellow colour in magic etc. cf. Festgabe, H. Jacobi p. 296 n. 4 where these passages have, unfortunately, been left out.

(4) It seems obvious that the verses of this Jātaka are in disorder and do not tally with the prose version. The order should probably be 4-5, 1, 6, 2-3.

corpse is ordered by the unnatural father: “asitundena nām paṭicchitvā asimālam nāma karohiti”. So<sup>1</sup> tassa kalevaram ākāse khipitvā asitundena paṭicchitvā asimālam nāma katvā mahātale vippakiri (Jātaka III, 180, 23 sq.).

The general trend of the narrative is quite clear: the executioner throws the corpse into the air, catches it on the point of his sword and then in some way, cuts the corpse to pieces and flings them all over the palace-roof. In the following the poor mother is made to collect the scraps of flesh and put them in her lap. However, the word asimālā does not seem to be sufficiently clear; nor does the second passage where it occurs, viz. Dāthā-vamsa III, 45<sup>2</sup>, make it clearer as this verse simply sums up the main contents of our Jātaka:

yo Dhammapālo api sattamāsa-  
jāto padutṭhe janake sakamhi  
kārāpayante asimālakammam  
cittam no dūsesi Patāparāje.

However it seems sufficiently obvious that asimālā “sword-garland” must mean some peculiar trick by which a corpse impaled on a sword is at the same time quartered and the pieces made to spread into different directions.<sup>3</sup>

(1) Viz., the coraghātaka.

(2) JPTS. 1884, p. 128.

(3) The PTS. Pali Dict. I, 88 gave an absolutely senseless interpretation of the word but this has been corrected in Corrigenda to pt. I (inserted between n and p, the curious pagination not admitting any better way of quoting the passage) and s. v. māla-. Inspite of Kern, Toevogeselen, I, 161 there scarcely exists any word māla-, māla- “mud”. In Jātaka, VI, 400, 13 “pitch” would be a much more sensible translation; and ibid. II, 416, 12 sq. mālākacavara- probably means “a heap of withered garlands” (under which the corpse of Sundari was concealed just as in the Mrchakatikā the rogue conceals Vasantasesanā under a heap of fallen leaves; the meaning of p. kacavara- becomes still clearer by a Prākrit word which must in some way belong here, viz., kayāro kajjavo tathā katavaro trṣādyutkarah, Desināmālā, 2, 11). and in Mil. p. 117. there cannot be the slightest doubt that phenamālā means “wreathes of foam”—a not uncommon mode of expression.

The word *asimālā* "sword-garland" seems to me to have an illustrative parallel in certain expressions that have formed round that most horrid mode of punishment, *viz.* the impaling on a stake. First of all we find the expression *uttāseti* (generally identified with Skt. *uttamsayati*) for which some examples from the Jātaka-book may be sufficient. In Jātaka, I, 326, 2 we read the following order of a king: "āghātane sīsam assa chinditvā sariram sūle uttāsethā 'ti'; in II, 443, 6 we meet with the expression: tam pana purisam jivasūle<sup>1</sup> uttāsesum (where in V, 2 the sūla is spoken of as *asi* and *śakti*); in III, 34, 6-7 we are told that *tasmim pana kāle cōre gahetvā nimbasūle uttāseti* (in the same text III 34, 25-26: *coram gahetvā rājāno gāme kibbisakārakam appenti nimbasūlasmīm*)<sup>2</sup>; in IV, 29, 2-3 the king orders his men concerning the ascetic Mandavya: "gacchatha, nam sūle uttāsethā 'ti", and ibid. 11, 13-14 the ascetic speaks thus to his executioners: "sace mam sūle uttāsetukām' attha kovijārasūlam āharathā 'ti'. On the same page I, 18 there occurs the participle of this same verb in the expression *sūle uttāsito* "he is impaled on a stake"; and the identical expression is found in I, 499, 14 while in I, 500, 11-13 we again meet with the words *sūle uttāsetha* and *sūle uttāsesum*. Finally we also find a substantive, *uttāsana* "impalement" in II, 444, 1.

Now there is no doubt that p. *uttāseti* is Skt. *uttamsayati*, a derivative of *uttamsa* "wreath", and means "to adorn with a

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(1) Cf. the curious expression in *Divyāvadāna*, p. 417 8: *jīvantiśūlām atha kārayāmi*. There are different modes of impaling a dead corpse or a person who is still alive.

(2) The *Nim* tree (L. *Melia Azadirachta*) which is sacred to various gods seems to have sometimes enjoyed a "sinister" reputation though it is also useful in several ways, cf. e.g. Witts, Commercial Products, p. 780; Sir George Grierson, Bihar Peasant Life p. 391; Enthoven, Bombay Folklore pp. 137, 139 sq. 224, 246, 262, 264, 342 etc.

(3) This verb is found in the *Mukundānandabhihāna* 12, 4; 23, 6; cf. also *samuttamsita* in *Dharmaśarmābhuyuda*, 4, 39.

The substantive *uttāsaitta* in Ayār. *sutsa* p. 7, 1 (Schubring) must, I suppose be taken to be \**uttrāsayitar*—and not \**uttamsayitar* (Pischel, Pkt. Gr., § 582 less correctly takes it to be = *uttrasayitvā*)

wreath, a garland". The grim humour has thus described the poor wretch impaled on the stake as a sort of wreath adorning this horrible instrument of torture. No doubt the same sort of grim and expressive humour underlies the word *asimālā* which, unfortunately, I have only been able to find in the passage quoted above<sup>1</sup>.

In Sanskrit we seem to have at least one passage where the verb *ava-tams-* is used in the same sense in which we have here found *ut-tams-* being made use of. Professor R. Schmidt in his supplements to the Petersburg Dictionary quotes from the *Daśakumāracarita* p. 41, 16 the expression *śūlavatamsita*,<sup>2</sup> which must mean exactly the same as *śūle uttāsita* in Pali, i.e. "placed like a wreath on the stake". Though there would always be a possibility that *uttāseti* could, by the way of *\*ōtāseti*, be derived from *ava-tamsayati* this does not seem at all necessary. We may rest content that both *śūle avatamsayati* and *uttamsayati* meant the same thing and that they may both throw some light on the word *asimāla* dealt with here.<sup>3</sup>

### 3. Skt. Kalevara.

To Skt. *Kalevara* correspond in Pāli *kalebara*, *kalebara*, *kalevara*- and in the "Sanskrit" of the Northern Buddhists *kadevara*<sup>4</sup>; once we find even a form *kađepara*<sup>5</sup>. According to

(1) There is another expression which is somewhat parallel in sense to *uttāseti*, viz., *śūle āvunāti* "to impale" (properly "to string, tie, fix, to a stake") e.g. *Jātaka*, III, 35; *āvunāpeti*, III, 218; *āvuta*- "impaled"; V, 145; VI, 105 of fishes stuck on a spit, etc.; cf. Morris, JPTS. 1884, p. 91.

(2) Though I have looked through all the editions of the *Daśakumāracarita* available to me I have, unfortunately, not been able to identify the passage.

(3) A parallel expression is found in the term *jotimālaka*- "the garland of fire", denoting some other horrible form of torture, Mil. P. p. 197 etc. The way of procedure is not quite clear (cf. Spence Hardy, Eastern Monachism p. 32; Kern, Toevøegselen I, 46); I suppose it means wrapping the body in oiled wreaths of cotton and putting fire to them.

(4) E. g. *Divyāvadāna* p. 39, 11; *Avad. śat.* II, 26, 1 (the same phrase in both passages).

(5) Leumann Zur nordar. Sprache u. Literatur p. 41 n.

the researches of Professor Lüders Festschrift Wackernagel p. 294 sq. the -d- or -j- shou'd everywhere, when found besides a dental -l-, be the primary sound; and although his conclusions are at times rather uncritical<sup>1</sup>, I should feel inclined to think that this is most'y—though not always—the case. However, it is not my purpose here to try to find for *kalevara-* any etymological connection which would probab'y be a quite hopeless task; I only want to add a few remarks concerning the real meaning of the word.

*Kalevara-* is generally said to mean "the body" and "a dead body, a carcass" which undoubtedly seems to be the case. If that be so, it is, however, extremely difficult to find out what underlies the Pāli expression *sopāna-kalevara-* which in Majjh. Nik. II, 92 apparently means "(the step in) a flight of stairs" and which is certainly to be preserved in CV. V, 21, 2 (=Vin. Piṭ. II, 128) as being the lectio difficilior instead of *kaliṅgara* adopted by Oldenberg<sup>2</sup>. This again goes far to explain an otherwise puzzling expression in the Jain Uttarādhyayanasūtra 0, 35 where we read:

kakalevarasenīm uttiyā siddhim Goyama loyam gacchasi |  
hemam ca sivam arṇuttaram samayam Goyama mā pamāyaell|

The word *akalevarasenī* is explained by Devendra in his *ṭīkā* in the following way<sup>3</sup>: *akalevaraśrenih* | *avidyamānam kadevaram eṣām akadevarāḥ siddhāḥ teṣām śrenir akadevaraśrenih* etc, which only shows that even a good commentary

(1) This is exemplified by such passages as that dealing with the name of the pomegranate (Skt. *dādima-* etc.,) on p. 305; as Dr. Laufer, Sino-Iranica p. 282 sq. had previously shown the word is traceable to some Iranian name of this tree which is decidedly not a native of India. Nor does the paragraph dealing with *kala-* and *kāla-* (p. 300 sq.) inspire entire confidence etc.

(2) And also by Kern, Toevogelselen, I, 141.

(3) Cf. my edition of the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* p. 319).

like that of Devendra is apt to produce, in dubious cases, - almost unlimited nonsense. For, compared with the Pāli word it is at once obvious that akalevara-śreni can mean nothing but "a ladder without steps or rungs".

As it would be rather out of the way to assume the existence of two different words kalevara (kadevara- etc.) one is entitled to ask for some sort of connection between the meanings, "body, carcass" and "step of a flight of stairs, rung of a ladder". Such a connection, I venture to believe, is established by the Prakrit word kalero kaṇkālah karālaśca (Desināmamālā 2, 53, cf. Trivikrama I, 3, 105) which Pischel<sup>1</sup> has correctly derived from kalevara<sup>2</sup>. This seems to make the whole thing tolerably clear: kalevara- (kadevara-) originally means "the ribs, the thorax", and it thus naturally enough developed the sense of "carcass" and "body". As, on the other hand, the steps in a flight of stairs or the rungs of a ladder were not ineptly compared with the ribs of the thorax this gave rise to the expressions sopāna-kalevara- and akalevara-śreni- dealt with above. Thus sopāna-kalevara- originally means something like "the ribs of staircase".

#### 4. P. itṭhi.

In the Mahānāradakassapajātaka (544), V. 22<sup>3</sup> we read in the description of an excursion of the King of Videha:

Tam anuyāyum bahavo itṭhikhaggadharā bali  
assapiṭṭhigatā dhīrā narā naravarādhipam.

The commentary does not explain the word itṭhi<sup>4</sup>, and it does not seem to have been understood. For, Kern, Toevoegselen I, 139 suggests that the true reading should be iddhakhaggadharā "carrying flaming swords "which is accepted without further commentaries by the PTS Pali Dict. I, 119.

(1) Bezz. Beitr. VI, 95; Pkt. Gr. §149.

(2) I do not here touch upon kalera- = karāla- as I shall hope to deal with that later on.

(3) Jātaka ed. Fausbøll VI, 223, 18.

(4) For which the Ms. B<sup>a</sup> = reads inda<sup>b</sup>.

It is, of course, scarcely methodical to exchange the lectio difficilior *it̪hi*<sup>o</sup> against an *iddha*<sup>o</sup> which has not even the real support of the manuscripts. Besides there is not the slightest doubt that *it̪hi-* must be explained as being the Pāli form of Skt. *r̪ṣṭi-*, a word that originally means “a spear”<sup>1</sup> but is also given by the lexicographers as meaning “a sword”<sup>2</sup>. So it remains somewhat difficult to decide whether we ought to translate here “carrying spears and swords” or “carrying *it̪hi-* swords, the special form of swords called *it̪hi*”, but on the whole I think there can be little doubt that the former one must be the correct translation of the passage.

Of this word no other Middle Indian forms seem so far to have become known. But from the modern languages I find in the excellent work of M. Bloch Mar. *itā*, *viṭa* “pique servant de masse d’armes”, *iti*, *vit* “bâton servant au jeu de *itidandū*” as well as *hi. ithi*, *itī* and *si. itī*. From the meaning of the Marāṭhi words it seems obvious that the word has conserved through the ages its old sense, *viz.* “a spear”, and that such should also be the sense of p. *it̪hi-*. On the other hand the sense of “sword” seems especially to belong to the late “Sanskrit” form *r̪iṣṭi-* which is found also in pkt. *r̪it̪hi* (*khadga iti r̪iṣṭisabdabhabavah*, *Desināma-mālā*, 7, 6). Of this form no modern representatives are known to me.

### 5. P. *danta-pona-*.

The PTS Dict. knows two words *pona-* both of which its authors, though with some doubt, seem to regard as being identical. The one of them, which means “sloping down, prone, sloping towards, leading to”, must undoubtedly be identic with the Vedic

(1) In the Rigveda it is the special weapon of the Maruts.

(2) Cf. e. g. *Amarakosa*, I, 8, 2, 57 (=I, 8, 90 ed. K. G., Oka). Kṣirasvāmin who suggests two different etymological derivations (for *r̪ṣṭi-* and *r̪iṣṭi-*) does not tell us what sort of sword it means.

(3) La formation de la langue Marathe, p. 294 (cf. p. 156).

word **pravapa-** the sense of which is clearly “declivis, pronus”<sup>1</sup>: The other word **pona-** however, only occurs in the compounds **danta-pona-** and **°ponika-**, and there can be no doubt that it must be a word of wholly different origin.

**danta-pona-** means “a tooth-pick” and is known to me from the following passages: in **Jātaka IV**, 363, 7 sq. the wise minister **Vidhūra** describes to King **Kauravya** certain Brahmins who deal in perfumes, fruit etc.:

hāriṭakam āmalakam ambajambuvibhīṭakam |  
labujam dantaponāni beluvā padarāni ca||  
..... . . . . . vipaṇenti janādhipa.||<sup>2</sup>

In **Mil**, p. 15 **dantaponā-** is used interchanging with **danta-kattha-**, the well-known twig used for cleansing the teeth. And in **Vin**, P. IV, 90, 5.7; **Jātaka**, IV, 69, 15 and **Paramatthajotikā** II, 272, 12 it is used in the compound **udaka-dantaponā-**. Finally there is the derivative **dantaponaka-** in **Dāṭhāvamsa**, 1, 57:<sup>3</sup>

dume pi Rājāyatane samādhinā  
vihāsi rattindivasattakam muni |  
sahassanetto atha dantapuṇakam  
mukhodakañ cāpi adāsi satthuno||<sup>4</sup>

As the meaning of “tooth-pick, tooth-brush” is quite clear there can be no doubt about the real derivation of the word: **dantaponā-** is = Skt. **danta-pavana-** which is only found in

(1) I am totally at a loss to understand the circuitous explanation of the PTS Pāli Dict.: from **pra+ava+nam-**; **pravapa-** could have nothing to do with **nam-** unless we derive it from \***prā-nava-<\*pra-nama-** which is incredible, not to say impossible. As for **pravana** I should prefer to keep to the old etymology (cf. Bopp, Gloss. Sanscr. p. 254; A. Kuhn, Zeitsch. f. vgl. Spr. III, 399 f.; Ebel ibid VI, 212; W. Meyer. ibid XXVIII, 165; Froehde Bezz. Beitr. III, 10; Solmsen, Studien z. lat. Laut gesch. p. 97) according to which it is really identical with Lat. **prōnus** (from \***proueno-**).

(2) Fick, Social Gliederung, p. 142 has translated **paarānid** with “Bretter” (“boards”); as in VI, 529, 21 it is a false reading instead of **badarāni**.

(3) JPTS, 1884, p. 115.

(4) In the **Mahāvagga**, I, 4 there is no mention of this.

Suśruta and may well be a later formation than the Pāli word. This, however, is of no consequence; for, *\*pona-* is pavana-meaning “an instrument for cleansing, rinsing (the teeth)”.<sup>1</sup>

The *-ṇ-* in *\*pona-* is out of order from the ordinary point of view and simply belongs to those not uncommon cases where Pāli shares with the later Prakrits the cerebralisation of an inter-vocalic *-n-*. A word of exactly the same formation is *mona-* “a basket for keeping snakes”, Hc. au. II, 151; it must be derived from Skt. *\*mavana-*<sup>2</sup> which belongs to *mav-* “to bind” (Pāṇ. VI, 4, 20). Another word which seems to be identical in its structure with these both is p. Pkt. *lona-* “salt” (for which the modern vernaculars, as is well known, have forms beginning with *l-* or *n-*)<sup>3</sup>. There, however, already the Sanskrit shows a cerebral in the form *lavanya-*. The etymology of this word remains unknown;<sup>4</sup> there is nothing to correspond to it even in the Iranian languages.<sup>5</sup> Nor can the exact meaning be said to be absolutely clear; at any rate the meaning of the derivation *lavanya-* might easily suggest that the original sense was both that of “salt” and “sweet”—a case which is by no means without parallels. However, this is probably not the case: *lavanya-*

(1) For the sake of the meaning cf. *pavani* “a broom”. Whether *poniā sūtrabhṛt tarkuh* (*Desināmamālā*, 6, 61) could be connected with these words I dare not decide. If so it would correspond to Sanskrit *\*pavānikā*.

(2) In Indog. Försch., XXIX, 399 n. 3. I less correctly derived it from *\*mauna-*.

(3) Cf. e.g. Bloch, La formation de la langue Marathe, p. 400.

(4) The suggestions of professor Reichelt, Streitberg Festgabe, p. 295 sq. are wholly unconvincing.

(5) The Indo-Iranian languages have no common name of the salt; nor do they share in the common European name of this mineral, which was something like *\*säl-d*, *\*sal-n-ēs* (cf. J. Schmidt, Pluralbildungen, p. 182 sq.). This still forms a weighty argument in favour of the theory that the unbroken Indo-European community did not know the use of salt (cf. Schrader, Reallexikon, 2nd ed., II, 273, and the present writer in BSÖS., IV, 156). The European tribes probably learnt to use it, after the separation from the Aryans, on the northern shores of the Black Sea.

originally meant "salt" and especially "sea salt".<sup>1</sup> The word is first met with in Av. VII, 76, 1; and there is, of course, no reason for thinking it impossible that the -n- could already at that time be due to "Prâkritic" influences.<sup>2</sup> However in, consideration of the curious interchange between śrona- : ślona- and śravana- : slavana- "lame, crippled" already in early texts<sup>3</sup> I should feel inclined to suggest that lavana- has really developed from an older form \*ravana- of which there is now no trace.<sup>4</sup>

We find a cerebral n in about the same position in the curious Pâli verb onojeti<sup>5</sup> "to cause to wash off, to cleanse; to give as a present, to dedicate (with the rite of washing one's hands)", onojana- "washing one's hands". According to Kern<sup>6</sup> this represents Skt. ava-nejayati, ava-nejana-; and although the suggested transposition of -e- into an -o- is extraordinary and unexplained there can be little doubt that this is really the correct explanation. In that case the cerebral -n- is rather out of order. We also find a verb onati "to drag away", Dhp. 13, 12 which, according to an old but still valid explanation is really = Skt. ava(apâ)-nayati.<sup>7</sup> Even here we find the cerebral -n- in a similar position; the same is the case in onamati, onamana-, onata- (inter-changing with o-nam- cf. Morris JPTS. 1887, 125).

(1) Compared with saindhava- "salt from the Salt Range" etc.

(2) No possible influence in the case of the cerebralisation can be ascribed to the neighbourhood of the l- sound; the form anulepana- mentioned by Wackernagel, Ai. Gramm. I, 194 is purely Prâkritic.

(3) Cf. Wackernagel, Ai. Gramm. I, 193.

(4) If this be so \*ravana-, lavana- is certainly a word which the Aryans picked up from some aboriginal stem in India. Certain Indo-European connections would perhaps suggest themselves, but they would certainly be far too hazy to be of any value whatsoever.

(5) Cf. Buddhism, p. 92; Toevoegselen II, 5. 138; also Morris, JPTS. 1887, 150; Müller, Pali Grammar p. 9.

(6) Cf. Pott, Etym. Forsch. I, 169; Wackernagel, Ai. Gramm. I, 194.

It is rather apparent that in all these cases the cerebral -ṇ- comes immediately after an -o-vowel.<sup>1</sup> The Sanskrit and Prākrit grammar knows of no possible influence of such a vowel in the direction of a cerebralisation of a following n, and it may be well doubted whether such an influence could really be traced. However, a cerebralised n̄ in such a position would be of very high age if the Rigvedic word oní- could also be brought under this head. The real meaning of this Vedic word seems to be far from clear;<sup>2</sup> according to the Nighantu 3, 30 the dual onyau means "heaven and earth", and Sāyanā, commenting on RV, X, 96, 12, interprets it as "finger", cf. the proper name dasoni-. Modern interpreters have tried, with no great success, still other possibilities.<sup>3</sup> But whatever may be the original meaning of oni-<sup>4</sup> I am firmly convinced that it is only a very early "Prakrit" form of avani-. Of this word there are three traditional meanings; according to Nighantu 1, 1 it is = prthivī, "earth", according to 1. 13 = nadi, "stream, river", and according to 2, 5 = aṅguli, "finger". No doubt the first and last one are those ascribed by the native tradition to oni-; and it seems fairly obvious that even the old Indians interpreters may have had a vague idea of the identity of these two words.

(1) Still other such instances present themselves within the Sanskrit dictionary as e.g. kona- and kaphoni- (on which cf. Morgenstierne, Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan p. 88; Chatterji, Bengali Language I, 315). But for these words no plausible derivations suggest themselves—at least not to me—and I highly doubt whether they can be considered as real Sanskrit words. For kaphoni- (there also seems to be kaphani- which is, however, doubtful) and the related Bengali and Iranian words a common original form can scarcely be found.

(2) A certain difficulty also seems to beset the Pali word oni- in cni-rakkha-, cf. Morris, JPTS. 1887, 150; Kern, Toevoegselen II, 5.

(3) Cf. e.g. Baunack, Zeitschr f. vgl-Sprf. XXXV, 520 sq.; Wackernagel, Ai. Gramm, I 191; Oldenberg, RV. Noten I, 61. II, 311; Neisser, Z. Wb. des RV. I, 197 f.

(4) The TS.-variant uni- seems to be of no importance.

### 6. P. rajassira.-

The Pāli word **rajassira-** is known to me only from the following six passages, five of which apply it as an epithet to ascetics or brahmins: *Suttanipāta* v. 980:

**ugghaṭṭapādo tasito pañkadanto rajassiro |**

“foot-sore, thirsty, with dirty teeth, covered with dust” (in the description of a wandering Brahmin); there is no commentary on the word here.

Jātaka IV, 184, 10 sq.:

**dīghuttarotṭhā jaṭilā pañkadantā rajassirā |  
inām vodāya<sup>1</sup> gacchanti tadā Kaṇho pamokkhati||**

“When ascetics with long moustaches, with braided hair, with dirty teeth, and covered with dust will live by usury<sup>2</sup> then will (the dog) Kṛṣṇa be let loose”. No commentary on **rajassira**.

Jātaka IV, 362. 25 sq.

**parūlhakacchanakhalomā pañkadantā rajassirā |  
okīṇṇī rajareṇūhi yācakā vicaranti te||**

“with long hair in the armpits and long nails, with dirty teeth and covered with dust, sprinkled with dirt and dust these (false Brahmins) run round like beggars.” No commentary on **rajassira**.

Jātaka IV, 371, 19 sq.

**isiñ ca dāni pucchāmi kisam dhamanisanthatam |  
parūlhakacchanakhalomam pañkadantam rajassiram||**

“Now I ask the lean ascetic with veins showing, the one with long hair in the armpits and long nails, with dirty teeth and covered with dust”. No commentary on **rajassira**.

Jātaka IV, 476, 23:

**cirassam vata passāma brāhmaṇam devavāṇinam |  
mahājaṭam bhāradharam pañkadaūtam rajassiram||**

(1) There is a v. l. *codāya* which would give a better sense (or rather would alone make the passage intelligible); but I do not see my way for explaining a form like \**codāya*.

(2) Such ought to be the interpretation according to the commentary.

"At last we get sight of the Brahmin of godly hue, with long braid, carrying his load, with dirty teeth, covered with dust". No commentary on **rajassira**.

Finally we find it in another connection in Jātaka IV, 398, 14:

upaniyati jivitam appamāyu  
jārūpanitassa na santi tāñā |  
karohi pañcāla mam'eta vākyam  
mā kāsi kammāni rajassirāni||

"Life, of short duration, draws towards its end, there is no safeguarding for one who has reached old age. O King of Pañcāla, act now (etc.) according to my word, fulfil no sinful actions". Commentary: **rajassiraniti kilesarajena okinnasisisāni**.

This commentatorial passage thus seems to derive **rajassira**- from **rajas-** "dust" and **sira(s)-** "head"; and such an opinion seems to have won the applause of modern scholars, cf. Kern, Toevoegselen II, p. 46 and PTS Pāli Dict. s. v.

There is in Sanskrit literature at least one passage known to me which might make us feel uncertain concerning such an explanation. In the Supaññādhyāya 8, 5 we read the following verse:

rajasvalo jaṭilah pañkadanta unniṭasikho vadati satyam  
eva |  
amitramadhye na bibheti mr̥tyoh sa brāhmaṇas tam sma  
mā han garutman||

(1) This eta the commentary explains as—**etam**. As far as I understand it is rather = **etta** "here" which is again = **etra** in Shāhbāzgarhi VI, 15 and is derived from \***itra** = av. **iura**, cf. Lassen, Institutiones, p. 129; Brugmann, Zeitschr. f. vgl. sprf. XXVII, 198 sq.; Johansson, Shāhbāzgarhi I, 19 sq. Here also belongs **ettha** "here, now" (with the same aspiration as in **tattha** etc.). On other explanations of this word cf. Kaccāyana II, 4, 23; Hemacandra, I, 57; III, 83; Fausböll, Dhammapada p. 350; Childers s. v.; Kuhn, Beiträge p. 21; S. Goldschmidt, Prākritica pp. 6. 21 ff.; ZDMG. XXXVII, 457 sq.; Pischel, Ved. Stud. I, p. XXXI n. 2; II, p. 88; Pkt. Gr. p. 89 sq.

"Covered with dust, with braided hair, with dirty teeth, with raised top-knot<sup>1</sup> he speaks the truth only; even in the middle of his foemen he fears not death—he is a Brahmin, kill him not, O Garutmant".

The word **rajasvala-**, which we meet with here, is found in other passages too in the sense of "covered with dust"; thus in the passages MBh VII, 1454 and 8896 (of warriors vanquished in battle) and IX, 1370 (of elephants fleeing before the onslaught of Bhīma). It is further found in the sense of "filled with **rajas**, with passion, sinful", a sense which tallies completely with that of **rajassira-** in Jātaka IV, 398, 14 (*kammāni rajassirāni*). As is well-known **rajasvala-** (in its feminine form) also means "a woman having her menses"<sup>2</sup> with which sense we are not concerned here. The formation of the word is prescribed by Pāṇini V, 2, 112 where the suffix **-vala-** (-valac) is applied to the words **rajas-**, **kṛṣi-**, **āsuti-** and **pariṣad-**; to these examples Patañjali adds some other ones, viz. **bhrātrvala-**, **puttravala-** and **utsaṅgavala-**. In the next sūtra (V, 2, 113) Pāṇini himself mentions two more **-vala-** formations, viz. **dantāvala-** and **sikhāvala-**, but with the addition that they are only used *samjñāyām*<sup>3</sup>; in sūtra VI, 3, 118 he mentions the allongation of the vowel preceding **-vala-** which takes place (e.g. in **dantāvala-**) when the syllable is not by nature a long one<sup>4</sup>.

It cannot escape our attention that the Pāli word **rajassira-** in both its senses tallies very well with those of **rajasvala-**. And according to my humble opinion there can be no doubt that the

(1) On this word cf. my work *Die Suparnasage*, p. 243 with n. 2.

(2) **rajas-** "dirt, impurity"<sup>5</sup> has the sense of "menses" already in the Nirukta, 4, 19 where it is derived from the root **ra(ñ)j**

(3) Still other examples are found in Renou, *Grammaire Sanscrite*, I, 261 where I miss **nādvala-** and **sādvala-** mentioned by Pāṇini IV, 2, 88.

(4) This allongation, however, does not seem to be de rigueur with Patañjali (cf. *puttravala-*etc.)

two words are in reality identical. That the suffix *-vala-* is only a variation, and generally a younger one, of *-vara-* is too well known to need any discussion here. It is therefore perhaps scarcely needed to derive a formation *\*rajasvara-* from *rajasvala-*; they could both have existed by side of each other, nay, *rajasvala-* could even have arisen out of *\*rajasvara-* through dissimilation. It has also been observed—*c.g.* by J. Schmidt, Vocalismus II, 211 sq.—that before an *r* the *a* does sometimes in Sanskrit (and Prākrit) show a tendency of developing into an *i*; thus *\*rajasvara-* could very well at a certain time and within a certain area have developed into *\*rajasvira-*. And such a form would of course, within Pāli develop into the existing *rajassira-*<sup>2</sup>. Thus we should find the following line of development: *\*rajasvara-* (= *rajasvala-*) > *\*rajasvira-* > *rajassira-*.

#### 7. Skt. *nistrimśa-*.

The Sanskrit word *nistrimśa-* according to Pāṇini V, 4, 73 and the commentaries must originally mean “more than, exceeding thirty”. It further means ‘a sword’ and also—chiefly according to lexicographers—‘cruel, merciless’.

That the word *nistrimśa-* meaning “a sword” does really mean “exceeding thirty (*aṅgula’s*)” is clear from Siddh. Kaumudi on Pāṇini V, 4, 73, from Kṣirasvāmin on Amarakośa, II, 8, 90, and from the commentary on Kauṭilya I, p. 61, 3 ed. Jolly, and should not be doubted as is sometimes done in modern works.<sup>3</sup>

(1) Of this development I have collected several examples with which I hope to deal later on as I cannot, for want of space, do it here. I should only like to point out that in cases like *giri-* = Avest. *gari-* or *śiras-* = Avest. *sarah-* the Sanskrit vocalism is no doubt a secondary one.

(2) Cf. examples like *assa- < aśva-*; *parissajati < pariśvajate* or *bhassara- < bhāsvara-*.

(3) Cf. e.g. PTS Pali Dict. s.v. *nettimsa*; to the passages quoted there might be added the following from the Jātaka: III, 338. VI, 153. 449.

What is wanted here is only to point to one or two passages from the Jātaka-book which definitely prove that this "etymology" is not any learned construction like so many modern ones. Thus in the well known tale of Prince Pañcāvudha and the ogre (Jātaka No. 55) we read in I, 273, 28: *tettimsamgulāyato khaggo lomesu yeva aliyi*; and in III, 338, 16 f., in the tale of a juggler, we find the following passage *eko pana puriso tettimsamgulam tikhiṇḍhāram asiratanam gilati*. These passages seem to prove that there existed a distinct sort of swords or rapiers the length of which exceeded thirty finger breadths<sup>1</sup>.

Why the length of this special sort of sword—no doubt even the *nistrimśa*—should be given as thirty-three inches is not clear. It may rest on a tangible fact, it may also simply be due to the phonetic similarity between the Pali forms *nettimsa* and *tettimsa*<sup>2</sup>. In any case it seems established even through popular texts that the grammatical explanation of the word *nistrimśa* is the correct one

### 8. P. Khajjopanaka-.

The word *khajjopanaka*<sup>3</sup> (sometimes also written *khajjūpanaka*)<sup>4</sup> means "a fire-fly" and occurs in several pass-

(1) Whether *nistrimśa*—“cruel, merciless” (a meaning known also in Pāli, cf. Jātaka IV, 118, 24: *nettimo ti nikkaruno*) is really the same word as *nistrimśa*—“a sword” is beyond my power of judgment.

(2) The origin and development of a form like *tēttimsa*=pkt. *tēttisa* is, unfortunately, not clear. That they should be derived from *trayastrimśat* (cf. Pischel, Pkt. Gr. p. 312.) seems to me possible but not very probable. Anyhow, how would it be possible that the same explanation should hold good also for p. *tāvatisma* and AMg. *tāvattisā*, *tāyattisā* as seems to be generally suggested? In general the development of the numeral for three in certain compounds seems to be open to doubt and objections (cf. my remarks in JRAS. 1926, p. 139 which I fully uphold in spite of the objections of Professor Turner, BSOS. IV. p. 363 sq.)

(3) The PTS Pāli Dict. s. v. wrongly gives *khajjopakana*; also the quotations from JPTS. 1908, are formally wrong.

(4) Cf. Trenckner, JPTS. 1908, p. 133 n. 1. with an explanation which, according to my opinion, can scarcely be correct.

ages of the Pāli canon. Keeping only to some passages in the Jātakas we find in II 415, 14 sq. how the heretic teachers (aññati-thiyā) lost their glory by the entrance on the stage of the Buddha like fire-flies by the rise of the sun. In VI, 330, 6 sq. the king of Mithilā has the following dream in connection with the conception of the Bodhisattva:

rājāṅgane catūsu kannesu cattāro aggikkhandhā mahāpākā-  
rappamānen' utṭhāya jalanti tesam majjhe khajjopanakappamāṇo  
aggi' utṭhahitvā tamkhaṇe yeva cattāro aggikkhandhe atikkam-  
itvā Brahmalokappamānen' utṭhāya sakalacakkavālam  
obhāsetvā ṭhito etc. And in VI, 441, 27 sq. the minister Devinda says of the foolish king: ayam rājā kim karoti, aggimhi sante  
khajjopanakam dhamati " what then is this king doing—in the presence of fire he blows at a fire-fly". Of the meaning of the word there can, consequently, be no doubt.

Nor is there any doubt that we have to start our explanation from a form \*khajjopana of which °ka- is only one of the usual -ka- formations. Now, in Sanskrit the name of the firefly is kha-dyota-; and it was only natural that Trenckner, in his extremely valuable Notes to the Milindapañha p. 59<sup>2</sup> should have tried to identify the Pāli and the Sanskrit word, ascribing to the neighbourhood of p (or) (u) the transition of t into p. However, such an explanation is scarcely possible as no clear case of a development t>p seems to be known.<sup>3</sup> And I thus venture to think that we must give up the direct identification of khadyota- with \*khajjopana-.<sup>4</sup>

(1) With this expression cf. the aṅgārah khadyotamātrab of the Chānd. Up. VI, 7, 3.

(2) JPTS. 1908, p. 109.

(3) It would perhaps be possible to suggest that kha-dyota (na)- had developed into \*kha-dyo(y)a(na)- and this further into \*kha-dyova(na). By a sharpening of the -v- this might finally have resulted in khajjopa-(na)-. But such a development seems to me too improbable to be taken into serious consideration.

(4) "khajjopana-", in such a case, should be = khadyotana- which is said to mean "sun." in Sanskrit.

It seems to me that \* khajjopana- could only be safely derived from a form \* kha-dyopana-. Now \* dyopana- would, of course, be intimately connected with a causative formation \* dyopayati of which Sanskrit, as far as my knowledge goes, does show no trace. It is, however, scarcely doubtful that such a formation might have originated in sheer mechanical imitation of really existing forms such as knopayati, gopayati, ropayati etc. And I should venture to find a real trace of a \* dyopayati in the AMg. forms ujjovemāna-, ujjoventa-, ujjoviya- which can scarcely be explained except from a causative stem \* ud-dyopaya<sup>1</sup>. Also the modern Indian languages seem to have preserved traces of such a formation<sup>2</sup>. If then traces of a form \* dyopayati be found in the AMg. as well as in the modern vernaculars there can be no hesitation about deriving p. \* khajjopana from an original from \*kha-dyopona.

#### 9. P. dussa.

In the Sasajātaka, in the story of the four wise and pious creatures we read the following verse spoken by the jackal (Jātaka III, 54, 1 sq.):

dussa me khettapālassa rattibhattam apābhataṁ,  
māṃsasūlā ca dve godhā ekañ ca dadhvārakam,  
idam brāhmaṇa me atthi etam bhutvā vane vasā 'ti.

"From yonder fieldwatchman I have taken away his supper: two spits of roast meat<sup>3</sup>, a lizard, and a pot of curds. This, o Brahmin, is what I have—eat it, and live in the forest".

(1) The explanation of these forms given by Leumann, Aupapātikasūtra p. 105 is undoubtedly wrong. Pischel on He. IV, 332; Pkt. Gr. § 246, although he does not mention any form \*ud-dyopayati, must apparently have been thinking of the same explanation that is given above.

(2) Such, at any rate, was the opinion of Pischel. I am at a loss to find out to what really amounts the explanation given by M. Bloch, La formation de la langue Marâthe p. 337 (s.v. *jopāvnem*). Could all the forms quoted there possibly be derived from dyotana-?

(3) Cf. Morris, JPTS. 1834, p. 91 whose translation of the word is, however, not necessary.

Here **dussa** is admittedly a *crux interpretatorum* and has at one time been fully discussed by Professor Andersen<sup>1</sup>. His own idea seems to be that we should read, with the Singhalese manuscripts, not **dussa** but **dussam** which should again be Skt. dūṣya—“corruptible, easily to be spoiled”. However, of the two alternatives **dussa** is undoubtedly the *lectio difficilior* which ought if possible to be explained, not to be simply neglected. Besides it seems curious that the jackal should design the proffered supper as “corruptible”—which, by the way, scarcely applies to roast meat and curds<sup>2</sup>.

The commentary has preserved a tradition according to which **dussa** does really mean **amussa**, and that tradition has been endorsed by such a great authority as Trenckner<sup>3</sup>. Henry<sup>4</sup> even goes to the length of putting **amussa** into the text which cannot well be right.

Personally I venture to think that **dussa**, although it seems not to be met with elsewhere, is the correct form. Of the pronoun **adah** we find in Pāli mainly a stem **amu-** (besides which **asu** in nom. sg. (m. f.)<sup>5</sup>, besides which there is the nom. acc. sg. n. **adum**).<sup>6</sup> Now just as besides **amum** we have **amussa** it would be well possible that besides **adum** there once existed a rather fortuitous formation **\*adussa** which in Sandhi could, of

(1) Cf. Pāli Reader II, p. 124.

(2) The translation “wrongfully” given by Francis and Neil Jātaka III, p. 16 is, as far as I understand, rather out of the question.

(3) Unfortunately, I am at a loss to find out where Trenckner has referred to the word — perhaps in his unpublished collections at Copenhagen.

(4) Precis de grammaire Pāli p. 94.

(5) Mainly the same conditions obtain in the Prākrits, cf. Pischel, Pkt. Gr. §432.

(6) Whether this form is really identical with the particle **ādu** I do not venture to decide.

course, easily develop into **dussa**. This I venture to think is the form of which we find a single trace in the Jātaka passage quoted above.

### 10. P. reruka-.

In Jātaka II, 230, 15 sq. a lady is represented as addressing her unfaithful husband with the following verse:—

tvam eva dānim akara yam kāmo vyapagamā tayi |  
·so 'yam appaṭisandhiko kharā chinnam va rerukan ti||

Here everything seems clear except the last pāda which is thus explained in the commentary: *kharo vuccati kakaco rerukamp vuccati hatthidanto, yathā kakacehi chinno va hatthidanto appaṭisandhiko hoti na puna purimanayena alliyati* etc. The translation of the verse would consequently run something like this: "thou hast now so arranged it that my love to thee has vanished; no more can it be patched up, just as little as an elephant's tusk cut in twain by a saw."<sup>1</sup>

The word **reruka-** = *hatthidanta-*, "elephant's tusk, ivory" is, as far as my very limited knowledge goes, only met with in this passage and seems to be of an entirely obscure origin.<sup>2</sup> An original form \***reru-**, of which this would be a derivation, is nowhere to be found, and even its formation seems rather obscure.

No doubt words exist, though few and far between, that would seem to betray the same morphological construction as the somewhat problematic \***reru-**. Of the two Rigvedic forms **perú-** and **péru-**, the meanings of which are not entirely clear, one is said to belong to **par-**, the other one to **pi-**;<sup>3</sup> and to one or the

(1) Some offence might be taken at the use of the ablative *kharā* instead of the instrumental; but such cases, I believe, are not altogether strange to Pāli.

(2) The suggestion of the PTS. Pāli Dictionary "probably dialectical" does not help us much further.

(3) On the meaning and etymology of the words **péru-** and **perú-** (which are often considered to be identical) one may consult e.g. Pischel, *Ved. Stud.* I, p. 81. sq.; Ludwig, Ueber Methode etc. p. 24; Hopkins, *Amer. J. Phil.* XIV, 31. 38; Baunack, *Zeitschr f. vgl. Sprf.* XXXV, 529 sq. 552. 557; Oldenberg, *RV.-Noten* I, 44 sq. II, 127.

other may belong the derivation **peruka-**, the name of a man in RV. VI, 63, 9. In III, 2, 159 Pāṇini mentions a **seru-** which should mean "binding, fettering" and be a derivation from the root **si-**. There is further the famous mountain-name **Meru-** which, as to its origin, is completely obscure<sup>1</sup>. Other derivations in **-eru**, of which there seem to exist a few<sup>2</sup>, are in the main wholly unclear to me and can throw no light on the history of **reru-, reruka-**.

There is, however, perhaps a way for shedding at least some light, faint as it may be, on the problematic **reru(ka)-**. There exists in Sanskrit the word **kareṇu-**, well-known since the time of the Great Epics—but probably not earlier—which means "an elephant" but in the overwhelming number of passages is of feminine gender and means "elephant-cow". This form also exists in Pāli (chiefly in the derivation **'kareṇukā**) and in the Prākrits where the AMg. and the Śaurasenī have preserved a form **kareṇu-** while **kareṇuyā** exists in the Jaina Mahārāṣṭri.\*

(1) I cannot find with Professor Kirsch, Kosmographie der Inder pp. 16\*. 182 that the suggestion of S. Goldschmidt Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprf. XXV, 610 sq. according to which **Meru** should belong to **smi-** is very plausible. On the contrary the existence of all the other forms of the name, viz. **Sumeru-, Neru-, Sineru-, Suneru-** etc., seem to me obviously to point in the direction of a foreign origin.

(2) Completely obscure are **maderu-** and **saneru-** in the puzzling hymn RV. X, 106, 6. 8 (cf. Bezzemberger, Beiträge II, 269 sq.; Henry, Mem. Soc. de Linguistique XIV, 172, 174; Oldenberg, RV.-Noten II, 329), also **a-tameru-** in VS. I, 23. **mitreru-**, according to Oldenberg, RV.-Noten I, 174, seems to be a compound. For **himelu-** in Vārtt. 7 on Pāṇini V, 2, 122 one might suggest an original form **\*himaryu-** (such is also the idea of Bezzemberger l. c.) if there were sufficient reason for assuming such a formation. Whether **seruma** (**dīpa**) which, according to Jātaka III, 187, 20 (cf. 189, 23), was the former name of Nāgadīpa suggests the existence of a **\*seru-** is probably wholly irrelevant as the word would in no case be of an Aryan origin.

(3) Cf. Pischel, Pkt. Gr. § 354.

Generally, however, the Pāli form is *kañeru-*, and this form is prescribed by the grammarians as being the one denoting the she-elephant also in the Prākrits.<sup>1</sup> From the passages I have looked up, viz. Jātaka II, 342, 3. 7. 20. 25; 343, 16; IV, 49, 20 (where *B<sup>47</sup>* have *karenu*); V, 39, 12; 50, 9; 416, 22; VI, 497, 1 it is quite obvious that *kañeru-* means "elephant-cow" and nothing else.<sup>2</sup> To me it seems fairly clear that the word *karenu-*, *kañeru-* originally meant nothing but "elephant-cow", and that its extension into the masculine gender is an innovation which is of no real importance for the original sense of the word.

Would it be too adventurous to suggest the *karenu-*, *kañeru-* is in reality a compound made up by the deteriorative particle *ka-*+ a word \**renu-* or \**neru-* meaning "an elephant's tusk". The compound would thus mean "having bad tusks" and would form a good epithet of a derisive nature applied to the elephant-cow. If so were the case I should venture to go a step further and suggest that this word \**renu-* or *neru-* were in reality identical with that *reruka*. "elephant's tusk" of which the Jātaka passage quoted above has preserved a scanty remembrance. The assimilation of \**renu-* or \**neru*>\**reru* would present no insurmountable difficulties; and on the whole I should deem it probable that \**neru-* (perhaps across forms like \**leru-*, \**leru-*) would be the preferable form. This also tallies with my opinion that of the two forms *kañeru-* and *karenu-* the former is the more original one. For, it is easier to believe that *kañeru* by the influence of *karinī*, should have developed into *karenu-* than to think of another way of development.

(1) Cf. Pischel ad Hc. II, 116.

(2) It baffles me why the PTS Pāli Dict. should give it the meaning "a young elephant".

(3) On this and related particles, cf. Wackernagel, *Altind. Gramm.* II: 1, 82 sq.; Charpentier, *Monde Oriental* XVII, 12 sq. etc..

If there really existed a word \**neru->reru(ka)*- meaning "elephant's task" it goes without saying that it is not of Aryan origin but belongs to one of the aboriginal languages of India<sup>1</sup>. It may at some period or other have been superseded by the Aryan denominations of elephant's tusk which are, like *danta*, *rada*- etc., of a rather pale and uninteresting nature.

### 11. P. Vyamha-.

A Pāli word *vyamha-* (v. l. *byamha-*) is known to me from the following passages:

Vimānavatthu 35, 1:

phalikarajatahemajālacechannam  
vividhavicitraphalaṁ addasam surammam  
vyamham sunimmitam toranūpanannam  
rājakūpakinṇam idam subham vimānam.

The commentary<sup>2</sup> explains the word and also tries an etymology which is, of course, impossible: *viharitukāmā vasanti etthā ti vyamham bhavanam*. The word consequently means something like "a mansion, a palace".

The other four passages are all from the *Jātaka*.

In IV, 464, 26 the king of Benares visits the palace of the Nāga Campeyya:

sa rājā pāvisi vyamham Campeyyassa nivesanam  
ādiccavannupanibham kāmsavijjupabhassaram

The commentary explains *vyamhan ti alamkātanāgabhavenam* which does not bring us much further.<sup>4</sup> Further in V, 454, 1, sqq. we read the following verse:

(1) If such be the case even the *ka* in *kāneru*, *karenu*- may not be the Aryan deteriorative *ka*- but something quite different. A scholar like M. Przyluski might suggest a solution; personally I am, unfortunately, wholly out of my-waters here.

(2) Paramāthadīpanī, pt. IV. (PTS Publ. 36), p. 160.

(3) Cf. Kern, Toevoegeisen II, 134. The passage V, 454, 3(cf. below) is misquoted both by Kern (as IV, 454) and by the PTS Pāli Dict. (as III, 454).

(4) The corresponding passage in the Mahāvastu (II, 186, 5 sq.) differs very much (cf. Charpentier, Monde Oriental VII, 42) and gives no word that would correspond to *vyamha*.

dibbakħiddaratiyo na dullabħā  
 cakkavatticaritañ ca mānuse  
 sovapnavyamhanilayā va accharā  
 ye caranti pamadāh' anatthikā

"Divine pleasures are not difficult to obtain, nor the state of Universal Emperor in a human existence,<sup>1</sup> nor the heavenly-nymphs sojourning in golden palaces to those who live away from the lewd womanfolk."<sup>2</sup> The commentary explains: *sovapnavyamhanilayā suvannamayavimānavāsinyo.*

In VI, 119, 9 sq. King Nimi accompanied by Mātali arrives at a crystal palace inhabited by fair Apsarases which is thus described:

pabhāsatī idam vyamhañ phalikāhi sunimmitam  
 nārivaraganākīṇñam kūṭigāravarocitam  
 upetam annapānehi naccagītehi c'ubhayam.

The commentary simply gives: *vyamhan ti vimānam pāsādo ti vuttam hoti.* Finally in VI, 251, 20 sq. the wise Nārada speaks thus to a king:

annahathā ea te vyamhe għosayantu pure tava:  
 ko chāto ko ca tasito etc.

Where the commentary runs thus: *vyamhe ca pure ca rājanivesane ca nagare ca.* Of the sense which the commentators attributed to *vyamha-* there can be no doubt: it means "palace, royal or heavenly abode".

I am far from sure that I can offer any explanation of this apparently old word which does not seem to occur in the later prose texts. If, however, a word *vyamhita-* does in some Jātaka passages stand for *vimhita-* = *vismita-*<sup>3</sup> which undoubtedly seems to be the case, could not *vyamha-* be = Skt. *veśman-*? This would undoubtedly develop into \**vēmha-*<sup>3</sup> or even \**vimha-*;

(1) This I suppose must be the sense here cf. VI, 175, 13: *na hi etādisā kāmā sulabhā honti mānuse.*

(2) Cf. Kern, Toevogsele II, 134.

(3) Cf. *sēmha* = *slešmau-* etc.

and the later form may perhaps, under circumstances unfortunately obscure to me, have further developed into *vyamha*.

## 12. Skt. Potra-.

According to Pāṇini III, 2, 183 and to later lexicographers a word *potra-* (which according to them is a derivative from *pū-*) means "a plough-share" and "a hog's snout". This word cannot, of course, be identical with another *potra-*, which occurs in the R̄igveda in the sense of "Soma-vessel used by the *potar*" or once (II, 1, 2) "the priestly function of the *potar*".<sup>1</sup>

The etymological connections of a word *potra-* "a plough-share"—the sense of "a hog's snout" is probably originally identical with this one—do not seem to be quite clear. Leaving aside the derivation from the root *pū-* we might suggest a relation with the word *pavi-* which according to Nīgh. 2, 20 means *vajra* and in the Nīr. 12, 30 is a synonym of *salya* "an arrow"; its other senses also seem to tally well with that of "plough-share".<sup>2</sup> And this leads further to *pavīra-* (Nīr. 12, 30) "a pointed weapon, a lance, a spear", *pavīrava-* "a thunderbolt", RV. I. 174, 4, and "provided with a metal edge (of a ploughshare)", TS. IV, 2, 5, 3, *pavīravant-* (with about the same sense), and *pavīru-*, which probably means "a thunderbolt".<sup>3</sup> It further seems to me that

(1) There seems to be still another word *potra-* which is partly explained by *vastra* and partly by *vajra*. Supposing the latter explanation to be the correct one it is no doubt identical with *potra* "a plough-share". If, on the other hand, there exists a *potra* = *vastra* this, I suppose, would be identical with p. *potthaka* "cloth" (of various descriptions) and ultimately also with *pottha* in Jātaka II, 432, 16.

(2) Cf. also *kṣura-pavi-* in ŚBr. III, 2, 6, 9 (cf. Charpentier Die Suparnasage p. 161.)

(3) On possible Persian relations of these words cf. Kora, Někotoryja persidskija etimologii (known to me only through Indogerm. Jahrbuch I, 74); the suggestion does not seem very convincing to me.

we must in some way or other connect these words with the Latin **putāre** the original sense of which seems to be "to cut";<sup>2</sup> the idea that the above-mentioned Indian words should in some way belong to Latin **pavīre**, which has again been connected with **putāre**, is by the way a time-honoured one,<sup>3</sup> though **potra-** has so far not been mentioned in this connection.<sup>4</sup>

*Upsala, October 1930.*

(1) Cf. Bugge, Zeitschr. f. vgl. Sprf. XIX, 416; Walde, Latein. etymol. Wb<sup>2</sup>. 627.

(2) Cf. e. g. Fick, Vergl Wb<sup>3</sup>. 1, 677; Curtius, Grundzüge der griech Etym<sup>5</sup>. p. 268.

(3) There seem to exist in Pāli two words **potthanī** 'a butcher's knife' and **potthanikā** 'a dagger'; but I dare not allow myself any judgement upon these somewhat doubtful words. No suggestion concerning them is made by Kern, Toevøegselen, II. 43.



## UVATA AND MAHIDHARA.

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Uvata and Mahidhara have both written commentaries on the Śukla Yajurveda i. e., the Vājasaneyisamhitā in the Mādhyandina recension.

There are several discrepancies in their commentaries. Their mutual relationship and chronology are not clear. In the introductory stanza, Mahidhara acknowledges his indebtedness to the commentaries of Uvata and Mādhava.\* From this, one would conclude that Uvata was earlier than Mahidhara. But in commenting on YV. XXIV. 3. Uvata remarks: महीधरोक्तमर्थं विलिखामि । शुद्धवालः शुद्धवालः etc. And the commentary of Uvata on this stanza as well as on stanzas XXIV. 3—19; 21—40; XXV. 1—13 is identical with that of Mahidhara. This tends to show that Uvata is later than Mahidhara and has borrowed the latter's commentary on several stanzas.

The express statements of the two commentators go to show that each is indebted to the other, that each has utilised the other's commentary. And the only conclusion which can possibly be drawn from this evidence is that the two writers were contemporaries. But such a conclusion is wrong as would be shown later on.

Further Uvata is described as a son of Jaiyata<sup>1</sup> in the

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\*प्रथम्य लक्ष्मीं नृहरिं गणेशं भास्यं विलोक्यौवटमाधवीयम् ।  
यज्ञुर्मनूनां विलिखामि चार्थं परोपकाराय निजेशाणाय ॥

१. आनन्दपुरवास्तव्यजैश्यटाख्यस्य सूनुना ।  
उवटेन कृतं भास्यं पद्वाक्यैः सुनिश्चितैः ॥

colophon at the end of Chapter XX but as a son of Vajraṭa<sup>2</sup> in the colophon at the end of Chapter XL.

The object of this paper is to examine these discrepancies and to remove them if possible.

There are several editions. It would be well to compare them in order to obviate the errors of a particular edition.

(a) The commentary of Uvaṭa ed. by Prabhudatta, son of Śrīghana īyāma, resident of Sirsakhedi. On p. 524, the following remark is found on XXIV. 3:—महीधरोक्तमर्थं विलिखामि । शुद्धवालः शुभ्रवालः etc. On p. 472<sup>r</sup>. Jaiyata is mentioned as the father of Uvaṭa but on p. 698.<sup>r</sup> Vajraṭa is stated to be the father of Uvaṭa.

(b) Śuklayajurvedasamhitā with the commentaries of Uvaṭa and Mahidhara ed. by Paṇaśikara, Bombay 1912. On p. 1 Mahidhara expresses his obligation to Uvaṭa but on p. 447 Uvaṭa says:—महोधरोक्तमर्थं विलिखामि etc. On p. 404 Jaiyata is stated to be the father of Uvaṭa but on p. 610, it is Vajraṭa.

(c) Śuklayajurvedasamhitā with the commentaries of Uvaṭa and Mahidhara ed. by Śri Rāmasakalamiśra, 4 Vols. Benares 1912-15. On p. 10. Mahidhara mentions Uvata as his predecessor. On p. 1212 the following note is added by the editor:—

अत्र महीधरोक्तमर्थं विलिखामोति पाठ औब्बटभाष्ये कस्मिन्शिचदादशेऽनेकं चिह्निपण्यां समुद्भृत इत्यनुभीयते परं तु मुम्बर्द्वितपुस्तके शोधकेन मूलभाष्य-शब्दं हठात् सन्निवेशिन इति वाराणसीस्थराजकीय संस्कृतवाडशालनैयौब्बटभाष्य-सुस्तकदर्शनात् सुस्पष्टं भवति ! स च पाठो मया त्यक्तः । महीधरभाष्यस्थानं सत्वेन पुनस्तत्त्वचिवेशस्थापयोजकत्वादिति सुधीभिर्भाष्ववीयग्रिति । इतः परं बहुषु स्थलेषु औब्बटभाष्यं भाष्यकृत्य कृतमेव नास्तीति पूर्वोक्तौब्बटभाष्यपुस्तक-दर्शनात् सुस्पष्टं भवतीति क्वच्यम् ।

2. आनन्दपुरचास्तव्यवज्ञातार्थस्य स तु ना ।

उवटेन कृतं भाष्यं पदवाक्यैः स्मृतिशिचते ॥

The editor does not seem to be aware of Prabhudatta's edition described in *a*, as he merely refers to the Bombay edition. Here also on p. 1094 Jaiyāṭa is stated to be the father of Uvāṭa but on p. 1795 Vajrāṭa is given as the name of Uvāṭa's father.

All the three editions agree in mentioning Jaiyāṭa as the father of Uvāṭa at the end of Chapter XX and Vajrāṭa at the end of Chapter XL.

Two editions agree in making Uvāṭa indebted to Mahidhara but the third denies the indebtedness and states that Uvāṭa did not write any commentary on certain stanzas. But the third edition also has no claim to be regarded as critical for it perpetrates the discrepancy with regard to the name of Uvāṭa's father. Its evidence therefore cannot be accepted with reliability. In any case its statement that Uvāṭa left a few stanzas without any explanation is incorrect as will be shown later on.

It is therefore necessary to examine the commentaries critically.

Internal evidence shows that Mahidhara's commentary is not an independent exegesis but a mere amplification of the work of Uvāṭa.

That the commentary of Mahidhara is a mere amplification of Uvāṭa is shown by the following example. Mahidhara lacks originality. He merely expands the remarks of Uvāṭa.

### XXXV. 16. Uvāṭa's commentary.

### XXXV. 16. Mahidhara's commentary.

तान् पूर्वया तान्देवापूर्वयाङ्कुञ्जिमया स्वयंभुवा निविदा ।  
निविच्छब्दो वाग्वचनः । हमहे आह्यामो धयम् । तान् ।  
कानित्यत आह । भग्नं मित्रमदिति दलमस्तमव्युत्सद्-  
भवाम् । दक्षस्येतद्विषेषणम् । अर्थमप्य वशम् सोमसमिवतो  
च । ये: सहिता सारस्वती सुभगा नः अस्माकं मयः सुखं  
करत् करोत्विति ॥ २५ ॥ १६ ॥

पूर्वया प्राचीनया श्रकृतिमया स्वयंभुवा निविदा वाचा  
वेदरूपया वर्णं तात्पर्यस्तस्तदेवान् हमहे आह्यामः । निवि-  
च्छब्दो वाचाचकः । तान् कान् तचाह । भग्नं मित्रमदिति  
देवमातरं ददृं प्रजापतिमप्य वशम् वारुणं सोमसमिवता आश्वितो ।  
आस्त्रिधमिति भगादीनां विशेषणम् । न संघर्षे द्योतते  
सोऽवित् तमच्युतसङ्घावम् । किं च शोभन् भग्नं भाव-  
यमया: सा सुभगा भग्नीया सरस्वती भग्नादिस्तहिता  
नोऽसाकं मयः करत् उखं करोतु ॥२५॥१६॥

Words underlined in Uvāṭas' commentary are repeated by Mahidhara.

Mahidhara goes to the extent of borrowing the quotations cited by Uvāṭa. A few examples are given here:—

- I. 1. (a) यो वृषादूर्ग्रसो जायते तस्मै तदाह इति श्रुतिः ।  
      (b) ऊर्जं बलप्राणनयोः ।  
      (c) यज्ञो वै श्रेष्ठतमं कर्म इति श्रुतिः ।  
      (d) छिन्दूमीति चोभयोः साकांश्चत्वात्सञ्चयामीति वोचत् इति ।

All these quotations cited by Uvāṭa are borrowed by Mahidhara in writing the explanation of the self same stanza.

I. 2. धामानि ओणि भवन्ति स्थानानि नामानि जन्मानीति च quoted by Uvāṭa is borrowed by Mahidhara on III. 8.

Examples are numerous and need not be multiplied.

On many stanzas, Mahidhara merely reiterates the remarks of Uvāṭa, e. g., XXII 24—33 Pañāśikara's ed. pp. 429—430:

- उ० प्राच्यै । दिग्देवता॑ः ॥२४॥  
 म० प्राच्यै । दिग्देवता॑ः ॥२४॥  
 उ० अङ्ग्यै । जलदेवता॑ः ॥२५॥  
 म० अङ्ग्यै । जलदेवता॑ः ॥२५॥  
 उ० वाताय , मेघोपयोगदेवता॑ः ॥२६॥  
 म० वाताय । मेघोपयोगदेवता॑ः ॥२६॥  
 उ० अङ्ग्ये । अग्न्याद्यैः प्रसिद्धाः ॥२७॥  
 म० अङ्ग्ये । अग्न्याद्यैः प्रसिद्धाः ॥२७॥  
 उ० नक्षत्रेभ्यः । नक्षत्राद्यैः कालाधिष्ठान्यैः ॥२८॥  
 म० नक्षत्रेभ्यै । नक्षत्राद्यैः कालाधिष्ठान्यैः ॥२८॥  
 P. 430.—उ० पृथिव्यै । पृथिव्याद्यैः लोकाधिष्ठान्यैः ॥२९॥  
 म० पृथिव्यै । पृथिव्याद्यैः लोकाधिष्ठान्यैः ॥२९॥  
 P. 430. XXII. 30—33.  
 उ० असवे॑ । अस्वाद्यश्च ॥३०॥  
 म० असवे॑ । अस्वाद्यश्च ॥३०॥  
 उ० मध्वे॑ । मध्वाद्यैः मासाधिष्ठातारः ॥३१॥

\*See my Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta, pp. 355—360.

म० मध्ये । मध्यादयो मात्साविष्टाताः ॥३१॥

उ० वाज्ञाय । वाज्ञादयोऽवाधीशाः ॥३२॥

म० वाज्ञाय । वाज्ञादयोऽवाधीशाः ॥३२॥

उ० आयुः । यज्ञेनाश्वमेवेनायुः कल्पताम् । एवमग्रेऽपि प्रार्थनामन्त्रः ॥३३॥

म० आयुः । यज्ञेनाश्वमेवेनायुः कल्पताम् । एवमग्रेऽपि प्रार्थनामन्त्राः ॥३३॥

The evidence of the Benares Ms. shows that the sentence **महीधरोक्तमर्थ विलिखामि** is not an authentic part of Uvāṭa's commentary. It also shows that Uvāṭa did not borrow Mahidhara's commentary as the same is not given in that Ms.

Mahidhara has himself clearly expressed his obligation to Uvāṭa, so it is clear that Uvāṭa is the earlier commentator and the former has utilised the work of the latter.

To attribute the sentence **महीधरोक्तमर्थ विलिखामि** to Uvāṭa and to print the former's commentary as the commentary of the latter is very misleading. It has actually misled at least one scholar. P. Bhagavaddatta B. A., Superintendent of the Research Department of the D. A. V. College, Lahore, consulted Pañāśikara's edition. In the commentary attributed to Uvāṭa on XXV. 8. p. 460, Karka, the author of the commentary on Kātyāyana's *Srauta Sūtra* is quoted. Bhagvaddatta accepted this commentary as genuine and assigned Karka to a period anterior to Uvāṭa on the authority of this quotation. As Karka himself quotes Harisvāmin, the latter was assigned to a still earlier period. This chronological chain, constructed by P. Bhagavaddatta is very weak indeed for the commentary ascribed to Uvāṭa is really that of Mahidhara. Karka is therefore not earlier than Uvāṭa but only earlier than Mahidhara. The dates assigned to Harisvāmin and Karka by P. Bhagavaddatta on the authority of this passage are wrong. It is surprising that P. Bhagavaddatta failed to notice the identity of the commentaries attributed to Uvāṭa and Mahidhara on this and several other stanzas,

although both of them are printed close to each other in the particular edition used by him.

The next point to be considered is Miśra's assertion that Uvāṭa did not write any commentary on the stanzas, mentioned above. It is true that Uvāṭa sometimes does not give a detailed explanation of easy stanzas and contents himself by stating that the stanza does not stand in need of any comment, e.g. on XI. 65 p. 204 he remarks: निगदव्याख्यातम्.

On XXII. 6. p. 423, he says:—अग्रये स्वाहेति भूजबो मन्त्राः

On XXII. 8. p. 424, he remarks:—यते स्वाहा पर्तीति यन तस्मै यते । स्पष्टमन्यत् ॥८॥

But Uvāṭa does not ignore any stanza—except two—and leave it without any comment. Whenever he does not explain any stanza he makes some such remark as निगदव्याख्यातम् । भूजबो मन्त्राः । स्पष्टम् etc. Miśra's assertion therefore cannot be accepted.

Chapter XXIV gives a list of animals sacred to different deities with reference to the aśvamedha sacrifice. It is unnecessary to explain the stanzas in detail. But a general explanation is given by Uvāṭa. While commenting on XXIV. 2 he remarks:—

रोहित (YV. XXIV. 2)

इत्यादयः श्वेता वायव्याः श्वेताः सौर्याः (XXIV. 19) इत्येवमन्तः । इतरेषु यूपेषु रोहितादिषु ये गुणश्चनाः शब्दास्ते गुणिनं पशुं लक्ष्यन्ति ।

Hence there was no further comment on stanzas XXIV. 3—XXIV. 19.

He remarks on XXIV. 20:—

द्वासन्ताश्च कपिष्ठलाचात्मसते (XXIV. 20) इत्यदयो विश्वेषां देशात्मां पश्यतः (XXIV. 40) इत्येवमन्ता यूपान्तरेषु त्रयोदश ऋषेऽशाश्वस्थाः पश्यत आत्मभ्यन्ते । Hence there could be no further comment on stanzas XXIV. 21—XXIV. 40 both inclusive.

He remarks on XXV. 1.

**एवं द्रव्यदैवतमप्रसिद्धं यज्ञपाश्वर्दिभ्यो उचगन्तव्यमिति पृथिवीं त्वचेति  
यावत् । ( पृथिवीं त्वचा XXV. 9 )** There was no further comment  
on the stanza XXV. 2—XXV. 9, both inclusive

The question now remains of the stanzas XXV. 10—13.

XXV. 10. occurs as XIII. 4, where Uvāṭa has fully explained it.

XXV. 11. occurs as XXIII. 3, where it has been commented upon.

XXV. 12. occurs once only in YV. and has not been previously explained.

XXV. 13. occurs only once in YV. and has not been previously explained.

The Benares Ms. of Uvāṭa's commentary ed. by Mi ra gives the so-called explanation of Uvāṭa on these two stanzas. But a comparison with the commentary of Mahidhara shows that it is not genuine but merely an adaptation from Mahidhara. Evidently some later reader has tried to fill up the lacuna in Uvāṭa's Ms. But it is clear Uvāṭa's commentary on these two stanzas is not available.

### FATHER OF UVĀṭA.

The only support in favour of the colophon at the end of Chapter XX is furnished by Bhīmasena, a commentator of Mammaṭa's Kāvya Prakāśa. Uvāṭa is described as a younger brother of Mammaṭa and Kaiyaṭa and all three as sons of Jaiyaṭa. But the commentator does not mention the source of his information. His view, however has not been accepted.

Uvāṭa has also written a commentary on the R̥gvedaprātiśākhya. There are several MSS. of this commentary at the

University Sanskrit Library<sup>1</sup>, Lahore. They all describe Uvata as a son of Vajrata. The evidence of these MSS. supports the colophon at the end of Chapter XL.

Further, there is an old Ms. of the commentary of Uvata on the Yajurveda at the Oriental Institute, Baroda. The Ms. is dated sam. 1464 = 1407 A. D. The date is genuine and is confirmed by the old method of writing. The colophon at the end of Chapter XX clearly mentions Vajrata as the father of Uvata. The colophon at the end of Chapter XL in this Ms. also gives out Vajrata as the name of Uvata's father<sup>2</sup>. This is further supported by colophons of the Benares Ms. of Uvata's Commentary on the White Yajurveda. The colophon at the end of Chapter XX is the following:—( sic. ) इति श्री उवटकृतौ मंत्रभाष्ये विश्विति(त)मोद्यायः ।२०। संवत् १६३४। मिति श्रावणशुद्धि ४ गुरुै ।

The name of father of Uvata is not mentioned yet Miśra has printed it wrongly in his edition.

The colophon at the end of Chapter X is the following:—  
sic. उवटकृतौ मंत्रभाष्ये दशमोद्यायः ।

आनंदपुरवास्तव्यवज्ञाटस्य च सूनुना ।  
मंत्रभाष्यमिदं क्लृप्तं भोजे पृथ्वीं प्रशासति ॥

At the end of Chapter XIII, the colophon is the following:—sic. इति उवटकृतौ मंत्रभाष्ये ब्रयोदशोद्यायः । १३ ।

आनंदपुरवास्तव्यवज्ञाटस्य च सूनुना ।  
उबटेन कर्तं भाष्यमुजजयिन्यां स्थितेन तु ॥

From these colophons of the Benares and the Baroda MSS., it is clear that the name of Uvata's father was Vajrata and not Jaiyata. The occurrence of Jaiyata in the colophon,

1. See MSS. Nos. 563, 3033, 2187.

2. See Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta p. 72, where both the colophons of this Ms. are copied.

at the end of Chapter XX in the extant editions of Uvāṭa's commentary is an error and should be corrected.

As Uvāṭa wrote at Avanti under the famous King Bhoja (1018—1060 A. D.), his time is the first half of the eleventh century A. D.

### MAHIDHAKA.

There are at least three Mahidharas:—

1. One is mentioned as a Mahāpaṇḍita-Srī Mahidhara. His grandson Mahāpaṇḍita Hṛṣikeśaśarman figures as the recipient of two villages in a copper plate grant of Mahārājādhīraja Jayacandra Deva of Kanauj. The grant is dated Sam. 1232 = 1175 A. D.<sup>1</sup> This Mahidhara can be safely assigned to the first half of the twelfth century A. D. i. e. about a hundred years later than Uvāṭa.

2. Another Mahidhara is the commentator of the Śuklayajurveda. From the introductory stanza, it is clear that he is later than Uvāṭa and Mādhava. If Mādhava stands for Sāyana, then he is later than the 14th cen. A.D.

There is another Mahidhara, the author of Mantrama-hodadhi<sup>2</sup>. I am inclined to identify the author of Mantrama-hodadhi with the commentator of the Yajurveda. The first verse of the introductory stanzas in both the works is almost identical.

Commentary of Mahidhara has the verse:—

प्रणम्य लक्ष्मीं नृहरिं गणेशं

The Mantramahodadhi gives the first two verses in the following way:—

प्रणम्य लक्ष्मीं नृहरिं महागणपतिं गुरुम् ।

In both cases, salutations are addressed in almost identical words to Lakshmi, Nṛhari, and the Lord of *ganas*

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1. Indices and Appendices to the Nirukta, pp. 73—74.  
2. Ed. Calcutta 1892.

and in the same order. This shows the author of both stanzas to be one and the same person. The commentator is therefore to be identified with the author of Mantramahodadhi. A short description of the family is given by the author in the 25th Wave of the Mantra. Mahidhara was the son of Phanubhaṭṭa, grandson of Ratnākara, belonged to the Vatsa gotra. He left his own native place, migrated to Benares, was devoted to the God Narahari. He had a son named Kalyāṇa.\*

3. The third Mahidhara is a scholar-scribe. He has composed and copied several MSS. His literary activity covers the period from Sam. 1630—1670 i. e. 1573—1617 A. D. Fortunately several MSS. copied in the hand of Mahidhara were acquired in 1928 by the Queen's Sanskrit College Library, Benares, from the descendants of Mahidhara himself.

I had an opportunity of examining them at Benares in January 1931. I give below a list of the MSS. acquired by the Benares Library and written by Mahidhara himself.

- (१) स्वरप्रक्रिया
  - (२) वृसिंहपरिचयानुक्रमणी
  - (३) षट्-स्वरसामप्रकारः
  - (४) वृसिंहपूर्वतापनीयोपनिषत्
  - (४क) तापनीयोपिनषद्-भाष्यम्
- 

अहिच्छुच्छिज्जच्छुचं वत्सगोत्रसमुद्धवः ।  
आसीद् रत्नाभ्रो नाम विद्वान् ख्यातो धरातले ॥१२१॥  
तत्तनूजो रामभक्तः फनूभद्वाभिधोऽभवत् ।  
महोधरस्तदुत्पन्नः संसारासारता विद्वन् ॥१२२॥  
निजदेशं परित्यज्य यतो वाराणसीं पुरीम् ।  
सेवमानो नरहरिस्तत्र ग्रन्थमिमं व्यधात् ॥१२३॥  
कल्पाण्याभिघ्नुत्रेण तथान्यैर्द्विजसत्तमैः ।

- (४) दत्तापनीयोपनिषद्ग्रन्थोपिका  
 (५) वाज्ञसनेयिप्रातिशाख्यमूलम्  
 (६) हेमचन्द्रविरचित्-अनेकार्थसंग्रहः  
 (७) गद्धपुराणप्रेतखण्डम्  
 (८) सांख्यकारिका with तत्त्वकौमुदी  
 (९) मन्त्रराज—स्य दीपिका  
 (१०) प्रक्रियाकौमुदीटीका by महिकिङ्गरः  
 (११) काव्यादर्शस्य ट्रिप्पणी by भूमिदासः  
 (१२) वैदिकीप्रक्रिया  
 (१३) अशोकनिरात्रब्रतम्  
 (१४) कात्यायनप्रातिशाख्यम्  
 (१५) नीलोत्सर्गविधिः

Out of these, nos. 2, 10, and 11 are clearly stated to have been composed and the rest seem to have been copied by Mahidhara.

A few passages from these MSS. are given here. Colophons in other MSS. are similar. It is not necessary to give all the colophons of all the MSS. A few samples should suffice. The following will give some indication of the general manner:—

१ नारसिंहपूर्वतापनीयम्

इत्यार्थवर्णे तापनीये पंचमोपनिषत् ॥ इति नारसिंहपूर्वतापनीयं ॥  
 महीदासोलिखत्काश्यां सं १६३४ चैत्रव १३ रवौ ॥

२ तापनीयोपनिषद्ग्रन्थात्मम्

इति श्री गोविंदभगवत्पूज्यपादशिष्यस्य परमहंसपरिव्राजकाचार्यस्य  
 श्रीशंकरभगवतः कृतावार्थवर्णतापनीयोपनिषद्ग्रन्थात्मे पंचमोपनिषत्समाप्ता ॥  
 महीदासेन क्रीतं काश्यां संवत् १६४० वर्षे स्वपाठाय तेन नरकेसरो प्रीयतां ॥  
 इ तापनीयोपनिषद्ग्रन्थोपिका

॥ इति नवमखण्डः समाप्तः । इत्युत्तरतापनीयोपनिषद्ग्रन्थीपि ना समाप्ता ।  
 श्री संवत् १६२७ वर्षे वैशाखशुद्धि ५ भौमे शुभमस्तु ॥ लेशवेन लेखितं ॥ श्रीः ॥  
 ग्रान्तसिंहाव नमः ॥

महोदासेन कीतं काश्यां संवत् १६३० वर्ष सत्रगाडाय तेन नरकेसरी प्रीयतां  
श्रीनृसिंह

#### ४ स्वरप्रक्रिया

॥ इति प्रसादः संपूर्णः ॥—श्रीनृसिंहो जयतितमां भक्तावकः: )

श्रीमन्नागातपत्रद्विजकुलतिलकविष्वरत्नाकरस्य सूक्तमूर्मितलेऽस्मिन् जयति  
फनुबुधो रामचंद्रैकचेताः तत्सूक्तमूर्मिदासोऽधिगिरिशनगरं स्नानजले जान्हवीये  
स्वारीमेतां व्यलेखोस्वपठनकृतये प्रक्रियां विष्णुतुष्ट्यै ॥१॥ खगुणविष्णुमिते वर्षे पो-  
षांत्याजदिने रथौ महोदासोऽलिखत्काश्यां प्रक्रियास्वरपूर्विं .....

#### ५ चदिकी प्रक्रिया

स्वत्तिं श्रीमति रवाणिः षोडशमिते सहस्र्ये सिते वन्हेरन्हिमितस्य वासरहमो  
श्रीवैदिकीं प्रक्रियां । श्रीवत्सर्विसुगोत्रजः फनुसुतो नामः। महीकिकरः श्री  
विश्वेश्वरपत्नने समलिखललक्ष्मीपतेस्तुष्टये ॥ दुँदिराजाथ नमः ।

#### ६ गरुडपुराणम्

इति गरुडपुराणे अष्टादशैकसहस्र्यां संहितायां उत्तरखंडे विष्णुतार्द्यसंवादे  
प्रतकल्पो नाम षट्क्रिंशोऽध्यायः ॥३६॥३०॥ श्रीमन्नृकेसरिणे नमः गुणनिगमरसद्मा-  
संमिते हायने शेषवलमदनघस्ते फालाने मासि काश्यां । इह गरुडपुराणप्रेतखंडं  
व्यलेखीन्मही.....माघवस्तेन तुष्ट्यात् ॥१॥ महीदासः पूर्णम्

#### ७ पुराण

इति—पुराणे रुक्मिण्यै नारदग्रोक्तं अशोकत्रिरात्रव्रतं संपूर्णम् ॥१६४६  
आश्विनशुक्लचतुर्दश्यां महीदासेनालेखि ।

No. ४७६ अशोकत्रिरात्रव्रतम् ।

Fr. २ सः त् १६४६ आश्विनशुक्लचतुर्दश्यां महीदासेनालेखि ।

No. १४२३ काव्यादर्शटीका

Beginning F. 1 :—गणेशं नृहरिं शेषं वाणीं गिरिशमद्रिजाम्  
प्रणम्य विलिखाम्येतत्काव्यादर्शं सुटिष्पणम् ॥  
तं धन्दे यस्य नखरैरुत्पलादपि कोमलैः ।  
शिक्षितं हस्तदैत्येन्द्रवक्षःपाटनपाटवम् ॥

इति काव्यादर्शटीकायां दुःकरविभावो नाम तृतीयः परिच्छ्रेदः समाप्तः ॥

बाणांगं गंगेष्व बद् ऊर्जे शिवा हे ज्ञातो (?) काश्यां भूमिदासो व्यलेखीत् ।

काव्यादशै भाष्यमेतद्बुधोक्तं स्वीयातोकायोपकाराय यत्नात् ।

१० No. ६२८ प्रक्रियाकौमुदीटीका

इति प्रक्रियाकौमुदीटीकायां समाप्तप्रकरणम् । श्रीनरकेसरिमहागणपतिभ्यां नमः । षड्पृष्ठद्वयसुधामितवत्सरे सहस्रिमार्गसिते वसुवासरे ।

विवरणं तु समाप्तमवं मुदा निजकृते व्यलिखन्महिकिङ्करः ।

११ कात्यायनप्रातिशाख्यम्

ॐ नमः श्रीमहिव्यतलहमीनृसिंहाय । भवानीशंकराभ्यां च ।

इति कात्यायनकृते प्रातिशाख्यसूत्रेऽष्टमोऽध्यायः । समाप्तमिदं प्रातिशाख्यम् । स्वस्ति संवत् । भूगुणां गधरणीभितवर्षस्योर्जमासि धवले फणिघन्मे । सौव-पाठकृतये शिवपुर्या प्रातिशाख्यमलिखन्महिदासः ।

संवत् १६३१ वर्षे कार्तिकशुक्लपञ्चम्यां महीदासः काश्यां प्रातिशाख्यमलेखीत् ।

One thing remarkable in these MSS. is the manner in which the name Mahidhara is written.

Synonyms are used, e. g. Mahidāsa, Mahikinkara, Bhūmidāsa. The real and the original name Mahidhara found in the commentary on the Yajurveda is never used.

Salutations are everywhere to gods Nṛhari, Ganeśa, Narakesari, Mahāgāṇapati, Lakshmi. Salutations of these MSS. bear a very close resemblance to the salutations of the commentary and the Mantramahodadhi.

Further in the Ms. of स्वरप्रक्रिया transcribed by himself, Mahidhara gives the information that he was the son of Phanu, grandson of Ratnākara.

He describes his grandfather as श्रीमद्वागातपत्रद्विजकुलतिलकः । It is identical with the remark of the Mantra :—

अहिच्छुत्रद्विजच्छुत्रं etc. नागातपत्र is a synonym of अहिच्छुत्र. From this identity of salutations and names of the family, it is clear that the scholar-scribe of these MSS. is

\*See the colophon of Svaraprakriyā, above, p. 20,

to be identified with the author of the Mantramahodadhi and the commentator of the Sukla Yajurveda. His date can now be definitely settled as shown by these MSS. i. e. he is to be assigned to the later half of the 16th Cen. A. D. as the colophons of the MSS. cover the period Sam. 1630—1670, this being the period of his literary activity. All these MSS. were transcribed at Benares and we know from the Mantra that Mahidhara left his own native place and migrated to Benares. This date is corroborated by the date of the Mantramahodadhi, composed in Sam. 1645=1588 A. D.\*

\*अब्दे विक्रमतो जाते वेदवाणनैर्मिते ।  
ज्येष्ठाष्टम्यां शिवस्याश्रे पूर्णे मन्त्रमहोदधिः ।  
पञ्चवत्त्वार्थिशुक्तरषोडशशततमे विक्रमनृपाद्गते वर्षे ।



## TATSAMA GY

*by A. C. Woolner*

(1) There are a few words in Hindi written with *jñ* but regularly pronounced with *gy*: for example *gyān* 'knowledge' and derivatives from the same root such as *gyāni*, *gyāpak*, *āgyā*; *yagya* 'sacrifice' etc.

Similar forms are found in Panjabi and Bengali Pb. *giān* 'knowledge', *giāni* or *gayāni* 'learned', *āgiā* 'command'. For Bengali see S. K. Chatterji, *The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, p. 462. He records *gy*, -*ggy* and *gey-*.

Pb. *jagg*, B. O. *jāg*, Sindhi *jagu* (quoted by Beames I. 302.) evidently come from a similar treatment of *yajñā*.

The substitution of a vowel for *y* and the nasalisation of *y* may be ignored for the moment. It seems clear that these forms are based upon the pronunciation of Sanskrit *jñ* as *gy*, which is common to pandits in the North and East of India.

The *tadbhava* treatment of *jñ* is indicated by H. *nātā* 'kinship' (*jñātitva*) Pb. *nāttā*. *janeu* (*yajñopavita*). Pb. *janeū*.

*Rāñi* 'queen' may have been associated with *rāñā* from *rājānaka*, but cf. Romani *rāñi*.

(2) In Gujerat there is a pronunciation *gn* as in *gnān* 'knowledge' (Clair Tisdall records a *svarabhakti* variety of this; *ganān*.) *Tadbhava* forms are *janoi* (*yajñopavita*) and *jāṇ* 'knowledge'. In the Marathi country there is the pronunciation of *jñ* as *dny*, as in the name *Dnyānoba*, while *tadbhava* treatment is seen in *nātē* 'kinship' (J. Bloch, *Langue marathe*, p. 357.) *jānavē* (*yajñopavita*) and perhaps in *rāñi* 'queen'.

(There is also *j* in *paij* from *pratijnā*. J. Bloch, p. 139. Cf. Old H. *ja(j)* for *yajñā*.)

(3) These varieties *gy*, *gn* and *dny* do not seem to be Prakritic. Pischel, *Grammatik der Prakrit Sprachen*, §276, gives the following treatments of *jñ*.

- (i) Regularly jñ becomes nn (or n) e. g. āñā from ājñā,
- (ii) It becomes nn (n). AMg. nāna 'knowledge'. cf. H. ñātā. janeu, M. nātē, jānavē.
- (iii) In Māgadhī and Pāśācī jñ becomes ññ (ñ). according to Hemacandra. yañña from yajñā.
- (iv) According to Hemacandra jñ also becomes jj in some words: ajjā from ājñā, jāna from jñāna.  
cf. Mar. paij from pratijñā. Old H. jaj from yajñā.

There was also the svarabhakti method: Pāli rājini. Old H. rāginī.

Three of these survive in Marathi and J. Bloch remarks (p. 139.) "ni dans l'histoire ancienne ni dans la répartition des dialectes modernes on ne trouve d'indication permettant de rendre compte de cette diversité."

It is clear that once the process of prakritic assimilation is complete as in the four treatments given above, there can be no phonetic reason for going on to gy, gn or dny.

In other words this variation in the pronunciation of Sanskrit is not due to the influence of the Prakrits or of modern Indian languages. Whence then can it come?

(4) If we are to form any idea as to how the diversity arose, we must determine a more ancient pronunciation of jñ.

If we assume this to have been j+ñ i. e. something like dg+ñ, we may be satisfied about the origin of dny.

If again dg is not a true palatal but comes forward nearer to an alveolar or dental dz or dz, then (dg)n or (dz)n would become by assimilation nn (n).

The survival of j in paij and jaj would show the other method of assimilation.

But we are no nearer to gy and gn.

(5) Now Sanskrit j is ultimately derived from a palatal stop or we may conveniently write g'.

S. K. Chatterji' tells us that the affricate pronunciation of the palatal stops seems to have been only dialectal in the Early M. I. A. period and that for some time the stop value and affricate value went on, side by side.

The present writer had long suspected that Old Indo-Aryan possessed true palatal stops not affricates.

Macdonell however thought the affricate pronunciation indicated by the Greek reproductions of Indian names made it likely that they were so pronounced in Vedic times. (Vedic Grammar, § 35. cf. Wackernagel, I. 119.) It is true that an affricate pronunciation of j in Iranian is required to account for the variation z in Avestan and d in Persian corresponding to Sanskrit j. (Cf. also Old Persian xšnāsatiy 'Let him recognise' and adānā 'he knew'. Meillet, Grammaire du Vieux Perse, pp. 60 and 99.)

But in either case to whatever date the palatal stop g' survived in pandits' speech it is quite possible that it survived still longer in the complex g'ñ.

(6) Supposing we start with g'ñ, this might change in two or three different ways.

- (i) where and when the palatal ñ was no longer correctly pronounced g'ñ could be replaced by gn.
- (ii) Before that the assimilation of the nasal to the stop but leaving an offglide y would result in gy. Cf. the assimilation of gn to gg.
- (iii) When g' had been replaced by palatal d' and then made affricate dg or dz, the complex g'ñ could become d'ñ and then dny.

Or we may state the matter thus:—

Pandit speech.

g'ñ - g'nv - (g)gy-gy.  
gn.  
d'ñ - dny.

Prakrit.

$d'n - \tilde{n} \tilde{n}$

$\tilde{n} \tilde{n}$

Later  $\begin{cases} (d\tilde{z}) \\ (dz) \end{cases} n \}$  j or n.

If that is so, the variation **gy**, **gn**, **dny** goes back to a variation in pandits' speech caused by replacing **g'** by **d'**, to which standing by itself a sibilant was added instead of an off-glide resembling **y**.

(7) It may be asked whether there are any other instances where variations in the pronunciation of Sanskrit seem to be independent of ordinary prakritic changes.

One such instance may be the rendering of the cerebral **š** by **kh**. Some pandits say **upanikhad** for **upaniṣad**. (Cf. the form **Oupnekhat** of **Anquetil Duperron** from a Persian transcription) Hindi and Panjabi represent Sanskrit cerebral **š** as **kh**-**bhākhā** for **bhāṣā**. On this see **S. K. Chatterji**, Bengali Language, p. 243, where he says "in certain forms of OIA. the [X] sound was actually the one employed for [š], as we can infer from a mediaeval pronunciation of [š] as [kh] which still obtains, -[kh] being the nearest Middle Indian approximation to a traditional [X]". He then mentions Slavonic **snūxa**, **synūxū**=Skt. **snuṣā**, **snuṣu** and the wellknown variation Pashto and Pakhto.

(8) If **š** is a sibilant variant of **x** which survived dialectically in OIA. of Northern India and is still represented by Middle Indian and modern **kh**, we might expect to see the effect of this variation in the complex **kš**.

In an **x**-dialect this would be **kx**. Such may be the source of the tatsama pronunciation **khy** and the prakritic **kkh**.

In a sibilant dialect it would be **kš**, now the orthodox Sanskrit pronunciation. In this complex Prakrit has replaced **k** with a **t** sound.

**kʃ-tʃ-tʃʰ-ttʃʰ** i.e. **cch**.

Efforts to account for the variation **kṣ** becomes **khh** or **cch** on the basis of a distinction in Indo-Iranian have not been successful. (See Pischel, Prakrit Grammar, §§318-321. Geiger, Pali Grammar, §56. J. Bloch, Langue marathe, §104.)

According to the view suggested above the variation depends on more or less of sibilation in OIA. and is parallel to the variation of **kh** and **ṣ** and at a little distance to that of **gy** and **dny**.

All three non-sibilant pronunciations are found in Northern India, though **gy** has extended into Bengal, and in the Prakrits forms with **khh** and **cch** are considerably intermingled.

(9) It has to be realised however that these are not so much variations in local speech as variations in the habits of learned speech, which is much more conservative on one hand, while it has on the other hand a tendency to make a conscious effort to avoid vernacular errors, especially in periods when Sanskrit schools are flourishing. Consequently the exact form of a semi-tatsama will depend not merely on local phonetics, but also on the pandits and the degree of their influence at a particular period. This is illustrated by some of the modern forms of proper names e.g. Krishan, Kishan Kisan as opposed to Kistna and tadbhava Kanha.

From this point of view it would be of interest to reconstruct as far as possible the history of the pronunciation of Sanskrit in different parts of India.



## YASNA XXXI

*By Irach Jehangir Sorabji Taraporewala*

The thirty-first chapter of the Yasna has been translated and annotated by Jackson under the title *A Hymn of Zoroaster*. Another translation of it is by Andreas and Wackernagel in the Nachrichten der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, 1911. A third one is that by Bartholomae. There have been others also much earlier, but these three mentioned here may be taken as the "latest". I have consulted all three and have here attempted to give my own version of this chapter basing my translation mainly upon what I conceive to be the main purpose of the Message of Zarathushtra. I give here merely the rendering, each verse followed by the translation *pāda* by *pāda*. In this place, however, it is not possible to indicate all my reasons for differing from these great predecessors of mine. My only object herein is to give a consistent and, as far as possible, as literal a rendering as I can. I have explained some points in the very short notes that follow each verse.

1. tā<sup>1</sup> vē<sup>2</sup> urvātā<sup>3</sup> mārəntō<sup>4</sup>  
aguštā<sup>5</sup> vacā<sup>6</sup> sēnghāmahi<sup>7</sup> ;  
aēibyō<sup>8</sup> yōi<sup>9</sup> urvātāiš<sup>10</sup> drujō<sup>11</sup>  
Aśahyā<sup>12</sup> gaēθā<sup>13</sup> vīmārənēcāite<sup>14</sup> ;  
at<sup>15</sup> -cī<sup>11</sup> aēibyō<sup>17</sup> vahīstā<sup>18</sup>  
yōi<sup>19</sup> zarazdā<sup>20</sup> anhēn<sup>21</sup> Mazdāi<sup>22</sup>.

Translation :

Heeding<sup>4</sup> these<sup>1</sup> two-Laws,<sup>3</sup> unto ye<sup>2</sup> (O men)  
do-we-proclaim<sup>7</sup> the Message<sup>6</sup> (so long) unheeded<sup>5</sup> ;  
for those<sup>9</sup> who<sup>8</sup> because-of-the-lures<sup>10</sup> of Untruth<sup>11</sup>  
destroy<sup>14</sup> the creation<sup>13</sup> of Aśa<sup>12</sup> ;  
and<sup>15</sup> for them,<sup>16</sup> indeed,<sup>17</sup> most of-all<sup>19</sup>,  
who<sup>19</sup> are<sup>20</sup> heartily-devoted<sup>21</sup> unto Mazdā<sup>22</sup>.

(4. Lit., "remembering". 6. Lit., "words". 10. Lit., "through the teaching (or laws)", originally ins. plu. 18. Lit., "best of all".)

The two Laws referred to here are the laws which ordain “long punishment for the follower of the False, and happiness for the follower of the Truth” mentioned in the last verse of the previous chapter of the Yasna (xxx. 11).

2. yezi<sup>1</sup> āis<sup>2</sup> nōit<sup>3</sup> urvānē<sup>4</sup>  
 advā<sup>5</sup> aibī<sup>6</sup> -dērəstā<sup>7</sup> va<sub>yā</sub><sup>8</sup> ,  
 at<sup>9</sup> vā<sup>10</sup> vīspēng<sup>11</sup> ayōi<sup>12</sup> ;  
 yaθā<sup>13</sup> ratūm<sup>14</sup> Ahurō<sup>15</sup> vaēdā  
 Mazdā<sup>17</sup> ayā<sup>18</sup> ḡasyā<sup>19</sup> ,  
 yā<sup>20</sup> Ašāt<sup>21</sup> hacā<sup>22</sup> jvāmahī<sup>23</sup> .

Translation :

Since,<sup>1</sup> because-of-these<sup>2</sup> (lures, there is) not,<sup>3</sup> while-choosing<sup>4</sup>  
 the better<sup>5</sup> path<sup>6</sup> clear<sup>7</sup> -in-sight<sup>8</sup>,  
 therefore,<sup>9</sup> to ye<sup>10</sup> all<sup>11</sup> am-I-come<sup>12</sup>;

as<sup>13</sup> Teacher<sup>14</sup> appointed<sup>15</sup> by Ahura<sup>15</sup>,  
 the Creator<sup>17</sup> (has sent me to stand) between these<sup>18</sup>  
 parties-twain,<sup>19</sup>  
 that<sup>20</sup> we-may-live<sup>23</sup> in-harmony<sup>22</sup> with Aša<sup>21</sup>.

(4. Originally dat. inf. 13—16. Lit., “as Teacher Ahura knows”. 21—22. Lit., “though Aša”, i. e. devoted to Aša.)

I would like to point out that the arrangement of this verse is in two *Gāyatrīs*.

3. yām<sup>1</sup> dā<sup>2</sup> Mainyū<sup>3</sup> Āθrā<sup>4</sup> -cā<sup>5</sup>  
 Ašā<sup>6</sup> -cā<sup>7</sup> cōiš<sup>8</sup> rānōibyā<sup>9</sup> χšūtēm<sup>10</sup>,  
 hyat<sup>11</sup> urvatēm<sup>12</sup> cazdōnñhvadēbyō<sup>13</sup> ;  
 tat<sup>14</sup> nō<sup>15</sup> Mazdā<sup>16</sup> vīdvanōi<sup>17</sup> vaoeā<sup>18</sup>  
 hizvā<sup>19</sup> θwahyā<sup>20</sup> ḡnhō<sup>21</sup>,  
 yā<sup>22</sup> jvāntō<sup>23</sup> vīpēng<sup>24</sup> vaurayā<sup>25</sup>.

Translation :

What<sup>1</sup> Thou bestowest<sup>2</sup> through-(Thy)-Spirit<sup>3</sup> and<sup>5</sup>  
 through-(Thy)-Fire<sup>4</sup>,

and<sup>1</sup> the Bliss<sup>10</sup> (attainable) through Aša<sup>4</sup>  
 has-thou-promised<sup>8</sup> to-both-parties<sup>9</sup>,  
 (and) what<sup>11</sup> the Law<sup>12</sup> (is) for the discerning<sup>13</sup>,  
 that<sup>14</sup> unto us<sup>15</sup>, O Mazdā<sup>16</sup>, declare<sup>18</sup> for-(our)-enlightenment<sup>17</sup>,  
 with words<sup>19</sup> from-Thine-own<sup>20</sup> mouth<sup>1</sup>  
 that<sup>12</sup> I-may-convert<sup>25</sup> all<sup>24</sup> the living<sup>23</sup>.

(8. Lit., "Thou hast taught". 19. Lit., "tongue.")

4. yadā<sup>1</sup> Ašem<sup>2</sup> zəvīm<sup>3</sup> anhen,<sup>4</sup>  
 Mazdās<sup>5</sup> -cā<sup>6</sup> Ahurāñjhō,<sup>7</sup>  
 ašī<sup>8</sup> -cā<sup>9</sup> Armaiti<sup>10</sup>,  
 Vahištā<sup>11</sup> išasā<sup>12</sup> Mananjhā<sup>13</sup>  
 maibyō<sup>14</sup> Xšaθrēm<sup>15</sup> aojonghvat,<sup>16</sup>  
 yehyā<sup>17</sup> vərēdā<sup>18</sup> vanaēmā<sup>19</sup> drujem.<sup>20</sup>

(8.: I read the final vowel of this word long on the strength  
 of the restored Ur-text as given by Andreas. No other text, nor  
 any ms. supports this reading.)

Translation:

When<sup>1</sup> Aša<sup>2</sup> is<sup>4</sup> to-(our)-prayer-inclined<sup>3</sup>,  
 (and Ye) Lords-of-Creation<sup>5</sup> and<sup>6</sup> Lords-of-Life,<sup>7</sup>  
 together-with<sup>8</sup> the Holy<sup>10</sup> Ārmaiti<sup>9</sup>,  
 (then) through-the-Best<sup>11</sup> Mind<sup>12</sup> shall-I-seek<sup>13</sup>  
 for ourselves<sup>14</sup> the strengthening<sup>16</sup> Power,<sup>15</sup>  
 through-whose<sup>17</sup> increase<sup>18</sup> we-may overcome<sup>19</sup> the Enemy<sup>20</sup>

(4. Originally plu. 14. Originally sing.)

5. tař<sup>1</sup> mōi<sup>2</sup> vīcidyāi<sup>3</sup> vaocā<sup>4</sup>,  
 hyat<sup>5</sup> mōi,<sup>6</sup> Ašā<sup>7</sup>, datā<sup>8</sup> vahyō<sup>9</sup>;  
 vīduyē,<sup>10</sup> Vohū<sup>11</sup> Mananjhā,<sup>12</sup> 13  
 mēn -cā<sup>14</sup> daidyāi,<sup>15</sup> yehyā<sup>16</sup> -mā<sup>17</sup> ərəšīs,<sup>18</sup>  
 tā<sup>19</sup> -ciř<sup>20</sup> Mazdā<sup>21</sup> Ahurā<sup>22</sup>, 23  
 yā nōiř<sup>24</sup> vā<sup>25</sup> aňhat<sup>26</sup> aňhaiti<sup>27</sup> yā<sup>28</sup>

Translation:

That-I-may-decide,<sup>3</sup> declare<sup>4</sup> unto me<sup>2</sup> this<sup>1</sup>,  
 what<sup>5</sup> better<sup>9</sup> (reward) on me<sup>6</sup>, O Aša<sup>7</sup>,  
 shalt-Thou confer<sup>8</sup>;

(declare). O Vohu<sup>11</sup> Mauō<sup>12</sup> that-I-may-know<sup>10</sup>,  
 and<sup>14</sup> grant<sup>15</sup> to me<sup>13</sup> (that), whereby<sup>16</sup> Blessings<sup>18</sup> to me<sup>17</sup>  
 (may-accrue);  
 all<sup>20</sup> -these,<sup>19</sup> ) Mazdā<sup>21</sup> Ahura.<sup>22</sup> (do Thou declare).  
 whatever<sup>23</sup> there shall-be<sup>27</sup> or<sup>26</sup> shall-not<sup>24</sup> be<sup>26</sup>.

(3 and 15 are both originally dative infinitives. 18. Originally sing. The last word of the verse, *vā*<sup>28</sup>, has been omitted in the translation.)

6. ahmāi<sup>1</sup> anhat<sup>2</sup> vahištəm<sup>3</sup>,  
 yē<sup>4</sup> mōi<sup>5</sup> vīdvā<sup>6</sup> vaocat<sup>7</sup> haičim<sup>8</sup>  
 mārəm<sup>9</sup> yim<sup>10</sup> Haurvatātō,<sup>11</sup>  
 Ašahyā<sup>12</sup> Ameretātās<sup>13</sup> -cā<sup>14</sup>;  
 Mazdāi<sup>15</sup> avat<sup>16</sup> Xsaθrəm<sup>17</sup>  
 hyat<sup>18</sup> ' hōi<sup>19</sup> Vohū<sup>20</sup> vaxšat<sup>21</sup> Manan̄hā<sup>22</sup>.

#### Translation:

Unto him<sup>1</sup> may the Best<sup>2</sup> befall<sup>3</sup>,  
 who<sup>4</sup>, the Wise-One<sup>5</sup>, shall spread<sup>6</sup> my<sup>5</sup> Truth<sup>8</sup>  
 the Word, which<sup>9</sup> (giveth<sup>10</sup> promise) of Perfection<sup>11</sup>,  
 (the Word) of Aša,<sup>12</sup> (giving promise) of Immortality<sup>13</sup>  
 as well<sup>14</sup>;  
 (unto him may) that<sup>15</sup> Power<sup>16</sup> of the Lord<sup>17</sup> (acerue)  
 which<sup>18</sup> for him<sup>19</sup> shall Good<sup>20</sup>. Mind<sup>12</sup> increase<sup>21</sup>.

#### (7. Lit., "shall tell". 15. Dat. used for gei<sup>1</sup>)

7. yas<sup>1</sup> -tā<sup>2</sup> māntā<sup>3</sup> pouruyō<sup>4</sup>  
 raocēbīs<sup>5</sup> rōiōwēn<sup>6</sup> X̄ārā<sup>7</sup>  
 hvō<sup>8</sup> ' Xraθwā dāmīs<sup>10</sup> Ašem<sup>11</sup>:  
 yā<sup>12</sup> drāvāyāt<sup>13</sup> Vahištəm<sup>14</sup> Manō<sup>15</sup>  
 tā<sup>16</sup>, Mazdā<sup>17</sup>, Mainyu<sup>18</sup> uχšyō<sup>19</sup>,  
 yē<sup>20</sup> ā<sup>21</sup> nurām<sup>22</sup> -cit<sup>23</sup>, Ahurā<sup>24</sup>, hāmō<sup>25</sup>.

#### Translation:

He,<sup>1</sup> (our) first<sup>2</sup> Father<sup>3</sup>, planned-out<sup>4</sup>  
 the Realms of Light<sup>5</sup>. refulgent<sup>6</sup> with-(His)-Glory<sup>5</sup>,  
 Himself<sup>8</sup> in (His)-Wisdom<sup>9</sup> the Creator<sup>10</sup> of Aša;  
 (that) by which<sup>11</sup> the Best<sup>14</sup> Mind<sup>15</sup> is upheld<sup>16</sup>,

through that<sup>14</sup>, O Mazdā<sup>17</sup>, increase<sup>19</sup> (Thy)-Spirit<sup>18</sup>

(amongst us);

O Ahura<sup>24</sup>, even<sup>23</sup> upto<sup>21</sup> now<sup>22</sup> Thou<sup>20</sup> (art) the same<sup>25</sup>

(1. Lit., "who". 3. Lit., "thought". 6. Lit., "mixed with", "clothed in". 13. Lit., "He upholds" (active verb). 20. Lit., "who".)

8. yat<sup>1</sup> Өwā<sup>2</sup> mēñghī<sup>3</sup> pourvīm<sup>4</sup>,

Mazdā<sup>5</sup>, yazūm<sup>6</sup> stōi<sup>7</sup> mananhā<sup>8</sup>,

Vanhāus<sup>9</sup> patarem<sup>10</sup> Mananhō<sup>11</sup>;

hyat<sup>12</sup> Өwā<sup>13</sup> (hēm)<sup>14</sup> cašmainē<sup>15</sup> hēngrabem<sup>16</sup>,

haiθīm<sup>17</sup> Ašahyā<sup>18</sup> dāmīm<sup>19</sup>,

anħeūs<sup>20</sup> ahurēm<sup>21</sup> šyoθanaešū<sup>22</sup>.

(1. Geld. and others read at: Geld. notes that only one ms reads yat 6. Geld., Kan., Jack and Mills read yezim. I have accepted the reading of Wester. and Barth. Andreas has yozūm. Geld. mentions the reading adopted here on p. 111 of the Yasna as also in his Prolegomena (xxvii). He also mentions the readings yazəm and yūzəm )

Translation:

That<sup>1</sup> I-may-recognise<sup>3</sup> Thee<sup>2</sup> (as) the Oldest<sup>4</sup>

in-(my)-mind<sup>5</sup>, O Mazdā<sup>6</sup>, (as also) being<sup>7</sup> the Youngest<sup>8</sup>,  
(and as) the Father<sup>10</sup> of Vohu<sup>9</sup> Manō<sup>11</sup>;

that<sup>12</sup> I-may-apprehend<sup>14,16</sup> Thee<sup>13</sup> in-(mine)-eye<sup>15</sup>

(as) the true<sup>17</sup> Creator<sup>19</sup> of Aša<sup>18</sup>,

(and) Lord-Supreme<sup>21</sup> over-actions in-(this)-world<sup>20</sup>.

(4. Lit., "First". 8. Originally ins. siug. 16. The hēn- is clearly tautological. 20. Originally gen. sing.)

9. Өwōi<sup>1</sup> as<sup>2</sup> Armaitiš<sup>3</sup>,

Өwōi<sup>4</sup> ā<sup>5</sup> gēus<sup>6</sup> -tašā<sup>7</sup> as<sup>8</sup> xratuš<sup>9</sup>,

Manyēus<sup>10</sup>, Mazdā<sup>11</sup> Ahurā<sup>12</sup>;

hyat<sup>13</sup> axyai<sup>14</sup> dadā<sup>15</sup> paθām<sup>16</sup>,

vāstryat<sup>17</sup> vā<sup>18</sup> āitē<sup>19</sup>,

yē<sup>20</sup> vā<sup>21</sup> nōit<sup>22</sup> anħay<sup>23</sup> vāstryō<sup>24</sup>.

(6—7. I have ventured to join these two words as a compound.)

Translation:

Thine<sup>1</sup>, has-been<sup>2</sup> Ārmaiti<sup>3</sup>,

Thine,<sup>4</sup> too<sup>5</sup>, has-been<sup>6</sup> the Wisdom<sup>9</sup> World<sup>6</sup>-creating<sup>7</sup>,  
(the Wisdom) of the Spirit<sup>10</sup>, O Mazdā<sup>11</sup> Ahurā<sup>12</sup>;

then<sup>13</sup> Thou-hast-granted<sup>15</sup> unto her<sup>14</sup> the choice<sup>16</sup>  
either<sup>18</sup> to come-away<sup>19</sup> from-(her)-Protector<sup>21</sup>,  
or<sup>21</sup> (from him) who<sup>20</sup> never<sup>22</sup> was<sup>23</sup> (her) Protector.

(14. Namely, Mother-Earth, implied in the word gēuš.

16. Lit., "path".)

10. aī<sup>1</sup> hī<sup>2</sup> ayā<sup>3</sup> fravarətā<sup>4</sup>

vāstrīm<sup>5</sup> āx̄yāi<sup>6</sup> f̄suyantəm<sup>7</sup>,  
ahurem<sup>8</sup> ašavanəm<sup>9</sup>,  
Var̄hēuš<sup>10</sup> f̄sēnghīm<sup>11</sup> Manahō<sup>12</sup>;  
nōit,<sup>13</sup> Mazdā,<sup>14</sup> avāstryō<sup>15</sup>  
davās<sup>16</sup> -cinā<sup>17</sup> humerətōiš<sup>18</sup> baχ̄štā<sup>19</sup>.

(2. V. l. hē. 16. V. l. daēvās-, daēvās-.)

Translation:

So<sup>1</sup> she<sup>2</sup> chose<sup>4</sup> out-of-these-two<sup>3</sup>

(as) Protector<sup>5</sup> (and as) Shepherd<sup>7</sup> for herself<sup>6</sup>  
a Lord<sup>8</sup> possessing-Aša<sup>9</sup>,

a promoter<sup>11</sup> of Good<sup>10</sup> Thought<sup>12</sup>;

never<sup>13</sup>, O Mazdā<sup>14</sup> (can) the Destroyer<sup>15</sup>

even-though<sup>17</sup> -he-strive<sup>16</sup>, partake<sup>19</sup> of-the-blessed-Message<sup>18</sup>.

(For the ideas of the first two pādas compare Yas, xxix 6.  
10, 12. These words almost mean "Goodwill to mankind". 15.  
Lit., "non-protector" 16. Originally present participle. 18. The  
ēv̄'aγγλētōv.

Verses 11 and 12 are closely connected together in thought,  
hence they are to be taken together.

11. hyat<sup>1</sup> nē<sup>2</sup> Mazdā<sup>5</sup>, paourvīm<sup>4</sup>  
gaēθās<sup>5</sup> -cā<sup>6</sup> tašō<sup>7</sup> daēngās<sup>8</sup> cā<sup>9</sup>,

θwā<sup>10</sup> Manan̄hā<sup>11</sup> xratus<sup>12</sup> cā<sup>13</sup>:  
 hyat<sup>14</sup> astvantem<sup>15</sup> dadg<sup>16</sup> uštanem<sup>17</sup>,  
 hyat<sup>18</sup> šyaoθanā<sup>19</sup> -cā<sup>20</sup> sēŋhḡs<sup>21</sup> -cā<sup>22</sup>,  
 yaθrā<sup>23</sup> varənēng<sup>24</sup> vasg<sup>25</sup> dāyete<sup>26</sup>

12. aθrā<sup>1</sup> vācim<sup>2</sup> baraiti<sup>2</sup>  
 miθah<sup>4</sup> -vacg<sup>5</sup> vā<sup>6</sup> əres<sup>7</sup> -vacg<sup>8</sup> vā<sup>9</sup>,  
 vīdvā<sup>10</sup> vā<sup>11</sup> əvidvā<sup>12</sup> vā<sup>13</sup>:  
 ahya<sup>14</sup> zərədā<sup>15</sup> -cā<sup>16</sup> manan̄hā<sup>17</sup> -cā<sup>18</sup>  
 ānuš<sup>19</sup> -haXs<sup>20</sup> Ārmaitis<sup>21</sup> Māinyū<sup>22</sup>  
 pəresāitē<sup>23</sup> yaθrā<sup>24</sup> maθā.<sup>25</sup>

## Translation:

- (11) Since<sup>1</sup> for<sup>2</sup> us, O Mazdā<sup>3</sup>, in-the-beginning<sup>4</sup>  
 Thou-didst-create<sup>5</sup> both<sup>6</sup> Body<sup>7</sup> as-well-as<sup>8</sup> Spirit<sup>9</sup>  
 and<sup>10</sup> Mental-Power<sup>11</sup>, (too,) through Thine own<sup>12</sup>  
 Thought<sup>13</sup>;  
 since<sup>14</sup> Thou-hast created<sup>15</sup> Life<sup>16</sup> in-flesh-enmeshed,<sup>17</sup>  
 since<sup>18</sup> power-to-act<sup>19</sup> and<sup>20</sup> Words-to-guide<sup>21</sup>  
 (Thou hast bestowed)  
 whereby<sup>22</sup> one-may-hold<sup>23</sup> (what) Faith<sup>24</sup> he-will;<sup>25</sup>  
 (12) (so) here<sup>1</sup> (each) doth-lift-up<sup>3</sup> (his) voice<sup>2</sup>.  
 whether<sup>6</sup> false<sup>4</sup> -speaker<sup>5</sup> or<sup>9</sup> true<sup>7</sup> -speaker<sup>8</sup>,  
 whether<sup>11</sup> enlightened<sup>10</sup> or<sup>13</sup> unenlightened:<sup>12</sup>  
 (but) both<sup>16</sup> to the Heart<sup>15</sup> and<sup>18</sup> to the Head<sup>17</sup> of each,<sup>14</sup>  
 to the spirit<sup>22</sup>, Ārmaiti<sup>21</sup> standing-by<sup>19-20</sup>  
 appeals<sup>23</sup> whenever<sup>24</sup> (there is) doubt<sup>25</sup>.

(Verse 11: 6. Lit., “(material) worlds”, plu. 6. Lit., “and”  
 8. Lit., “spiritual Egos”, plu. 15. Lit., “made up of bones”.  
 19. Lit., “works”, plu. 22. This -cā is omitted. 23 –26. The  
 literal rendering of the last pāda of verse 11 is: “whereby<sup>22</sup>  
 wishing<sup>25</sup> (they) may hold<sup>26</sup> (their) Faiths<sup>24</sup>”.

Verse 12: 1. I. e., in this world, 14. Lit., “of him”. 15 and  
 17. Both originally ins. sing. 22. Originally ins. sing. 23. Lit.,  
 “confer with”.)

13. yā<sup>1</sup> frasā<sup>2</sup> āvišyā<sup>3</sup>,  
 yā<sup>4</sup> vā<sup>5</sup>, Mazdā<sup>6</sup>, pəresāitē<sup>7</sup> tāyā<sup>8</sup>;  
 yē<sup>9</sup> vā<sup>10</sup> kaseuš<sup>11</sup> aēnajhō<sup>12</sup>

ā<sup>1\*</sup> mazištām<sup>14</sup> yamaite<sup>15</sup> būjēm<sup>16</sup>;  
 tā<sup>17</sup> cašmēng<sup>18</sup> θwīsrā<sup>19</sup> hārō<sup>20</sup>  
 aibī<sup>21</sup> Aša<sup>22</sup> vaenahī<sup>23</sup> vīspā<sup>24</sup>.

(8. So Andreas, others read tayā. 15 So Andreas, others read ayamaite. 22. After this word all mss. and all scholars read another aibī. Geld. and others have clearly indicated that this second aibī is redundant Andreas, therefore, omits it from his Urtext, and I have accepted his emendation.)

Translation:

When<sup>1</sup> (there is) an open<sup>2</sup> appeal<sup>3</sup>,  
 or<sup>5</sup> when<sup>4</sup>, O Mazdā<sup>6</sup>, (she) appeals<sup>7</sup> in secret<sup>8</sup>;  
 and<sup>10</sup> thus<sup>9</sup> for a small<sup>11</sup> fault<sup>12</sup>  
 (one) undertakes<sup>13,15</sup> a great<sup>14</sup> atonement;<sup>16</sup>  
 this<sup>17</sup>, watching<sup>20</sup> through- (Thy) radiant<sup>18</sup> Eye<sup>19</sup>,  
 with Aša<sup>22</sup>, all<sup>24</sup> -(this) Thou close<sup>21</sup> observest<sup>23</sup>

7. (Refers to Ārmaiti mentioned in the previous verse. 9-10. Lit., "or<sup>9</sup> when<sup>10</sup>" 11—12. Both originally gen. sing. 14. Lit., "greatest").

14. tā<sup>1</sup> θwā<sup>2</sup> pēresā<sup>3</sup>, Ahurā<sup>4</sup>,  
 yā<sup>5</sup> -zī<sup>6</sup> āiti<sup>7</sup> jēnghati<sup>8</sup> -cā<sup>9</sup>,  
 yā<sup>10</sup> išudō<sup>11</sup> dadēntē<sup>12</sup>  
 dāθrānām<sup>13</sup> hacā<sup>14</sup> ašāunō<sup>15</sup>,  
 yās<sup>16</sup> -cā<sup>17</sup>, Mazdā<sup>18</sup>, drēgvōdēbyō<sup>19</sup>,  
 yaθā<sup>20</sup> tā<sup>21</sup> anhēn<sup>22</sup> hēnkērētā<sup>23</sup> hyat<sup>24</sup>.

Translation:

I ask<sup>3</sup> Thee<sup>2</sup>, O Ahura<sup>4</sup>, of-those-(things)<sup>1</sup>  
 which<sup>5</sup> have, indeed<sup>6</sup>, come<sup>7</sup> and<sup>8</sup> are-(yet)-to-come<sup>9</sup>;  
 what<sup>10</sup> accounts<sup>11</sup> are-to-be-adjusted<sup>12</sup>  
 according to (Thy)-record<sup>13</sup> with<sup>14</sup> the Righteous<sup>15</sup>,  
 and<sup>17</sup> what<sup>16</sup>, O Mazdā<sup>18</sup>, with the Unrighteous<sup>19</sup>;  
 how<sup>20</sup> these<sup>21</sup> do stand<sup>22</sup> when<sup>24</sup> the-account is closed<sup>23</sup>.

(10-12. Lit., "what<sup>10</sup> dues<sup>11</sup> are fixed<sup>12</sup>" 13. Originally gen. sing. 15. Originally abl. sing. 19. Originally abl. plu. 22. Lit., "are<sup>19</sup>".)

15. pērēsā<sup>1</sup> avat<sup>2</sup> yā<sup>3</sup> maēnis<sup>4</sup>,  
yā<sup>5</sup> drēgvaitē<sup>6</sup> Xsaērem<sup>7</sup> hunāiti<sup>8</sup>,  
dus<sup>9</sup> syacēanāi<sup>10</sup>, Ahurā<sup>11</sup>;  
yā<sup>12</sup> nōit<sup>13</sup> jyōtūm<sup>14</sup> hunar<sup>15</sup> vīnasti<sup>16</sup>  
vāstryehyā<sup>17</sup> aēnanhō<sup>18</sup>  
pasēuš<sup>19</sup> vīrāt<sup>20</sup> cā<sup>21</sup> adrujyantō<sup>22</sup>.

(4. Geld. reads mainis. 15. All read hunarə except Andreas, whose reading I have adopted.)

Translation:

I ask<sup>1</sup> this<sup>2</sup>:— what<sup>3</sup> punishment<sup>4</sup> (there is)  
(for him) who<sup>5</sup> seeks-to-achieve<sup>6</sup> power<sup>7</sup> for the False-One<sup>8</sup>,  
for the Evil-Doer<sup>9</sup> <sup>10</sup>, O Ahura<sup>11</sup>;  
who<sup>12</sup> finds<sup>13</sup> no<sup>14</sup> fulfilment<sup>15</sup> of-(his)-life<sup>16</sup>  
but-in-separating<sup>17</sup> the Shepherd<sup>18</sup>,  
the Loving-One<sup>19</sup> from (his) flock<sup>19</sup> and<sup>21</sup> from the men<sup>20</sup>.

(12. I.e the False One. 14. Originally acc. inf., "in order to live": 15. Lit., "gain" 18. Lit., "driving away", originally abl. sing. 22. Lit., "not-inimical", this word (as well as 17) is originally gen. sing.)

16. peresā<sup>1</sup> avat<sup>2</sup> yaθā<sup>3</sup> hvō<sup>4</sup>,  
yā<sup>5</sup> hudānus<sup>6</sup> dēmānahyā Xsaērem<sup>7</sup>  
śōrzhya<sup>8</sup> vā<sup>9</sup> daxyēuš<sup>10</sup> vā<sup>11</sup>,  
Aśā<sup>12</sup> fradaθāi<sup>13</sup> aspērezatā<sup>14</sup>,  
ēwāvās<sup>15</sup>, Mazdā<sup>16</sup> Ahurā<sup>17</sup>,  
yadā<sup>18</sup> hvō<sup>19</sup> aňhat<sup>20</sup> yā<sup>21</sup> -syacēanas<sup>22</sup> -cā<sup>23</sup>.

Translation:-

I ask<sup>1</sup> this<sup>2</sup> : how<sup>3</sup> one<sup>4</sup>,  
whō<sup>5</sup> (being) of-good-understanding<sup>6</sup>, (Thy) Power<sup>7</sup>  
in-the-house<sup>8</sup>, or<sup>9</sup> in the province<sup>9</sup>, or<sup>10</sup> in-the-land<sup>11</sup>,  
striveth<sup>12</sup>, through Aśā<sup>13</sup>, to-advance<sup>14</sup>,  
at-what-time<sup>15</sup> and<sup>16</sup> acting<sup>17</sup> -how<sup>18</sup> shall such<sup>19</sup> become<sup>20</sup>,  
O Mazdā<sup>21</sup> Ahura<sup>22</sup> .., merged-in-Thee<sup>23</sup>?

(7, 9 and 11. All three originally gen. sing. 16-24. Owing to the exigencies of English style, I have had to transpose *pādas* 5 and 6.)

17. katārēm<sup>1</sup> asavā<sup>2</sup> vā<sup>3</sup>  
drēgvā<sup>4</sup> vā<sup>5</sup> vərənvaitē<sup>6</sup> mazyō<sup>7</sup>,  
vīdvā<sup>8</sup> vīdusē<sup>9</sup> mraotū<sup>10</sup>;  
mā<sup>11</sup> əvīdvā<sup>12</sup> aipī<sup>13</sup> -dēbāvayat<sup>14</sup>:  
zdi<sup>15</sup>-nē<sup>16</sup>, Mazdā<sup>17</sup> Ahurā<sup>18</sup>,  
Vanjhāus<sup>19</sup> fradaχštā<sup>20</sup> Mananhō<sup>21</sup>

Translation:

Which-of-the-two<sup>1</sup>— whether<sup>2</sup> the Righteous<sup>3</sup>  
oi<sup>4</sup> the Unrighteous<sup>4</sup>— chooseth<sup>6</sup> the better<sup>7</sup>,  
(that) let the Enlightened<sup>8</sup> declare<sup>10</sup> unto the wise;<sup>9</sup>  
let not<sup>11</sup> the Ignorant<sup>12</sup> lead-(us)-astray<sup>13. 14</sup>  
be<sup>15</sup> unto us<sup>16</sup>, O Mazdā<sup>17</sup> Ahura<sup>18</sup>,  
the Revealer<sup>20</sup> of Good<sup>19</sup> Mind<sup>21</sup>.

(7. Lit., "greater".)

18. mā<sup>1</sup> ciš<sup>2</sup> at<sup>3</sup> vā<sup>4</sup> dregvatō<sup>5</sup>  
māθrās<sup>6</sup> -cā<sup>7</sup> gūstā<sup>8</sup> sāsnās<sup>9</sup> -cā<sup>10</sup>;  
ā<sup>11</sup> zī<sup>12</sup> dēmānēm<sup>13</sup> vīsem<sup>14</sup> vā<sup>15</sup>  
sōiθrēm<sup>16</sup> vā<sup>17</sup> daxyum<sup>18</sup> vā<sup>19</sup> ādāt<sup>20</sup>  
dušitā<sup>21</sup> -cā<sup>22</sup> marakaē<sup>23</sup> -cā<sup>24</sup>  
aθā<sup>25</sup> iš<sup>26</sup> sāzdūm<sup>27</sup> snaiθsā.<sup>28</sup>

(11-12. Barth. and Andreas read the words separate, Geld. puts together as one.)

Translation:

And<sup>3</sup> let not<sup>1</sup> any<sup>2</sup> of you<sup>4</sup> unto the False-One<sup>5</sup>  
and<sup>7</sup> unto (his)-words<sup>6</sup> and<sup>10</sup> unto -(his)-teachings<sup>9</sup> give-ear;<sup>8</sup>  
for<sup>12</sup> the house<sup>13</sup> and<sup>15</sup> the village<sup>14</sup>  
and<sup>17</sup> the province<sup>16</sup> and<sup>19</sup> the country<sup>18</sup> doth-he-hurl<sup>11, 20</sup>  
into the place.of torment<sup>21</sup>, even<sup>24</sup> into annihilation<sup>23</sup>;  
so<sup>25</sup> resist<sup>27</sup> these<sup>26</sup> with (your)-(holy) weapons<sup>22</sup>.

(5. Originally gen. sing 15, 17 and 19. Lit., "or". 20. Lit., "unite with. 22. The cā is omitted. 24. Lit., "and".)

19. gūstā<sup>1</sup> yē<sup>2</sup> mantā<sup>3</sup> Ašem<sup>4</sup>,  
ahūm<sup>5</sup> -bis<sup>6</sup> vīdvā<sup>7</sup>, Ahurā<sup>8</sup>,  
ərəzuχδāi<sup>9</sup> vacanhām<sup>10</sup>  
χsayamnō<sup>11</sup> hizvō<sup>12</sup> -vasō<sup>13</sup>;  
θwā<sup>14</sup> Āθrā<sup>15</sup> suχrā<sup>16</sup>, Mazdā<sup>17</sup>,  
vāñhāu<sup>18</sup> vīdātā<sup>19</sup> rānayā<sup>0</sup>.

Translation:

Who<sup>2</sup> giveth-ear-unto<sup>1</sup> (and) realises<sup>3</sup> Aša,<sup>4</sup>  
the<sup>5</sup> soul-healing<sup>6</sup> Lord-of-Wisdom,<sup>7</sup> O Ahura,<sup>8</sup>  
(he,) tongue<sup>12</sup> -well-controlled,<sup>13</sup> (is) capable<sup>11</sup>  
of-proving-the-truth<sup>9</sup> of-(his)-words:<sup>10</sup>  
through Thy<sup>14</sup> radiant<sup>16</sup> Fire,<sup>15</sup> O Mazdā<sup>17</sup>  
the rewards<sup>18</sup> of-both-parties<sup>20</sup> do-(Ye)-assign.<sup>19</sup>

(3. Lit., "thought over" (and grasped). 9. Originally dat., "for the truthful word". 19. The "Ye" refers to Ahura Mazdā and the "Holy Immortals". In order to avoid an awkward sentence I have transposed pādas 3 and 4.)

20. yē<sup>1</sup> āya<sup>2</sup> asavanem<sup>3</sup>  
divamnōm<sup>4</sup> hōi<sup>5</sup> aparem<sup>6</sup> χsayō,<sup>7</sup>  
darəgəm<sup>3</sup> āyu<sup>4</sup> təmanhō<sup>10</sup>  
duś<sup>11</sup> -χvāθrem<sup>12</sup> avaētās<sup>13</sup> vacō;<sup>11</sup>  
tēm<sup>15</sup> vā<sup>16</sup> ahūm<sup>17</sup> drəgvantō<sup>18</sup>  
syaoθanāis<sup>19</sup> χvāis<sup>20</sup> daēnā<sup>21</sup> maēsat.<sup>22</sup>

(7. Geld., Jack. and Barth. read χsyō; I have accepted the reading of Kanga, Mills and Andreas. 16. Thus Geld., all others read vā.)

Translation:

(He) who<sup>1</sup> goeth-over<sup>2</sup> to the Righteous,<sup>3</sup>  
from him<sup>5</sup> henceforth<sup>6</sup> misery<sup>7</sup> keeps afar<sup>4</sup>  
(and) long<sup>8</sup> ages<sup>9</sup> of darkness<sup>10</sup>,  
(as also) bad<sup>11</sup> -nourishment<sup>12</sup> (and) woeful<sup>13</sup> -speech<sup>14</sup>;  
to such<sup>15</sup> life<sup>17</sup>, indeed<sup>16</sup>, the followers of-the-False<sup>18</sup>  
·by their-own<sup>20</sup> actions<sup>19</sup> (their own) self<sup>21</sup> doth-lead<sup>22</sup>.

(4. Originally pres. part. ātm. 9. Originally sing. 13-14. Lit., "woefulness of speech". 15. Lit., "this".)

21. Mazdā<sup>1</sup> dadāt<sup>2</sup> Ahurō<sup>3</sup>  
 Haurvato<sup>4</sup> Amorētātas<sup>5</sup> cā<sup>6</sup>,  
 būrōis<sup>7</sup> ā<sup>8</sup> Aśāxyā<sup>9</sup> -cā<sup>10</sup>  
 x̄āpāiθyāt<sup>11</sup> x̄saθrahya<sup>12</sup> sarō<sup>13</sup>,  
 Vanjhōus<sup>14</sup> vazdvarē<sup>15</sup> Mananjhō<sup>16</sup>,  
 yē<sup>17</sup> Hōi<sup>18</sup> Mainyū<sup>19</sup> šyaoθanāis<sup>20</sup> -cā<sup>21</sup> -curvaθ<sup>22</sup>

Translation:

Mazdā<sup>1</sup> Ahura<sup>2</sup> doth bestow<sup>3</sup>  
 Wholeness<sup>4</sup> and<sup>5</sup> Immortality<sup>6</sup>,  
 out-of<sup>8</sup> (His) fulness<sup>7</sup> (He bestows) Aśā<sup>9</sup> also<sup>10</sup>,  
 (and) through-His-Lordship<sup>11</sup> union<sup>13</sup> with-Power-Divine,<sup>12</sup>  
 (and) full-vigour<sup>15</sup> of Good<sup>14</sup> Mind<sup>16</sup>  
 (on him) who<sup>17</sup> in Spirit<sup>19</sup> ands<sup>21</sup> in act<sup>20</sup> (is) His<sup>18</sup> friend<sup>22</sup>  
 (4, 5, 9, 13 and 15. All are genitives “governed by dadāt  
 19. Originally gen. sing. 20. Originally ins. plu )

22. ciθrā<sup>1</sup> i<sup>2</sup> hudājihē<sup>3</sup>  
 yaθanā<sup>4</sup> vaēdēmnāi<sup>5</sup> Mananjhā,<sup>6</sup>  
 Vohū<sup>7</sup> hvō<sup>8</sup> X̄saθrā<sup>9</sup> Asəm<sup>10</sup>  
 vacayhā<sup>11</sup> šyaoθanā<sup>12</sup> -cā<sup>13</sup> haptī,<sup>14</sup>  
 hvō<sup>15</sup> Tōi,<sup>16</sup> Mazdā<sup>17</sup> Ahurā,<sup>18</sup>  
 vāzistō<sup>19</sup> aijhaiti<sup>20</sup> astis.<sup>21</sup>

(2. V. l. e.)

Translation:

Clear<sup>1</sup> (are) these<sup>2</sup> (teachings) to the Lord-of-Wisdom,<sup>3</sup>  
 likewise<sup>4</sup> (to him) realising<sup>5</sup> with(Good<sup>7</sup>)\* Mind,<sup>6</sup>  
 such,<sup>8</sup> with-(the-help-of)-Divine<sup>9</sup> Power,<sup>10</sup> Aśā<sup>11</sup>  
 doth-promote<sup>14</sup> with word<sup>11</sup> and<sup>13</sup> deed,<sup>12</sup>  
 he indeed,<sup>15</sup> O Mazdā<sup>17</sup> Ahura,<sup>18</sup> for Thee<sup>16</sup>  
 the most-helpful<sup>19</sup> servant<sup>21</sup> doth-decome.<sup>22</sup>

(\*This word has to be supplied from the 3rd pāda. 6. The implication is also “with his mind”, hence also the word “mind” is not used again in pāda 4. 7. Lit., “good”.)

## THE PRAKRIT IN KUNDAMĀLĀ.

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### INTRODUCTION

The Kundamālā was first published in 1923 by Messrs. Rāmakrishna Kavi and Rāmanātha Śāstri in the Dakshinabhārati Series. The edition was based on four incomplete MSS., two from Mysore and the other two from Tanjore. The latter are wanting in the beginning and the former in the Prologue mention Diñnāga as the author of the work. The Tanjore MSS. however ascribe the work to Dhīranāga in the colophon. I do not propose to discuss directly the question of authorship and decide between them, but I am now concerned with the exhibition of the nature of the Prākrit contained in the drama and the determination of the period to which the language can be assigned. I shall thus try to throw side light on the question of authorship.

I know some scholars urge that the character of the Prākrit found in a drama cannot be accepted as a criterion for the determination of the age of composition of the work, for it depends more upon the place of origin of the MSS. rather than the age of the language. The Prākrit in the dramas is also subject to a good deal of corruption at the hands of ignorant copyists. It is further greatly influenced by Sanskrit in which, rather than in Prākrit, the writers were well versed. They depend more on the conventional rules of grammar rather than on tradition and thus the language of the dramas, to whichever age they may belong, assumes a uniformity of character and frustrates any attempt to use it as a test of age. These remarks, however true they may be, need not drive us into despair. The last applies equally well to every dead language, and particularly to Sanskrit which had been stereotyped long before Prākrit was; and yet the linguistic test as applied to Sanskrit is generally accepted as a criterion for

determining the age of a work. There is an inner life in language behind the outer form of words which presents a new appearance from age to age; and the Prākrit language is no exception to this rule. We can by discrimination eliminate local peculiarities and scribal mistakes to a high degree of certainty.

The *Kundamālā* is a drama in six Acts recounting the story of Sītā subsequent to her second exile from Ayodhyā. Sītā succumbs to a second ordeal and is reunited with Rāma to spend many a year of further happiness in his company. It is conventional to close a drama with a happy ending and hence the deviation from the *Rāmāyaṇa*. A distinguishing feature of this drama is that it includes the character of the Vidūṣaka, which does not generally appear in the Rāma Plays<sup>1</sup>. The characters in the drama are few and those that speak Prākrit are fewer still in number. The female characters, Sītā and Yajñavedi and Vedavatī, and the male characters, the Vidūṣaka and a tāpasa, are the only ones that employ Prākrit; but the amount of Prākrit in the drama is considerable. The whole of Act. II with a major part of Acts I, III and IV besides considerable portions of Acts V and VI are in Prākrit. Unfortunately there are lacunae in the Prākrit passages wherever they happen to be considerably long and the readings of many an other passage are corrupt<sup>2</sup>. But the passages that are free from doubt are considerable enough to enable us to form an idea of the nature of the language. The uniformity of dialect is also a favourable circumstance; all the characters employ only one dialect, the Sauraseni.

The chief peculiarities of the Prākrit dialect in the drama are the following: -mātra is represented by -matta although -metta occurs in a single phrase (§1). pūrva always appears as puvva (§2) but in puruṣa the u remains unchanged. t is as frequently lost as it is voiced (§6) and punar always appears as una (even

1. The *Adbhutadarpaṇa* which presents the same feature is also from South India.

2. The other edition printed at Lahore is little better.

after *anusvāra*) and only once as *puna* (after *anusvāra*) (§6). *I* is frequently changed into cerebral *l̄* (§11). *jñ* is always represented by *ṇṇ*, never by *ññ* (§16). *kṣ* always assumes the form *kkh* (§18). *ny* is always turned into *ṇṇ* (§20). *ry* is always changed into *yy* (§22). This last is not a sign of antiquity but only a local peculiarity. The Acc. pl. n. of stems in -*a* ends in -*āim* (§24) and the Loc. Sg. of stems in -*ā* in -*āe* and not -*āam* (§15). The Gen. Sg. of *ātman* is either *attāṇiassa* or *appāṇiassa* beside *attano* (§30). The Nom. pl. and Gen. Pl. of *aham* are *amhe* and *ahmāṇam* (§32). *tava* appears beside *tuha* (§33). The fem. of *bhavam* is always *hodī* (§29). *dīsa* appears regularly instead of *dissa* (§46) and *kīsa* instead of *kissa* (§2); *kocci* never occurs (§36). *dr̄ś* appears as *damis* always except once (§10), but *grah* appears as *gahṇa* (§44). The Inf. of *kṛ* is *kādum* (§53) and indecl. part. of *kṛ* and *gam* are *kadua* and *gadua*, although *gacchia* is once found (§52). *khu* (*khalu*) never appears as *hu* (earlier) or *kkhu* (later) (§55). *dāṇīm* always appears with final *anusvāra* and *api* as *vi* (§55). *haddhi* (with long final vowel) is more frequent than *haddhi* (§55). The particle *āma*, which is frequent in *Bhāsa* and *Kālidāsa*, is strangely missing in the present drama. The above peculiarites show that the *Kundamālā* presents the normal Prākrit of the later dramas. The following detailed exposition points to the conclusion that the Prākrit in the present drama has passed the stage of transition and presents the settled form of the 6th or 7th century, stereotyped by the grammarians. As is to be expected of a drama discovered in South India, its language shows some of the peculiarities of South Indian orthography, the chief of which are the representation of *ry* by *yy* (§22) and of the doubling of a consonant by a small circle placed before it (§10) which is usually represented by the sign for *anusvāra*. I have drawn attention to these in their proper places in the following exposition.

### PHONOLOGY—Vowels.

§ 1. Changes of quality:—Medially Skt. *r̄* is never represented by *a* except in the forms of the rt. *grah*. It is usually repre-

sented by i, but in the neighbourhood of labials, it appears as u. Thus hiaa (*hṛdaya*) i. 18; ii. 13, 25, 26; diṭṭi (*drṣṭi*) i. 82, diṭhī, diṭhṭhim iii. 30 diṭhṭho ii. 12 diṭhṭhā v. 21 (probably all to be corrected into ṭṭh); ākidi (*ākṛti*) iv. 75, padikidi (*pratikṛti*) i. 82, kide (*kṛte*) ii. 19; also kidam (*kṛtam*) i. 82, kido (*kṛtah*) ii. 13; nisamsattana (*nṛśamsatva*) ii. 43; diḍha (*dṛḍha*) vi. 59, ii. 39; paidi (*prakṛti*) ii. 12; jaicchā (*yadṛcchā*) ii. 55.—utta (*vṛtta*) i. 6, 86, 108. iv. 79 vi. 129 and uttanta (*vṛttānta*) i. 48, ii. 6, 7, iv. 7 beside -vutta ii. 12, 42, iii. 1, iv. 2, 42, 68 v. 7 and vuttanta ii. 17, iv. 70, v. 25; niḥuda (*nibṛhta*) iv. 75; pahudi (*prabhṛti*) i. 96, iv. 77 beside paüdi iv. 5 (probably to be corrected).—asadisa (*asadr̥ṣṭa*) iii. 39, īdisa (*īdr̥ṣṭa*) iv. 40, kīdisa (*kīdr̥ṣṭa*) ii. 17, iii. 30, 47, tādisa (*tādr̥ṣṭa*) i. 80, ii. 42 tāisi (*tādr̥ṣṭi*) i. 96 beside amhārisa (*asmādr̥ṣṭa*) v. 13, īrisa ii. 43, v. 19, 123, edārisa (*etādr̥ṣṭa*) iv. 40, mārisi (*mādr̥ṣṭi*) ii. 12, sāricca (*sādr̥ṣya*); vāvuda (*vyāpṛta*) iv. 36.—Initial r is very rare: mahesi (*mahaṛṣi*) i. 82, iv. 38, v. 25, vi. 90 and rāesi (*rājarṣi*) v. 25.

The change of a into i is found in dīṇa (*datta*) iii. 27, v. 86 and baliām (*balavat*) iv. 16. It is not changed into i in sampakka (*sampakva*) iii. 1. It is changed into e in bharuvvehaṇa (*bhār-odvahana*) beside bharuvvahaṇa i. 12 (probably to be corrected) metta (*mātra*) i. 40, beside matta ii. 19, iii. 55, mahesi (*mahr̥ṣi*) i. 82 etc., and to o in santi (*santi*) i. 64 (probably to be corrected.) adimuttu (*atimuktā*) iv. 79 beside muttākalāva (*muktākalāpa*) v. 7 may be due to Dravidian influence.

On the other hand i is changed into a in pudavī (*prthivī*) ii. 12, puḍhavī v. 7, pahādae (*prābhātike*) iv. 79 and into u in dudia (*dvitīya*) ii. 3, iv. 74—u is changed into a in pāñdara (*pāñdura*) ii. 13 beside pandura iv. 13. It never appears as i in purusa i. 88 ii. 12, iii. 30, v. 25, iv. 5, 38.

i for e is met with in ḡarinda (*narendra*) v. 5 and pavisida (*praveśita*) iii. 30; ettiā i. 64 for itthiā (*strī*) may be a mistake.—u for o is found in Tiluttamā (*Tilottamā*) iv. 1, 3, 87 and in the analogous Siluttamā iv. 87. Also in maṇuhara

(manohara) iv. 13 beside maṇohara iv. 75, vandaṇuvvaāra (vandanopacāra) ii. 13, pucciadi (procaye) iv. 15 and bharuvvahaṇa cited above.

The usual representation of ai and au are e and o; thus **Kekai** (*Kaikeyī*) i. 22, nemisa (naimiśa) ii. 7, iii. 1 and **Kosio** (*Kausikah*) iv. 74 **Somittī** (*Saumitriḥ*); but the following are noteworthy: munḍde (maugdhye) ii. 42; **Vaidehī** ii. 13, iii. 50, v. 13 without change. kūdūhala i. 14 is from kutūhala and not from kautūhala as in the chāyā.

§ 2. Changes of quantity:—ē and ō are frequently met with: bhuvanēkka (bhuvanaika) vi. 93, Umāmahēssarā (Umāmaheśvarau) ii. 12, ēttha (no chāyā) i. 6 and many times, but ēttā, once (probably to be corrected), ēvva and ēvvam (17 and 28 times) beside eva and evam (twice each) ēkkam v. 77 and ēkkena i. 64, jēṭṭha i. 76, ii. 3, v. 86; **Ayōjjā** (*Ayodhyā*) i. 66, jōgga (yogya) iii. 27, iv. 52.

The other long vowels are also regularly shortened before conjunct consonants: āsaṇṇātthamaya (āsannāstamaya) i. 68, pūvva (pūrva) iv. 70 beside apūvva iv. 11 and pūvva may be due to mistake in copying or printing. rūpa- v. 21 for rūpa beside rūva iv. 1 and rūpa vi. 93 and nīvvāsidum (nirvāsayitum) i. 60 beside nīvvāsidā (nirvāsitā) i. 96, iii. 39 are to be similarly estimated. In ācchāa (ācchādita) ii. 13 and āṇa- (ājñā-) i. 66, 84, 98, iv. 52, v. 21, 31, 119, vi. 115, the ā remains long. paḍihāra v. 21 is perhaps to be referred to pratihāra and not to pratihāra as in the chāyā.

Shortening of unaccented vowels: dakkhiṇapāha (dakṣiṇāpatha) iv. 14, taha (tathā) always, jaha (yathā) i. 14 etc., (9 times) beside jahā ii. 42, jabāhippām (yathābhīprāyam v. 43, alia (alīka) ii. 12, iv. 85, v. 13, aḍavi- (aṭavī-) iii. 1, anuggahida (anugṛhīta) iv. 38, nīgahida (nigṛhīta) i. 40 and gahida ii. 50, iv. 3 beside gahida v. 49, tapassini- (tapasvinī-) ii. 5 (in verse), dūdīa (dvitiyā) ii. 3, iv. 74, pathanīa (prārthanīyā) ii. 12, haddhi (hādhik) vi. 80 beside haddhi i. 82, iv. 36, 40, always repeated except

once (iv. 36). *aṇṇahā* (*anyathā*) iv. 91, *savvahā* (*sarvathā*) iv. 40, 68, v. 58 and *ahavā* (*athavā*) iii. 30, 55. iv. 40 are never shortened.

Compensatory lengthening: *kādum* (*kartum*) iii. 1, *tā* (*tat*) i. 12 etc., *kīsa-* (*kiyat-*) i. 12, *nīsāsa* (*niḥsvāsa*) ii. 34, iv. 16 beside *nīssāsa* ii. 12, *-sīhāṇam* (*simhānām*) ii. 5 (in verse) beside *simhāṣāṇa* v. 5, 62, 64, *dīsa-* i. 82, iv. 38, 89, vi. 93; never *dissa*. *gāīm* (*gatim*) ii. 12 beside *gāīm* iii. 1, v. 15 may be a mistake. *bāhū-*  
*jualeṇa* v. 7 *bāhujualeṇa* may be due to accent. As to -ādo, Abl. suffix, see below §24.

§ 3. **Loss of vowels:**—*api* regularly appears as *avi* at the beginning of the sentence and as *vi* elsewhere (6: 40). *idānīm* always appears without *i*: 11 times as *dānīm* and once as *dāni*, i. 82 (perhaps to be corrected), and once even at the beginning of the sentence (iii. 27). *iti* regularly loses its initial, appearing as *ti* after a consonant and as *tti* after a vowel, only once (iv. 14) after a consonant (probably to be corrected). *ṇam* (*nanu*) ii. 37, 47; *ṇu* is once (i. 48) rendered as *nanu* in the *chāyā*, perhaps wrongly (cf. §55)

§ 4. **Changes of syllables:**—*sotthīnī* (*chāyā*: *sukhena*) i. 108 is perhaps connected with *svasti*; *donṇām* (*dvayoh*) v. 77.

*aya* into *e*: The affix *aya* alone is changed into *e* but not the product of *i* and *ana*: *adivāhemī* (*ativāhayāmi*) ii. 11 etc. *nāsā-*  
*demi* (*nāsādayāmi*) iii. 1, *dāmsedu* (*darśayatu*) iv. 1 etc. But *Rāmāṇa* (*Rāmāyaṇa*) ii. 5, *ṇāṇa* (*nayana*) ii. 13 etc. *saṇa* (*śayana*) i. 18 etc.

*apa* and *ava* into *o*: *apa* always appears as *ava* except in *osarissām* (*chāyā* wrongly *apasarāmi*) iv. 36, 38, 74. But *apacaya* iv. 5 *apasara-* iv. 19 *apakkama-* iv. 74 are peculiar. They are perhaps mistakes. *ava* frequently appears as *o*, thus *odara* (*avatara*) i. 14, 6, v. 62, *ociṇomi* (*avacinomi*) iii. 27, *oaria* (*avatīrya*) iv. 1 but *ogāha* iii. 27. iv. 5 beside *avagāha* i. 14; also *avanāhayadi* iii. 30, *avaloaantī* iv. 17, *avamāṇidā* v. 104 and *avatīthidā* v. 21.

§ 5 **Intrusion of vowels** :—a: sakkañomi (*śaknomi*) iv. 40  
saa-? (*sva-*) i. 64, 108, parihariasi (*parihriyase*) iv. 72.

i: itthiā (*stri*) i. 52, 88, ii. 12. iv. 5, 38: ettiā i. 64 is doubtful; parisa (*sparsa*) i. 14, ii. 12, iv. 68; silāhā (*ślāghā*) i. 78, ii. 29, siñeha (*sneha*) iv. 14 siñiddha (*snigdha*) v. 5, 21.

u: tuvara- (*tvara-*) ii. 50, v. 1, duve (*dvaū*) ii. 1, v. 21, paduma (*padma*) v. 5, sumara- (*smara-*) i. 62, 66, iii. 33, iv. 14, v. 11, 15, 27, 58.

### Simple consonants.

§ 6. **Breathed consonants** :—Medially k and c are, as a rule, dropped but in compounds initial consonants of the latter member are sometimes retained; thus Rāhava-ula i. 66. vi. 90 beside Rāhavakula i. 82. Other exceptions are Kekaie (*Kaikkeyyā*) i. 22, Sākeda (*Sāketa*) v. 64 and parakeraa ii. 26, iv. 64 beside paraeraa ii. 26, kiṁ, often beside im̄, thrice. ca v. 27 (only once) after anusvāra beside a (fifteen times) after a vowel, (six times) after anusvāra. ṭ as is a rule voiced; exceptions are: Cittāñṭa (*Chitrakūṭa*) iv. 14 and piaa (*piṭaka*) iii. 1. t is as frequently lost as it is voiced. Exceptions are: tatappaüdi (*tataḥ-*) iv. 5, vanadevatā i. 82 beside vanadevadā iv. 14, sampāta v. 1 beside sampāda i. 68, probably all to be corrected. prati- is always changed into padī. p is either retained or changed into v. It is lost only in two words, palāa (*pralāpa*) ii. 12 and niुṇa (*nipuna*) iv. 18. All the above consonants are never lost initially. Only p in punar is regularly lost.

§ 7. **Voiced consonants** :—Medially g and j are as a rule lost; exceptions are found only in compounds: gūḍhagabbha iv. 79, piajāṇa iv. 68 beside pariaṇa iv. 56. Other exceptions are bhagavāi iii. 27 beside bhaavadi i. 66, 108, pavvajami (*pravrajāmi*) i. 82 perhaps to be corrected into pavvajāmi. bāhadhea (*bhāgadheya*) i. 80 is perhaps by transfer of aspiration like bahiniā (*bhagini*) (*Śakuntalā* iv. 80). d and b undergo no change. d is rarely lost. tāsiñam (*tādrśānām*) i. 96 beside tādiso (*tādrśah*) i. 80, pāava ii. 11 beside pādapa ii. 13, sāara iv. 14 beside sādara ii. 12,

ja<sup>1</sup> (yadi) i. 62, paām (padam) i. 108, rośsam (rodiṣyāmi) iv. 16, vaāna (vadana) v. 27, hiaa (hṛdaya) i. 18, 60, ii. 5, 13, iv. 18, v. 5 etc. d is changed to r through the influence of a following ē which passes into i (cf §1 above).

§ 8. Breathed aspirates:—Medial kh and th are regularly represented by h. Exceptions: mukhaa (mukhaka) iv. 19 and saṅgadhita (saṅgrathita) v. 25 are apparently corruptions. th is changed into dh in puḍhavī (pṛthivī) v. 7; puḍavī ii. 12 is to be corrected accordingly or is due to Dravidian influence. ch remains unchanged. ph does not occur medially. th occurs only in padanti (r̥i paṭh-) ii. 5 which is to be corrected into paḍhanti.

§ 9. Voiced aspirates:—Medial g̥h is, without exception, turned into h. jh does not occur medially. qh remains unchanged. dh and bh are often changed into h. The following forms are peculiar: paüdi (prabhṛti) iv. 5, bādu- (bhrātṛ-) i. 64, bāaṇa (bhājana) iii. 30 and sōvagga (saubhāgya) v. 21 all due, perhaps, to Dravidian influence; Bhāīraī (Bhāgīrathi) i. 12, 14, 108 beside Bhāīrahī iii. 27 may be a mistake.

§ 10. Nasals:—ñ and ŋ are regularly represented by anusvāra. Besides in a number of cases doubling is indicated by the anusvāra sign, which is due to Dravidian influence; thus ama- (ārya), several times, beside ayya i. 34 (only once), umdisia (uddiṣya) ii. 28, uvamñāsa (upanyāsa) v. 23, damsanya (darśana) ii. 5, 39, 46, 47. iii. 55, iv. 1, 36, 38, v. 21 beside dassanya iii. 30, nīmmānusa (nirmānuṣa) i. 82 and nīmmideṇa (nirmitena) iv. 1, mamñu (manyu) iii. 30, mahantha (mahārtha) v. 25 probably a misprint for maham̥da, Vammī (Vālmīki) i. 82, ii. 2, 9, 10, 12, iv. 1, 5, v. 25 beside Vammī i. 108, v. 25, vi. 90, vimbhama (vibhrama) iv. 17 beside vibbhama v. 5. sahadhammaāriṇī (sahadharmaeāriṇī) ii. 37, samumbhiṇṇa (samudbhinna) ii. 42 beside samubbhīṇṇa iv. 68, samvahā (sarvathā) iv. 40 beside savvahā iv. 68, v. 58. In vimmayā (vismaya) iv. 19 and ammi (asmī) i. 38 anusvāra stands for h.

The origin of this practice is due to Dravidian influence and the forms in Prakrit which show a double consonant or **anusvāra** followed by a single consonant optionally, as **gim̤thī** or **git̤thī** (*gr̤sti*), **mam̤jāra** or **majjāra** (*mārjāra*), **vaamsa** or **vaassa** (*vayasya*) etc., might have lent support to it. **n** suffers no change but **n** is systematically changed into **ñ**. Where it is preserved, e.g. in **niravasesa** (*niravašeṣa*) i. 52, **Nemiśa** (*Naimiśa*) iii. 1, **na** iii. 55 beside **ñiravasesa** v. 15, **nemisa** iii. 1 etc. **ña** iii. 55 etc., it is evidently through a mistake. **m** undergoes no change.

**§ 11. Liquids:**—**r** is represented by **l** only in a single word; **calāṇa** (*caraṇa*) i. 12. **padiāra** ii. 40 does not represent **parihāra** (as in the *chāyā*) but only **pratikāra**. **l** is frequently changed into **l** even in the beginning of words. **laḍā** iii. 27, **lajjā** iii. 30, **Lava** vi. 65, **haṭā** iv. 1, 2, **saalaloa** vi. 90, **Rāhavaulā** vi. 90 and so on beside **laḍā** iv. 2, **lajjā** ii. 12, **Lava** ii. 3, **halā** ii. 1, **saalaloa** vi. 93, **Rāhavaula** i. 66. This is evidently due to Dravidian influence.

**§ 12. Semivowels:**—Initial **y** is without exception turned into **j**. Medially it is frequently dropped but is preserved in a few words which, however, show forms without **y** elsewhere: **chāyā** i. 16, **piyasahī** iv. 1 **sahāya** iv. 14, **parihiyasi** v. 49, **vayassa** iv. 2, **Rāmāyaṇa** iv. 1 beside **chāā** ii. 11, **piasahī** ii. 1, **sahāā** iii. 1, **parihjasī** v. 15, **vaassa** iv. 83, **Rāmāṇa** ii. 5. Only **Māyāvai** iv. 14, **vim̤maya** iv. 19 and **patthāvayanti** iv. 18 do not show forms without **y**. Medial **v** is generally retained but is dropped in the following words: **diasa** iii. 52, **diaha** iv. 74, besides **divahe** iv. 5; **pasaa** i. 48; **paḍiniutta** i. 86; **paūitta** iv. 79 beside **pavutta** iv. 2; **bhaadā** i. 96 beside **bhavanto** iv. 40; **mahākai-** v. 25.

**§ 13. Spirants:**—**ś** is retained in a few words which should be considered as a scribal mistake or as a case of pedantic spelling. **cittāśuddhi** vi. 93, **Nemiśa** iii. 1, **sandeṣa** i. 56 (i. 52), **śoan̤jā** ii. 12 beside **cārittasuddhi** vi. 90, **Nemisa** iii. 1, **sandisiadi** i. 58, **soan̤jā** iii. 50. **s** is changed into **h** in **diaha** (*divasa*) iv. 74, 77 and **divaha** iv. 5. **divaa** iv. 5 is probably a mistake.

**Aspirate:**—As to *paññāra* ii. 40 see above § 11. *neānam* (*snehānām*) ii. 12, and *acchāida* (*atyāhita*) iv. 4 are exceptional, probably due to Dravidian influence Visarga. *duḥkha* iii. 30, 36, iv. 14 beside *dukka* i. 52, ii. 12 and *dukkha* i. 64 is due to the influence of Sanskrit.

### Conjunct Consonants.

§ 14. **Gemination:**—*ekka* i. 64, v. 77, *bhuvanekka* vi. 93 beside *ea* iii. 19; *eva* i. 48 etc. and *evvam* i. 62 etc. beside *eva* i. 82 and *evam* iv. 18, 5, 6, 7; *vandañuvvaāro* (*vandanopacāra*) ii. 13, *sakkañomī* (*śaknomi*) iv. 40.

§ 15. **Combinations of mutes with mutes:**—Assimilation of the former to the latter is the rule. Peculiarities will be noticed. *mumde* (*maugdhye*) ii. 42 is probably to be corrected into *mumdhē*, where *anusvāra* indicates gemination.

§ 16. **Mutes with nasals:**—If the nasal is the first member it remains unchanged, but if it is the second, it is assimilated to the mute. *anni* (*agni*) i. 48. *jñ* is always represented by *ṇṇ* (and never by *ññ*), but when it follows *ā*, it appears as *ṇ*. *tm* in *ātman* appears 16 times as *tt* and 4 times as *pp*. *nt* never appears as *nd*, but in a single instance it is turned into *ṇṭ*: *sīmantaa* (*simanta*) i. 62.

§ 17. **Mutes with semivowels:**—It is always the semivowel that is assimilated to the mute, except in the case of *dv* in which the reverse is the case. *mandabhāā* (*mandbhāgya*) is found five times. *ty*, *dy* and *dhy* are palatalized: *cc*, *jj* and *jjh*. *atyanta* ii. 12 and *acanta* v. 21. beside *accanta* ii. 43 etc. are perhaps mistakes. *acchāida* (*atyāhita*) iv. 3, *pacchāgada* (*pratyāgata*) vi. 115 are exceptional. *dy* never=*yy*. In *nimdiadi* (*mindyate*) vi. 112 the dental is protected by the nasal. *vijjhādhara* (*vidyādhara*) is probably a mistake. *dv* is=*vv*, except in *diuna* (*dviguna*) iv. 16, *dudia* (*dvitiya*) iv. 74 and other forms of *dvi*. *Ayojjā* (*Ayodhyā*) i. 66 is probably a printer's mistake. *py*=*vv* in *duvvinnavva* (*durvijñapya*) v. 17. *dirgha* is always *dīha*—*rt* is represented by *tt*: *muhutta* (*muhūrta*) i. 16, iv. 5, *samkittana*

(saṅkirtana) i. 48, ii. 19; but in the forms of the rt. vṛt- (vart-) tt is also frequently found: abhi-ṇiuttomi (nirvartayāmi) i. 108 nīvvattidavva (nirvartayitavya) ii. 37 nīvvattiда (nirvartita) iii. 27 but ṇioavat̄ti (niyoagavartī) vi. 11<sup>2</sup>, passaparivat̄tipī (-parivartini) iv. 10, vattadi (vartete) i. 12, vi. 63, vattāmi (varte, chāyā wrong) iii. 52, vattamāṇo (vartamānah) iv. 5, anuvat̄tissadi (anuvartiyate) iv. 3—rth appears as tth: edāvattham etadartham? ii. 6, patthanā (prārthaṇiya) ii. 12 paramattha (paramārtha) iii. 30, vi. 57, mahattha (mahārt̄a) v. 21, vi. 93, samattha (samartha) ii. 5, iv. 18. As to mahantha v. 25 see above §10. samatta (samartha) is probably to be corrected into samattha.—rdh is represented by ddh: saddha (sārtha) iii. 1, muddhā (mūrdhan) v. 64 dhanuddhara (dhanurdhara) vi. 93; but in the forms of the rt. vṛdh- (vardh-), the combination is represented by ddh: vadḍhasi (varddnase) ii. 1, vadḍhiadi vṛddhyate; (chāyā wrong), samvadḍhia (samvarddhita) ii. 12.

§ 18. Mutes with spirants: —The spirant is as a rule assimilated to the mute. ks̄ is always represented by kkh, except in vacchatthala (vakṣahsthala) ii. 34, iv. 68; thus lakkhī (lakṣmi) v. 5. and Lakkhaṇa (Lakṣmaṇa) i. 6, 58, 82 etc. Cf. however, vikkevanikkeva (viksepanikṣepa) iii. 1 beside ṇikkhitta (nikṣipta) iv. 74, takkāṇa (tatksāṇa) iv. 19 beside khāṇa (ksāṇa) iv. 85 vilakkha (vilakṣa) iv. 89. vijjai i. 84 is =vijayati and not viksate as in the chāyā ts is variously represented; vaccha (vatsa) i. 6. etc. beside vacca (once i. 58), ṇibhacchati (nirbhartsayati) v. 104 samivaccara (samvatsara) v. 58, vaccalattāṇa (vatsalatva) v. 27 and samussāhedi (samutsāhayati) i. 14. ps: accarāṇam (apsarasām) iv. 79. śc: accariāṁ (āścaryam) v. 67 and ṇiccaļa (niścala) iv. 5, šk: dukkhara (duṣkara) v. 25. st̄ and st̄h are both represented by t̄th which is also written t̄t or ṭh, but ṇiṣṭura i. 58 beside ṇiṭhūra ii. 12, Vasiṣṭha i. 82 beside Vasīṭhīha vi. 90, suṣṭhu i. 108 beside sut̄hū i. 16 iii. 1 are evidently mistakes. sp: bappha (bāṣpa) v. 27 ‘tear’. st and st̄h are changed into tth. ṇaddhi (nāsti) iv. 18 beside atthi i. 40, jalahaṇa-ddhaṇida

(-stanita) iii. 30, pattaṇa (prasthāna) ii. 50 beside patthāna in the very next line, hatta (hasta) ii. 38 beside hattha iv. 14 are all to be corrected accordingly. In the forms of the rt. sthā, tṭh frequently appears instead of tth: tṭhida (sthita) iv. 2, 79, v. 5, avaṭṭhida (avasthita) v. 21, saṃṭhādum (samsthātum) i. 6, ṭṭhāna (sthāna) iii. 36 v. 25, 27, beside tthāna iv. 1, v. 3. Further kkambha (stambha) v. 5, beside tambha ii. 12 v. 60 and tthambha v. 21, timida (stimita) iii. 55. sp is turned into pp: parisa (sparśa) i. 14 ii. 12, pappanda (praspanda) v. 21, while sph is both pp. and pph: sampodaa (samsphoṭaka) iii. 1 and paripphuṭa (parispheṭa) i. 32.

§ 19. Nasals with nasals:—nm:jamma ii. 46 and ummullia (unmūlita) vi. 93.

§ 20. Nasals with semivowels:—The semivowel is assimilated to the nasal. ny (and nv) always changed into nn: as to mammū iii. 30 see §10 above; similarly nimmaṇusa i. 82, niṁmida iv. 1, sahadhammaārini ii. 37; also Vammī i. 82 etc. beside Vammī i. 108 etc.

§ 21. Nasals with spirants:—śm:—sahassarassim (sahasra-smih) vi. 90 śm: gimma (grīṣma) iii. 1. sm is represented by mh, which is also written hm: ahmānam (asmākam) v. 25; ahlānam (chāyā: asmākam) is a misprint; mhi (asmi) i. 82, ii. 82 iii. 1 etc. beside mmi i. 48 and mmi i. 16, iv. 42, 44, 50 etc. As to ammi i. 38 and vimmayā iv. 19 see above, §10. hn and hm are retained as they are: anugahñādi (anugṛhñāti) i. 84 bahmaṇajādi (brāhmaṇajātih) v. 112.

§ 22. Semivowels with semivowels:—ry is changed into yy: ayya (ārya) i. 34, ayyāhim (āryābhih) i. 56. Elsewhere ama is uniformly written, due to Dravidian influence. See above §10. sūra i. 68, iii. 1, iv. 77 should be connected with Skr. sūra and not with sūrya. rv, vy and vr are regularly represented by vv. samvahā iv. 40 beside savvahā (sarvathā) i. 48, etc.

§ 23. Semivowels with spirants:—The semivowel is without exception assimilated to the spirant and the result is always ss medially and s initially; dassanīa (darśanīya) iii. 30 but every-

where else **dams-**. (12 times); **passa** (*pārśva*) iv. 10; **mahesi** (*maharṣi*) i. 82, iv. 38, v. 25, vi 90. **Rāmaccāma** (*Ramaśyāma*) ii. 1 beside **ssāmala** (*śyāmala*) v. 5 is peculiar, perhaps due to Dravidian influence. **saya** (*sva*) i. 103 beside **saa** i. 64 (i. 84 *chāyā* wrong).

## ACCIDENCE.

### Nouns.

§ 24. a-stems. Nom. sg. m. **munijāṇo** (*munijanah*) iv. 19 n. **kudūhalam** (*kutūhalam*) i. 14, **sappam** v. 62; **arpa** is masc. in Sanskrit. Voc. sg. m. **Kosalāhipa** (*Kosalādhipa*) i. 34. Acc. sg. m. n. **assamam** (*āśramam*) iii. 55. **pāṇam** ii. 12 is sg. not pl. as in *chāyā*. Instr. sg. m. **dāvāṇalena** (*dāvānalena*) v. 15. n. **uttariēṇa** (*uttariyena*) iv. 64. Abl. sg. m. **candādo** (*candrati*) i. 90. n. **muhādo** (*mukhāt*); here as well as in the case of several other Abl. forms the *chāyā* is wrongly given as *mukhataḥ* etc.) iv. 79. Gen. sg. m. **assassa** (*aśvasya*) ii. 37. n. **pāvassa** (*papasya*) i. 14 Loc. sg. m. **sagge** (*svarge*) ii. 12. n. **simhāsaṇe** (*simhāsane*) v. 5. —Nom. pl. m. **pāṇā** (*prāṇāḥ*) vi. 115. **jualā** (*yugalau*) ii. 5; this word is neuter in Sanskrit; perhaps **jamalā** (*yamalau*) is the correct reading. **pāṇam** ii. 12 is sg. not pl. as in *chāyā*. n. **silāhanījjāṁ** **akkharāṁ** (*slāghaniyāny* *akṣarāṇi*) i. 78. **ālakkhaṇījāi** **edāṇi** **kadaṇāṇi** (*ālakṣaṇiyānyetāni* *kadauāṇi*) iv. 17 is evidently through Sanskrit influence. Acc. pl. n. **kusumāṁ** (*kusumāni*) iii. 27, **caridāṁ** (*caritāni*) iv. 3. Instr. pl. m. **sevaehim** (*sevakaiḥ*) v. 17 n. **vaāṇehim** (*vacanaiḥ*) iv. 85 v. 13. **arannāhim** i. 82 is probably from an ā-stem or is to be corrected into **arāṇehim**. Gen. pl. m. **sīhāṇam** (*siṁhānām*) ii. 5 (in verse) n. **nāaṇāṇam** (*nayanayoh* and not *nayanānām* as in the *chāyā*). Loc. pl. m. **upabhoesu** (*upabhogeṣu*) iv. 5.

§ 25. ā-stems. Nom. sg. **kundamālā** iii. 27. **patthanīam** (*prārthanīyā*) ii. 12 is perhaps to be corrected into **patthanīā**. Voc. sg. **apaṇḍide** (*apaṇḍite*) ii. 19. Acc. sg. **dhāram** (*dhārām*) v. 7. Instr. sg. **vanadevadāē** (*vanadevatayā*) iv. 14; **taraṅgāē** (*taraṅgaiḥ*) i. 84; this word is masc. in Sanskrit. Gen. sg. **Sidāē**

(*Sitāyāḥ*) i. 48. *cirajīvidāe* (*cirajivitāyāḥ*) iv. 68 *jīvita* is neut. in Sanskrit. Loc. sg. *dīhiāe* (*dirghikāyām*) iv. 5.—Nom. pl. *priamvadā* (*priyamvadāḥ*) i. 66. Instr. pl. *itthiāhim* (*strībhīḥ*) ii. 12 as well as *sampāditidāhi* (*sampāditabhiḥ*) iv. 5. Gen. pl. *munikanāñnam* (*munikanakānām*) iv. 79.

§ 26. i- and u-stems. Nom. sg. m. **Somittī** (**Saumitriḥ**) i. 72. In **sahassarassim** (**sahasrarśmiḥ**) vi. 90 the final nasal is to be omitted and corrected accordingly. *mañṇū* (*manyuh*) iii. 30 beside *tusārabindu* (*tuṣārabinduh*) v. 15 f. *bahmaṇajādī* (*brāhmaṇajātīḥ*) v. 112 beside *āṇatti* (*ājñaptīḥ*) i. 66 Voc. sg. f. **Jannavedi** (**Yajñavedī**) iv. 1. Acc. sg. f. *padikidim* (*pratikṛtim*) iv. 38. *gaiṁ* (*gatim*) ii. 12 beside *gaṁ* iii. 1 Instr. sg. m. **Vammīṇā** (**Vālmīkinā**) iv. 5. As to *sotthinā* i. 108 see above § 4. f. *ākidīe* (*ākṛtyā*) iv. 75. *vinnattīā* i. 84 is perhaps through Sanskrit influence. Gen. sg. m. *pañño* (*patyuh*) i. 52 f. *padiki-die* (*pratikṛteḥ*) iv. 38 as *vinnattīā* above. Nom. pl. m. *mahesiṇo* (*mahaṛṣayaḥ*) i. 82 beside *adihī* (*atithī*) v. 71. Gen. pl. m. *pahudīṇam* (*prabhṛtiṇām*) i. 96. Loc. pl. m. *padumāpacayādiṣu* (*padmāpacayādiṣu*) iv. 5.

§ 27. ī- and ū-stems. Nom. sg. **Vedavadī** (**Vedavati**) ii. 12. Voc. sg. *bhaavaī* **Bhāīraī** (*bhagavati* *Bhāgīrathi*) i. 108. Acc. sg **Vaidehim** (*Vaidehīn*, chāyā wrong) beside *bhagavaīm* **Bhāīrahīm** (*bhagavatīm* *Bhāgīrathīm*) iii. 27, *pudhavīm* (*prthivīm*) v. 7 and *mandabhāūṇīm* (*mandabhāginīm*) i. 58. Instr. sg. *ajjūe Kekāje* (*śvaśrāvā* *Kaikeyyā*, chaya not correct) i. 22. Gen. sg. *piasahīe* (*priyasakhyāḥ*) ii. 1, 14. Loc. sg. *puḍavīe* (*prthivyām*) ii. 12—Nom. pl. *sīmantīṇo* (*sīmantinyah*) v. 11. Instr. pl. *mārisīhim* (*mādrśībhīḥ*) ii. 12 beside *vanavāsinīhi* (*vanavāsinībhīḥ*) iv. 5 Gen. pl. *dampadīṇam* (*dampatīṇām*) ii. 12. *ajjūṇam* (*śvaśrūṇām*) i. 56.

§ 28 ṛ-stems. Acc. sg. *mādaram* (*mātaram*) iv. 7. Gen. sg. *piduṇo* (*pituh*) v. 104.

§ 29. t-stems. Nom. sg. m. *aṇusoanto* (*anuśocan*) i. 58. f. *pariharanti* iv. 3. Instr. sg. *sandīṣantēṇa* (*sandīṣatā*) i. 52. Nom.

pl. āloantā (ālokayantau) ii. 42, alamkarantā (alamkurvatau) v. 27.—Nom. sg. (t)attabhadavam ((t)attrabhadvān) v. 43 (iv. 75), bhaavam (bhagavān) i. 98. Voc. sg. bhaavam (bhagavan) i. 102, vi. 61. Instr. ag. bhaadā (bhavatā) i. 96. bhaavadā (bhagavatā) ii. 3. Gen. sg. bhaavado (bhagavataḥ) v. 5.—Nom pl. bhavanto (bhavantah) iv. 40. The feminine of bhaavam is always hōdī iv. 81, 83, 87.

§ 30. **n-stems.** Nom sg. rāā (rājā) iv. 75. Voc. sg. rāam v. 7, rāā v. 19 (rājan). Gen. sg. rāṇo (rājñah) v. 21. mahārāo i. 66 (Nom. sg.), mahārāam i. 58 (Acc. sg.), mahārāassa ii. 8 (Gen. sg.) like an a-stem.—Nom sg. appā (ātmā) vi. 112. Acc. sg. attānam (ātmānam) i. 43. Instr. sg. attāim (ātmanā) iv. 14. Gen. sg. attāno (ātmanah) iii. 30 also attānaassa iii. 31 and appānaassa iii. 55—Nom. sg. muddhā (mūrddhā) v. 64. jammam (janma) ii. 46, sakkhī (sākṣi) vi. 90, nioavat̄ti (niyogavartī) vi. 112. Acc. sg. vanavāsinam (vanavāsinam) iii. 33. Loc. sg. pahi (pathi) ii. 4.—Nom. pl. kesariṇo (kesariṇah) v. 7, phalāsiṇo (phalāśinah) v. 19. Gen. pl. nivāsinam (nivāsinām) v. 64, vanavāsinam (vanavāsinām) ii. 16.

§ 31. **s-stem.** Gen. pl. accarāṇam (apsarasām) iv. 79.

### Pronouns.

§ 32. **1st Person.** Nom sg. aham, several times, ham i. 86, only once. Acc. sg. mam, several times, mām i. 84, only once, perhaps to be corrected into mam. Instr. sg. mae. Gen sg. mama and me. Loc. sg. mayi i. 52, only once.—Nom. pl. amhe v. 25, only once. Gen. pl. ahmāṇam v. 25, twice.

§ 33. **2nd Person.** Nom. sg. tumam, several times, tuvam v. 49, only once. sumam v. 12 is to be corrected into tumam. Acc. sg. tumam. In i. 64 the reading is wrong. Instr. sg. tue, tae (once). Gen. sg. tava (thrice), tuha (twice), de (twice), te (once). Instr. pl. tuhmehim. Gen. pl. tuhm(mh)āṇam.

§ 34. **Demonstratives.** tad-: Nom. sg. m. so; f. sā; n tam. Acc. sg. m. tam. Instr. sg. m. tēna (four times), dēna (once). Abl. sg. m. tado. Gen. sg. m. tassa; f. tāe. Loc. sg. tahim-

Nom. pl. m. **te, de** (ii. 42 *chāyā* wrong). Gen. pl. m. **dānam.** —*tā*, several times.

**etad-**: Nom. sg. m. **eso**, s. t. **esa** (3 times). f. **esā**. n. **edam**. Acc. sg. m. f. n. **edam** Instr. sg. m. n. **edinā**. f. **edāe**. Gen. sg. n. **edassa**. Loc. sg. f. n. **etassim**, **edassim**.—Nom. pl. m. **ede**. n. **edāni** (Sanskrit influence?) Instr. pl. m. **edehim**. Gen. pl. m. **edānam**.—**ettha** several times.

**idam-**: Nom. sg. m. **aam**. Acc. sg. m. n. **imam**. Abl. sg. m. **imādo**. Gen. sg. m. f. **se** —**ido**, several times. **kidiso so**: (ii. 18) the reading is doubtful.

§ 35. **Relative.** Nom. sg. m. **jo**. n. **jam**. Acc. sg. n. **jam**. Instr. sg. m. **jeṇa**. Gen. sg. **jassa**. Loc. sg. **jahim**.

§ 36. **Interrogative.** Nom. sg. m. **ko**. f. **kā**. n. **kim** Acc. sg. n. **kim**. Instr. sg. **keṇa** Abl. sg. **kīsa** (never kissa). Gen. sg. **kassa**.—**kaham**, **kahim** and **kudo**. As to the combinations of **ko** and **kim**, the following occur: **kovi** i. 84, iii. 55, vi. 93; **konu** i. 104; **konukhu** iii. 30; **kimvi** iv. 74, 79; **kimdu** iv. 40; **kimti** ii. 43; **kimnukhu** i. 82. (**kocci** and **kimci** do not occur).

§ 37. **Pronominal Adjectives.** **antarena** v. 13, vi. 90. **anno** i. 88, vi. 93; **annā** i. 74. **avaram** ii. 30, iii. 30. **ubhayam** v. 11. **kadamacā** v. 117. **saa** i. 64, **saam** i. 82, **sayam** i. 108 (sva?). **savvo** iv. 18.—**parakeraam** (**parakiyam**) i. 25, **paraeraam** i. 25, **parakeraṇa** iv. 64.

### Numerals.

§ 38. **One.** **ea** iv. 19, **ekkam** v. 77, **ekkena** i. 64, **eassa?** ii. 12. —**anea** ii. 12, **bhuvanekka** vi. 93, **eāñī** i. 82, 88, iv. 16, **eāñim** i. 82, **eāñje** ii. 12.

§ 39. **Two.** **duve** ii. 1, v. 21. **donnam** (*dvayoh*) v. 77.—**dudio** (*dvitiyah*) ii. 3, **-dudiam** (-*dvitiyam*) iv. 74.—**diuna-** (*dvi-guna*) iv. 16.—**ubhayam** v. 11; As to **juālā** ii. 5 see above § 24. **mihuna** iv. 36.

§ 40. **Seven.** **sattame** iv. 5.

§ 41. **Ten.** Dasaraha i. 96, Dasarahe v. 27.—dasamo v. 58.

§ 42. **Hundred.** sadahā sadahā (śatadhā) v. 64.

§ 43. **Thousand.** sahassa (sahasra) vi. 93. sahassarassim (sahasraraśmiḥ) vi. 90.

### The Verb.

§ 44. **The Present.—Indicative.** The 3rd sg. ending is, as a rule, -di, only exceptionally -i: āaccha<sub>1</sub> iv. 74 beside gacchadi iii. 45, icca<sub>1</sub> (icchatī) iv. 87, bāhe<sub>1</sub> iv. 79 beside bīhedi (bādhate) ii. 12, santava<sub>1</sub> ii. 19 beside santavadi (santipati) iii. 55, alamkare<sub>1</sub> iv. 75 beside alamkaredi (alamkaroti) ii. 13, dīsa<sub>1</sub> iv. 38, dīsa<sub>1</sub> i. 82 (dr̥syate) are the only examples quotable. The ending -de appears in an isolated form, pekkhade iv. 38 by the side of pekkhadi (prekṣate). The 2nd sg. ending is always -si, never -se, and the 1st sg. ending is -mi. In the pl. the 3rd pers. is very frequent. It always ends in -nti, never in -ndi. The 2nd pl. does not occur but one example of the 1st pl. is met with; gāāmhma v. 25.

The change of the stem final to e is frequent, especially in the Imperative: anusaremi iii. 1, tuvaremi ii. 50, bāhedi ii. 12, iv. 79, bādhesi iii. 36, karemi i. 82 etc., alamkaredi ii. 13, iv. 75.

**Imperative:**—The 3rd sg. in-du is very common. 2nd sg.: -a in gaccha iv. 10, bhaṇa iii. 50, muñca v. 62 and samassasa vi. 65; -āhi in bhaṇāhi ii. 45 bhayāhi iv. 83 sunāhi iv. 5, v. 23; -ehi in ādesehi i. 14, ānavehi v. 15, kahehi i. 32, 42, niivehi i. 12, parittāehi v. 15, bādhehi i. 58, viñnavehi i. 56, viñodehi iv. 17. anpeshahi iv. 1 is perhaps to be corrected into -sehi. hohi is exceptional. sunnamtu iv. 40, vi. 90 is the only quotable form for the 3rd pl. upasappadu v. 43 is to be corrected into upassappantu. The other forms of the plural and 1st sg. do not occur.

**Optative:**—Very rare. bhave iv. 3, 38 bhaveditti ! ii. 46.

**Roots of the 1st class:**—bhū: hodi iv. 18, 91. homi iii. 30 iv. 10, hohi i. 58, 64, v. 5 hodu iv. 38 anuhodi iv. 18, anubhavadi ii. 43, anubhavāmi iii. 30, pahavadi iv. 46, 56 vi. 90 pahavāmi

ii. 38 iii. 55, iii. 1, 30 **bhavanti** v. 27 (chaya abhūtām wrongly) **pahavanti** i. 12.—sthā: **cittanti** v. 27, 67, **añucittihāmi** iv. 17, 40.—gam: **gacchadi** iii. 45, **ñaccha** iv. 74. **gaccha** i. 68, 108, iv. 10. —tvar-: **tuvaremi** ii. 50, **tuvaredu** v. 1.—preks: **pekkhadi** iv. 38, **pekkhade** iv. 38, **pekkhasi** ii. 30, **pekkhāmi** ii. 45 iii. 55.—smṛ: **sumarasi** iii. 33, **sumarāmi** v. 58—sr: **añusaremi** iii. 1.—tr: **odarāmi** i. 14.—mrj: **pamajjāmi** iii. 55.—ruh: **adirohadi** v. 64.—vṛdh: **vaddhasi** ii. 1.—kram: **adikkamāmi** iv. 40.—hr; **haranti** ii. 5.—ram: **ahiramadi** i. 18.—labh; **uvālambhāmi** i. 58.—bādh: **bādhesi** iii. 36, **bāhedi** ii. 12, **bāhei** iv. 79, **bādheyadi** (?) ii. 42.—vṛt: **vattadi** i. 12, **vatthadi** vi. 63 (to be corrected), **vattāmi** (chāyā wrong) iii. 52.—vṛdh, **vaddhasi** ii. 1.—tap. **samtavai** ii. 19, **samtavadi** iii. 55, **samtapasi** iv. 60. **pavvajami** i. 82 and **pañanti** ii. 5. are in need of correction.

**2nd class:**—as: **atthi** i. 40: **añmi** i. 38, (**m**)**mi** i. 64, iv. 44 (with assimilation) beside **mhi** ii. 12, 34, iii. 30, v. 60 and **hmi** vi. 59 i. 4, vi. 63 with printer's devil; **sonti** (santi) i. 64.—yā: **añanti** i. 82.

**4th class:**—**kup**; **kuppadu** iv. 40.

**5th class:**—ci: **ociñomi** iii. 27.—śak: **sakkanomī** iv. 40.—śru: **sunñahi** iv. 5, v. 23 **sunñantu** iv. 40, vi. 90.

**6th class:**—is: **icchāmi** iv. 1, **iccai** iv. 87.—viś: **upavisadi** ii. 11, **pavisadi** iv. 8.—majj; **ñimajjāmi** ii. 42. dhṛ: **dharanti** (dhriyante) vi. 57.

**8th clase:**—kr-; **alamkaredi** ii. 13, **alamkarei** iv. 75, **karemi** i. 82, iii. 30, 55, iv. 46, **karidu** (karotu) v. 71 beside **karodu** vi. 93.

**9th class:**—grah: **añugahnādi** i. 84.—jñā, **jāñāsi** ii. 25 iv. 8 (with a misprint) etc., **jāñāmi** ii. 42, iii. 30 etc. **jāñanti** iv. 6, 7, **na ñāmi** iv. 87.

**10th class:**—rūp; **ñirūvemi** iii. 30.—bharts: **ñib-** **bhacchadi** (-chedi) v. 104.—tark: **takkemi** ii. 6, v. 7.—dhṛ, **dhārinti** v. 25.—mrj: **pamajjami** (-jee-?) iii. 55.—pr: **pāremi** i. 6.—vij-, **vijjai** i. 84 (**vijayati**, chāyā wrong).

**Imperfect:**—āśī iv. 79. mā rodī iv. 15. āśa iv. 16 looks like Perfect, but it is doubtful; the passage is corrupt.

**§ 45. Future:**—The ending of the 1st sg. is, as a rule, -m̄. -mi occurs only in a single form, parisussāmi vi. 15. The 3rd sg. ending is -di and the pl. ending, -nti, appear in a single instance, sambhāvissanti iv. 40. Forms with the thematic -i- are very frequent. bhu: bhavissadi i. 50. gam: gamissam iv. 40, iv. 40. sthā: anucitthissadi v. 25, anucitthissam ii. 50. preks: pekkhissadi iii. 55, pekkhissam iii. 30. sr̄: osarissam iv. 36 (chāyā incorrect). vṛt: anuvattissadi iv. 3. s̄rp. uvas: ppaisssam ii. 13 upasappissam iv. 40 (chāyā in both places incorrect).

cakṣ: ācakkissadi iii. 1. rud: roissam iv. 16.

kup:—kuppissadi iv. 40. śram: vissamissam, i. 16.

prach: pucchissam v. 100, 112.

kṛ:—karaissam i. 108 (chāyā wrong), iv. 74.

bandh:—nibbandhaissam v. 5.

varṇ; nivvanṇaissam iii. 30. lakṣ: lakkhaissam v. 7.

**§ 46. Passive:**—In addition to -ia-, -ia- is frequently found. They are both equally common. adikkhiadi vi. 80, āvamjiadi iii. 30, nimdiadi vi. 112, puucciadi (procate) iv. 15, parihibariasi iv. 72, bhanidiadi ii. 5, vadḍhiadi ii. 40 (chāyā incorrect). -ia- is perhaps due to the contamination of the form -ia- and -ijja-. dīsai iv. 82, dīssai iv. 38, dīsasi iv. 89 are special forms.

**§ 47. Causative:**—p-causative: āṇavedi i. 98, āṇavedu v. 119, āṇavehi iv. 52, viṇṇvedi i. 62, viṇṇavemi i. 94, iv. 48, viṇṇavidavvo i. 62, patthāvayanti iv. 48, saddāveanti ii. 42, saddāvaissam ii. 13. The other forms are of the type adivāhedi iv. 5 and adivāhem i. 11, iv. 16.

**§ 48. Denominative:**—romañcedi iii. 30. saccāvanadi vi. 90. saddāveanti and saddāvaissam quoted above.

#### Verbal Nouns.

**§ 49. Present Participle:**—-anta: bhavanto iv. 40, samdi-  
santena i. 52 and the like. aniccaritti is corrupt. It is = anuca-

ranti acc. to chāyā. Feminine form ends in -anti: akkhipanti ii. 13, pahavanti iv. 40 and so on.

-māṇa: anñesamāṇassa iv. 77, dīsamāṇa vi. 93 (passive), dharamāṇe v. 27 vat̄tamāṇo iv. 5.

§ 50. Past Passive Participle:—da The d is dropped in a few forms: kampia i. 6, lalia iv. 18 beside lajida v. 21, viñiggaa v. 7, samvaḍḍhiā ii. 12. The vowel preceding the suffix is generally i short; but padigahida v. 49 beside gahida ii. 50 and nigahida i. 40. jāṇida v. 86 beside anñāda v. 60 and anañunñāda vi. 61, viññāda iv. 38 and ahinñāda iv. 66. Of the forms without i the following may be quoted: adikkanta iv. 68 etc., adimuttu iv. 79, kida i. 82 etc., gada i. 36 etc. gaddha (grathita) iii. 27, jāa i. 14, iii. 1 beside jāda ii. 12, vi. 15, t̄thida iv. 2 etc., pariñaddha v. 5, samārūḍha v. 5.

-na: ahinñā (bhid-) vi. 88, āsaṇṇa (sad) iv. 2 etc., pacchaṇṇa (chad) iii. 55 and paccanñā iv. 79 (to be corrected), pasanñā iv. 58 etc., and visaṇṇa v. 49 (sad), vicchinñā (chid) iv. 7 and vitthiṇṇā (st̄-) v. 117. punṇa (pṛ. or pūr) i. 90 etc.—diṇṇā (datta) v. 86; and mahapadiṇṇā iii. 27 is corrupt, perhaps the correct reading is maha padinñāda and mae padinñāda.

§ 51. Gerundives. -davva: anugahidavvā i. 56 and anugahidavvā i. 62, anuciṭṭhidavvam iv. 64, jānidavvam iii. 30, hōdavvam iv. 19, and so on.

-aṇia: anukampaniā i. 96, dassaṇio iii. 30, padipālanīā i. 96, vajjanīā iii. 41, soaṇiā ii. 12, iii. 50, with soaṇijjo (iii. 50) in the very next line, also silāhanijjāṇam i. 78, sambharanīam ii. 7. Note patthaṇīam ii. 13 with short vowel. -a does not occur.

§ 52. Gerund. -ia is common: ajāṇia iii. 30, anuciṭṭhia iv. 42, uddisia iii. 27 beside umdisia ii. 28, gacchia v. 21, bhavia i. 12, bhamia (bhūtvā) ii. 12, uvālambhia i. 38, sunia ii. 6, sumaria v. 15, 27, and so on. kadua and gadua are exceptional.

§ 53. Infinitives. -idum: apakkamidum iv. 74, uvekkhidum iv. 40, upahasidum iv. 87, odaridum i. 6, ogāhidum iv. 5, jānidum iv. 1 and so on. kādum iii. 1 and saṃṭhādum i. 6 are the

only forms without union vowel. Note **nivvasidum** (*nirvāsayitum*) i. 60, **visajjaidum** (*visarjayitum*) iii. 30 and **adivāhidum** (*ativāhayitum*) ii. 12.

§ 54. Formative suffixes. -a (-ka) : **kumāraā** v. 21, **puttaā** ii. 1, **bhīrua** iv. 60, **mukhao** iv. 19, **sīmantaa** i. 62, **sāngītaa** iv. 1.

-ttāna (-tva) : **adhaṇṇattānam** i. 40, **avikalattāneṇa** vi. 101, **ṇisamsattānam** ii. 43, **dhaṇṇattānam** i. 58, **mahiṭattāneṇa** i. 48, **mahattāneṇa** v. 15, 112.

-dā ( tā) : **avissasāniadā** ii. 12, **aṇurāgadā** ii. 27, 39, **agoaradā** iv. 38, **avīṇīdadā** iv. 40, **parāhīnadā** iii. 30, **lahudā** v. 15.

-do (-tas) : **aggado** i. 12 etc. **ido** i. 68 etc. **gunado** v. 9, **dosado** v. 9. In the chāyā the Abl. -ādo is several times confounded with this suffix: cf. **dukkādo** ii. 12, **muhādo** iv. 79, v. 64, **visaādo** i. 60, **simhāsaṇādo** v. 62, **hiaādo** i. 60.

-hā (-thā) : **annahā** iv. 91, **jaha**, **jahā** iv. 19, **taha** i. 14, etc. **savvahā** i. 82 etc. **samvahā** iv. 40.—(-dhā) : **sadahā** (**śatadhā**) v. 64.

-metta (-mātra) : **adimattāpi** ii. 19, iii. 55; but **uvālambhamettaeṇa** i. 40, **sumaraṇamettaeṇa** i. 62, **suamettaeṇa**, in a corrupt passage, ii. 12. It appears that -metta is the form accepted by our author and the first word is to be corrected accordingly.

-dara, -tama (-tara, -tama) : **ahiadara** ii. 12 etc. **uccadara** v. 21, **gurudara** v. 7 also **guruara** v. 7, **loladara** v. 21. -annatama v. 5—- -ṭṭha : **jetṭha** i. 76, etc.

### § 55. Indeclinables.

**ai** occurs three times, once (iii. 36) in this form and twice (ii. 19, iv. 60) in its Skt. form, **ayi**. Bhāsa uses this word only once in all his dramas and Kālidāsa twice, once in his Śakuntalā and another time in his **Urvaśi**.

**amho** iii. 30. Not used by other dramatists: Bhāsa has **amgho** and Kālidāsa, **hamho**.

**aho** i. 40 and in five other places.

*aviha* v. 62. Bhāsa and Kālidāsa have *avida*.  
*ādu* (*uta*) v. 9, 102.

*evva*, sixteen times, and *eva*, only twice. *jeva* is found once, iv. 19, in a doubtful passage.

*evvam*, 28 times, and *evam*, only twice.

*kila* iv. 87, v. 25 and *kīla* v. 25 (twice), 64.

*kīsa*, seven times.

*khu*, always, never *kkhu*. This word occurs 8 times after a long vowel, 7 times after a short vowel (always either *na* or *nu*) and 6 times after *anusvāra*. The use of *kkhu* predominates over this form from the 7th or 8th century. *hu* which is common in Bhāsa and Kālidāsa, does not occur.

*jeva*, see above; not after *anusvara*.

*ca* v. 27 after *anusvara* and once again in the combination *annacca* iii. 1; elsewhere always a even after *anusvāra*.

*tti* (*iti*) after a vowel, several times, *ti* after *anusvāra*, four times (ii. 43, iv. 5, v. 117). *ciraduhkhasahāyam* *tti* is, therefore, to be amended. cf. § 3.

*dāṇim*, eleven times. *dāṇi* appears once (i. 82) in a passage which is corrupt. *dāṇi* appears only in Bhāsa. *dāṇi* in i. 82 is to be amended into *danim*, cf. § 3.

*ṇam* (*nanu*) ii. 37, 47. Once *ṇu* (i. 48) is said in the *chāyā* to represent (incorrectly) *nanu*; elsewhere *ṇu* always represents *nu*. cf. § 3.

*bho* is used several times in addressing persons.

*vi* (*api*): cf. § 3, but *pi* does not occur although it is frequent in the earlier dramas.

*via* (*iva*), but *vva* which appears in some of the later dramas does not occur.

*haddhi*. This form occurs in four places, repeated twice in three of the places. *haddhi* occurs in a single passage where it is also repeated. Bhāsa always uses the shorter form and among

the later dramatists the longer form is decidedly more common. For our drama **haddhi** appears to be the proper form.

**halā**, thrice, once with cerebral **l**.

**hī hī** occurs once (v. 21) in combination with **bho**. Bhāsa has always **hi hi** without **bho**. Kālidāsa uses both forms while Harṣa has always **hi hī bho**.

**hā** and **he**: each once (i. 34 and iv. 85).

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# ÜBER DIE ALTESTEN INDISCHEN METRIKER UND IHR WERK

Von

*Hermann Jacobi*

## 1

Die Metrik (*chandas*) ist eins der sechs Vedāngas, das vorletzte in der ersten Aufzählung derselben in der Mundaka Upaniṣad I, 1,5; als solches galt von je das Chandaḥsūtra des Pingala. Es liegt uns in zwei fast identischen Rezensionen vor, die Weber<sup>1</sup> als die des Rg und Yajus bezeichnet hat. Sagenhaft ist, was die Tradition von Pingala berichtet. Er soll nämlich, wie Patanjali, ein Nāga gewesen und von einem Makara verschlungen worden sein<sup>2</sup>.

Über das Alter des Chandaḥsūtra lässt sich nichts mit Bestimmtheit ausmachen. Gārgya<sup>3</sup>, der Verfasser des Sāmapariśiṣṭa über vedische Metrik, nennt unter den Quellen für dies sein Werkchen den Pingala; dessen Chandaḥsūtra galt also in den Ausläufern der vedischen Wissenschaft als Autorität, wie es bei einem Vedāṅga auch nicht anders zu erwarten ist. Die erste chronologisch einigermassen datierbare Erwähnung Pingala's findet sich im Bhāṣya zum Mimāṃsāsūtra I, 1, 5 (S. 16) in dem langen Zitat aus dem Vṛttikāra (Upavarṣa 2., 3. oder 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.). Dort heisst es: "Niemand ausser Pingala oder einem, der dessen Werk anerkennt, würde unter m (makāra) einen dreisilbigen Versfusz (trika) aus lauter Längen (sarvaguru) verstehn." Die Beschreibung der Metra durch die Buchstaben: m, y, r, s, t, j, bh, n, (l, g) galt also schon früh als charakteristisch für Pingala's System.

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1. Indische Studien VIII, S. 162. Dies für unsere Kenntnis der indischen Metrik grundlegende Werk ist hier überall gemeint, wo bei dem Namen 'Weber' nur die Seitenzahl angegeben wird.
  2. Pancatantra, Pūrṇabhadra's Rezension, II, 29.
  3. Weber, S. 158.

Weniger künstlich und vielleicht älter ist die Methode, die Stellen der Zeile anzugeben, wo lange Silben Stehn, wie es noch im Śrutabodha geschieht. Bharata kennt beide Methoden, woraus sich ergibt, dasz das Nāṭyaśāstra jünger als Pingala's Werk ist. Seine Autorität stand also schon in den ersten Jahrhunderten unserer Zeitrechnung fest ; wieviel höher sie hinaufreicht, lässt sich nicht bestimmen ; doch kann man ein beträchtliches Alter für dieselbe wahrscheinlich machen, obschon zunächst der Anschein dagegen zu sprechen scheint.

So könnte man betonen, dasz Pingala in dem Vedāṅga über Metrik die **weltliche** Metrik viel eingehender behandelt als die **vedische**. Jedoch bietet das Vedāṅga Grammatik ein Analogon, insofern Pāṇini zur Grundlage derselben die bhāṣā macht, die vedischen Sprach-erscheinungeu aber nur als Ausnahmen zu seinen Regeln behandelt. Man könnte sich vielleicht als ein Argument für ein verhältnismässig junges Alter Pingala's darauf berufen, dasz er eine so grosze Zahl, weit über hundert, von 'künstlichen' Sanskrit Metra, d. h. solchen lehrt, in denen nicht nur die Zahl der Silben, sondern auch deren Quantität unveränderlich festgesetzt ist. Es musz also zu seiner Zeit eine hochentwickelte eigenartige Poesie (nach dem Namen der Versmasze zu schlieszen, lyrisch-erotischen Charakters) bei den Sanskrit Redenden bestanden haben. Es ist jedoch nicht abzusehn, weshalb nicht schon fruhe selbst die śiṣṭas zarteren Empfindungen Ausdruck verliehen haben sollten, wozu ihnen die **vedischen** Metra schwerlich als das geeignete Vehikel erscheinen mochten. Für den frühen Gebrauch 'künstlicher' Metra zeugt übrigens Patanjali. Wie nämlich Kielhorn<sup>1</sup> gezeigt hat, sind unter jenes Zitaten im Mahābhāṣya eine Anzahl Strophen in 'künstlichen' Metren, und zwar ausser Upajāti und Śālinī, namentlich solche von einfachem Rhythmus, nämlich die jambischen, trochäischen und spondeischen Dimeter: Pramāṇī, Samāṇī und Vidyunmālā, ferner die anapästischen und daktyli-

schen Tetrameter Toṭaka und Dodhaka. In diesen ‚künstlichen‘ Versen waren grammatische Lehrsätze abgefasst und discutiert, ebenso wie später gerade die abstraktesten Disziplinen sich ähnlich gebauter Strophen (Bhujāṅgapravāyāta, Sragvīṇi) mit Vorliebe bedienen. Eine besonders künstliche Strophe der Art zitiert Patanjali zu VIII, 2, 55, sie hat das Schema — — — ˘ | u u u u u — || Es setzt eine lange literarische Übung voraus um die Sprache so geschmeidig zu machen, dasz selbst abstrakte Temata in diesem künstlichen Versmasz behandelt werden konnten, oder gar in der Vidyunmālā, einer Strophe von 32 langen Silben. Zu demselben Schlusz führt die sehr häufige Verwendung der Āryā zu Kārikās im Mahābhāṣya. Die Āryā (Gāthā) war das leitende Metrum im Prakrit, von dort drang sie in das Saṃskrit ein und erwarb sich solche Gunst, dasz sie in wissenschaftlichen Werken mit dem Śloka erfolgreich concurrieren konnte. Die Grammatiker deren Verse Patanjali zitiert, dürften zumeist im 3 ten Jahrhundert vor Chr. gelebt haben. Ihnen ging die Entwicklung der Kunstmepoesie voraus, was wohl einen beträchtlichen Zeitraum in Anspruch nahm. daraus haben sich nur dürftige Spuren erhalten, wozu zwei Praharṣīṇī Strophen, eine Pramāṇi- und eine Upajātizeile gehören, die Patanjali zu II, 2, 34, VIII, 3, 87 zitiert.

Vorstehende Erörterung über das Alter der künstlichen Metra war hier nötig, um zu zeigen, das Pingala wohl dem 3. oder 4. Jahrhundert v. Chr. angehört haben kann.

Pingala nennt mehrere Vorgänger in der weltlichen Metrik: Kāśyape, Saitava, Rāta und Māṇḍavya; aber siene Angaben über deren Lehren sind nicht derart, dasz man aus ihnen einen Einblick in den damaligen Stand der weltlichen Metrik gewinnen könnte. Aber wir können aus seiner Behandlung des Themas den Fortschritt erkennen, den die Disziplin ihm verdankt. Wir gedachten bereits oben des seiner Erfindung zugeschriebenen Kunstgriffes, die Versfüsse (*trika*) durch Buchstaben zu bezeichnen, wodurch sich die metrischen Schemata auf algebraische Formeln bringen lassen. Die Erklärung dieses Kunstgriffes bildet die Einleitung

zu seinem Lehrbuch wie zu Pāṇini's Grammatik die Sivasūtras, mit denen sie sich auch hinsichtlich ihrer praktischen Bedeutung für die Disziplin vergleichen lassen. Auch darin erscheint Pāṇini's Aṣṭādhyāyī vorbildlich für Pingala, dasz sein Chandaḥsūtra ebenfalls aus acht Adhyāyas besteht. Deshalb hat die Bemerkung Sadguruśiṣya's in seinem 1184 n. Chr. verfassten Kommentar zur Ṣaganukramanī, dasz er Pāṇinīyānuja sei<sup>1</sup>, einen guten Sinn, wenn sie auch nicht wörtlich zu nehmen sein wird.

Auch sonst greift Pingala zu künstlichen Mitteln, um verwinkelte Erscheinungen übersichtlicher darzustellen. Deutlich zeigt sich dies bei der Lehre vom Śloka. Darin geht er nämlich (5, 9) vom Vaktra aus, einer seltenen Strophe,<sup>2</sup> in der auch die geraden Pādas wie die ungraden des Śloka gebildet sind.

Dasz er diese Darstellungsweise, die sich auch bei den übrigen Metrikern wiederfindet, nachträglich eingeführt hat, lässt sich noch aus seinen sūtras erkennen. Denn bevor er angibt, dasz im Vaktra die Silben 5-7 einen Bacchius (y) bilden, lehrt er, dasz von den Silben 2-4 der Anapäst (s) und Tribrachys (n) ausgeschlossen sind, und in den geraden Pādas ausserdem der Amphimacer (r). Letztere Regel hat aber nur für den echten Śloka Sinn, weil durch sie der Jambus vor dem Dijambus ausgeschlossen, also die Aufeinanderfolge dreier Jamben vermieden werden sollte. Man sieht nicht ein, weshalb vor dem Antispast bez. Epitritus primus (˘ - - ˘) ein Jambus in den ungraden Pādas des Vaktra zulässig, aber in den durchaus gleichen geraden Pādas verboten sein sollte. Die Verwirrung entstand offenbar dadurch, dasz mit älteren sūtras, die den echten Śloka lehrten, solche über

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1. Weber, S. 159f.

2. Über ihre Verwendung in der Ākhyāyikā siehe Bhāmaha I, 26, Dandin I, 26. Ich kenne nur vier ältere Vorkommisse: das Beispiel in Bharata XV, 130, den Mustervers in der Br̥hat-Saṃhitā 104, 56, die von Halāyudha zu Pingala V, 13 angeführte zweite Strophe, die schon bei Śabaravāmin zu Mimāṃsā Sūtra I, 1, 24 (p. 33 unten) mit einigen Varianten angeführt wird, und Harśacarita IV, 3.

das Vaktra verbunden wurden, nicht blos im Anfang, sondern auch im Fortgang der Darstellung (z. B. 14 und 17). Dadurch ist Pingala's Lehre vom Sloka (welchen Nameu er nicht gebraucht), sehr confus, und bei den späteren Metrikern ist sie nicht wesentlich besser. Wahrscheinlich hatten die Kunstdichter auch den Sloka zu variieren versucht und darum das Vaktra erfunden, dies hat dann Pingala in seine Darstellung des Sloka eingeflochten, so wenig auch die wirkliche Bedeutung des Vaktra der ihm beigelegten theoretischen auf die Dauer entsprochen hat. Es scheint übrigens Saitava, eine der vedischen *Anuṣṭubhī* ähnliche Strophe, in der alle Pādas auf Dijambus bez. Pdon secundus (— -- =) ausgehen, seiner Lehre vom Sloka zugrunde gelegt zu haben;<sup>1</sup> dem gegenüber wäre Pingala's Ausgehν vom Vaktra eine Neuerung.

Ein künstliches Prinzip, das Pingala eingeführt zu haben scheint, ist ferner die Messung gewisser Metra nach der Morenzahl. Dadurch bringt er verschiedene Metra, wie die *Vaitāliya*-Arten und die *Mātrāsamakas*, die manigfältigen Ursprungs sind, ohne von Anfang an etwas mit der Morenzahl zu tun gehabt zu haben, in einer Klasse unter. Wie unberechtigt dies Prinzip ist, zeigt sich deutlich darin, dasz nun die unveränderlichen *Vaitāliyas* von denen getrennt werden mussten, in denen eine lange Silbe gleich zwei kurzen, und umgekehrt gelten.

Pingala's Bestreben, die bunte Masse der verschiedenartigsten Versmasze in ein System zu bringen und dadurch übersichtlich zu machen, hat offenbar dem *Chandahsūtra* zu seinem hohen Ansehn verholfen. Dessen System ist in seinen Grundzügen auch bei den späteren Metrikern in Geltung geblieben, wenn es auch im Einzelnen nicht an Verbesserungsversuchen gefehlt hat.

Pingala teilt die Metra folgendermassen ein:

1. Pingala erwähnt diese Strophe bei den *Vipulās*. Diese *Vipulā* ist einige Male im *Mahābhārata* belegt, aber niemals in beiden Halbversen zugleich, was doch das Wesentliche bei Saitava's Strophe ist.

I Die auf **gāṇas** von 4 Moren aufgebauten Strophen, in denen je zwei Pādas zu einem Halbvers verwachsen sind: die verschiedenen Āryā-Arten.

II Die Metra, in denen die Anzahl der Moren bestimmt ist.

(I und II bilden den Inhalt des 4. Añiyāya. Die Späteren nennen die zu I und II gehörige Versmasse **jāti'**, und zwar die unter I **Gāṇachandas**, und die unter II **Mātrāchandas**.

III **vṛttam**. Pingala gibt keine Definition, sondern geht sofort zur Einteilung der **vṛttas** über:

- a. **samam** (**samavṛtta**) von vier gleichen Pādas;
- b. **ardhasamam** (**ardhasamavṛtta**) von zwei gleichen Vershälften, in denen aber die Pādas ungleich sind;
- c. **viśamam** (**viśamavṛtta**), alle Pādas sind ungleich. Hierhin werden a'le Metra gestellt, die in a. und b. nicht unterzubringen sind. In diese Klasse stellt Pingala auch den Śloka (Vaktra). Hemacandra ist ihm darin gefolgt, während Kedārabhaṭṭa im Vṛttaratnākara ihn zwischen den Vaitāliya-Arten und den Mātrāsamakas einschiebt. Die Schwierigkeit liegt darin, dasz in den jeder Pāda sein bestimmtes Schema haben sollte, und das trifft eben auf den Śloka nicht zu. Wahrscheinlich waren es Bedenken ähnlicher Art, die Pingala bestimmten, vor der Lehre vom Śloka (Vaktra) in V, 9 ff. die regulären **Anuṣṭubh-vṛttas** (in V, 6-S) zu behandeln, nämlich die trochäische Samāṇī, die jambische Pramāṇī und das Vitānam, unter welchem Namen die übrigen **Anuṣṭubh-vṛttas** zusammengefasst sein sollen<sup>2</sup>. Diese kommen dadurch in den Aufang des Abschnittes über die **vṛttas** (III) zu stehen, während ihre richtige Stelle im 6. Adhyāya wäre. Dort lehrt Pingala folgerichtig die Pramāṇī und Samāṇī nicht, sondern nur Citrapadā,

1. **padyam catuśpadam tac ca vṛttam jātir iti dvidhā.** Zitat bei Halāyudha zu, V, 1, Hemacandra zu I, 11.

2. Halāyudha ad V, 8, Hemacandra ad II, 82.

Vidyunmālā und Māṇavakākīdītakam<sup>1</sup>. Aber eigentlich sollte er auch diese nicht lehren, da sie schon im Vitānam einbegriffen sind. Dies scheint der Sinn einer Bemerkung des Śvetapaṭa<sup>2</sup> zu sein, worüber Halāyudha zu V, 8 eine Strophe beibringt. Aber trotz dieser Inconsequenz ist an der Echtheit von V, 6-8 nicht zu zweifeln, da ja der spätere Abschnitt hinsichtlich der Samānī und Pramānī darauf Rücksicht nimmt. Wahrscheinlich war in Pingala's Quellen der Sammelname Vitānam für andere als die beiden genannten Metra üblich; da aber zu seiner Zeit einige Vitāna-Strophen schon besondere Namen bekommen hatten, so konnte er sie im 6. Adhyāya je an ihrer Stelle aufführen.

Dagegen ist der Abschnitt VIII, 2-19 sicher ein späterer Zusatz, wie Weber, S. 184 und 414 gezeigt hat. Er fehlt tatsächlich in allen MSS. der Rg-, und einigen der Yajus-Rezension. Zwar ist zu diesem Abschnitt Halāyudha's Commentar vorhanden, aber seine Echtheit ist zweifelhaft, vgl. Weber, S. 414 f. Da Bharata und Varāhamihira die meisten der in VIII gelehrt 19 Metra nicht kennen, muss der betreffende Abschnitt nach dem 6 Jahrhundert zugefügt sein. Hemacandra aber hat ihn wohl gekannt, da er alle 19 Metra lehrt, wenn auch 6 mit andern Namen.<sup>3</sup>

1. In dieser Reihenfolge in der Yajus-Rezension. Weber, S. 36 f.

2. Derselbe kritisiert auch nach Halāyudha I, 22 Pingala's Lehre von der syllaba anceps am Pādaschlusz, und soll auch (vgl. Weber, S. 222 note) mit Māṇḍavya und andern die Lehre von den Zäsuren verworfen haben.

3. Im Vṛttaratnākara (Commentar Pancikā) finden sich von diese 19 Metra nur 9. Dies ist um so bemerkenswerter, als auch diese kürzeste Rezension des arg interpolierten Werkes durchweg mehr Metra in jeder Klasse aufzählt als Pingala. Wenn also der Redactor den betreffenden Abschnitt im 8. Adhyāya gekannt haben sollte, so musste er ihn als unecht angesehen und darum ignoriert haben.

Der Rest des 8. Adhyāya ist zweifellos echt. Er handelt über den Prastāra, die systematische Anordnung der Metra, and die Stelle eines jeden in demselben. Solche algebraische Spekulationen haben von je den indischen Geist lebhaft interessiert, und wir haben keinen Grund zu bezweifeln, dasz sie auch schon Pingala beschäftigt haben Derselbe Gegenstand wird auch von Bharata im 14. Adhyāya behandelt, teils übereinstimmend mit Pingala V, 3-5, VIII, 20 ff., teils daran anklingend.

## 2

Die zweitälteste Quelle für unsere Kenntnis der Indischen Metrik ist das Nātyasāstra Bharata's. Für ihn ist die Metrik nicht Selbstzweck, sondern er behandelt die Metren insofern sie im Drama Verwendung finden. Er widmet der Metrik den ganzen 15. Adhyāya: Chandovṛttividhi, und den 32ten: Dhruvādhyāya, zum Teil. Die im 15. Adhyāya gelehrt Metra sollen in Dramen und andern Dichtungen verwendet werden, die im 32ten sind Gesangsstrophen.

Betrachten wir zuerst Bharata's Metrik im 15. Adhyāya. Wie oben bereits bemerkt, gibt er bei Beschreibung der samavṛttas die Stellen im Verse an, wo lange (bez. kurze) Silben stehen; aber bei den übrigen vṛttas bedient er sich der trikas, die charakteristisch für Pingala's System sind. Letzteres hat darum Bharata zweifelsohne gekannt; die allgemeinen Grundzüge desselben befolgt er durchaus in der Einteilung und Darstellung der Metra. Aber im Einzelnen sind Abweichungen bedeutend und bedeutsam. So lehrt Pingala 73 samavṛttas, Bharata dagegen nur 49, und zudem fehlen von diesen 10 bei Pingala. Von den übereinstimmenden Metren haben viele andere Namen, nicht blos die selteneren, sondern auch ganz gewöhnliche. Er gibt den Namen Hariniplutam für Drutavilambitam, Aprameyam für Bhujāṅgāprayātam, Nandimukhī für Mālinī, Sridharā für Mandākrāntā, Vilambitagati für Pṛthvī. Bharata schöpfte also nicht unmittelbar aus Pingala, sondern traf seine Auswahl aus dem was zu seiner Zeit (offenbar lange nach Pingala) in den Schulen der Metriker gelehrt wurde. Er selbst sagt darüber

XV, 144 f.<sup>1</sup> "Es gibt noch andere Metra, die hier von Gelehrten beschrieben worden sind; ich habe sie nicht genannt. weil sie nicht zur Schönheit beitragen. Alle and'ren soll man als Gesangstroph'en benutzen Das Genauere über sie werde ich im Dhruvāvidhāna lehren." Man beachte, dasz das Gesagte nur von den vṛttas, zu denen auch der Sloka (XV, 116 ff.), aber nicht die Āryā-Arten (XV, 146) gehören, Geltung hat. Diejenigen vṛttas, welche Bharata im 15. Adhyāya lehrt—als: musz man wohl schliesen—sollen nicht als Gesangstroph'en verwendet werden, ausgenommen sind Rathoddhatā und Pramitākṣarā (XXXII, 282, 291). Daraus folgt, dasz dergleichen, in den Dramen vorkommende Strophen nicht gesungen, sondern in Rezitativ (mit abhinaya) vorgetragen wurden.

Wir wenden uns nun zur Metrik im Dhruvādhyāya (XXXII). Zwar ist das technische Detail über die Dhuvās in der dortigen Darstelleng ohne erklärenden Commentar uns annoch unverstandlich; aber es ist zweifellos, dasz es sich dabei um Verwendung der betreffenden Strophen zum Gesang handelt. Es finden sich nämlich darauf hinweisende Ausdrücke wie folgende: gīte 162, gītakavidhau 175, gītakavidhāne 196. 204, gītakabandhe 213. Dafür spricht auch, dasz die Beispiele nicht in Saṃskrit wie in XV, sondern in Prakrit<sup>2</sup> abgefasst sind. Diese Gesangstroph'en waren nicht Bestandteile des Dramas selbst, sondern gehorten zu dem Conzert, das dessen Aufführung begleitete.

Die Metrik der Gesangstroph'en war wohl Gegenstand des Gāndharvaveda des Bharata und ist von der im Chandahśāstra gelehrt grundsätzl'ich verschieden. Zwischen beiden Arten der Metrik besteht auch ein Unterschied in der Behandlung der Metra. Pingala beginnt die Aufzählung und Beschreibung der samavṛtta mit der Gāyatrī-Klasse, deren erstes Metrum Tanuma-

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1. santy anyāny api vṛtīāni, yāny uktānī 'ha pāṇḍitaiḥ |  
na ca tāni mayo 'ktāni; na śobhām janayanti hi॥.  
yāny atah param atra syur, gītakais tāni yojayed; |  
Dhruvāvidhāne vyākhyāsyे teṣām caiva vikalpanam.||
  2. Über dasselbe habe ich gehandelt in Bhavisattaka S. 84 ff.

dhyā ist, und geht dann die übrigen Klassen bis zu den 26-silbigen durch; ebenso verfahrt Bharata im 15. Adhyāya. Im 32. Adhyāya beginnt dagegen die Aufzählung mit den einsilbigen und schreitet so fort bis zu den 13-silbigen. Die 5 Klassen: Ukthā, Atyukthā, Madhyā,<sup>1</sup> Pratiṣṭhā, und Supratiṣṭhā, die doch nur theoretische Bedeutung hatten, fehlen also in der ursprünglichen eigentlichen Metrik, die durch Pingala und Bharata's 15. Adhyāya vertreten ist. Die späteren Metriker machen aber keinen Unterschied zwischen beiden Arten von Metrik sondern führen in ihrer Aufzählung der samavrittias alle Metra auf, deren sie habhaft werden konnten, gleichgültig, welchen Ursprungs sie sein mochten; sie beginnen daher mit den 5 bei Pingala fehlenden Klassen, so in Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana, im Vṛttaratnākara und Prākrīta-Pingala.<sup>2</sup>

Nach den Dhruvās behandelt Bharata noch andere Klassen von Gesangstrophen, für deren Verständnis die Veröffentlichung von Abhinavagupta's Commentar abzuwarten ist. Vorläufig wage ich nur mit allem Vorbehalt die Vermutung zu auszern, dasz die Prakrit Metrik, wie sie in Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana Adhyāya 4 vorliegt, sich vielleicht auf der von Bharata gebotenen Grundlage entwickelt hat.

Im Anschlusz an die älteren Metriker sei noch der im 6. Jahrhundert n. Chr. lebende Astronom Varāhamihira erwähnt. In dem 104. Adhyāya (*grahagocara*) der Bṛhat- Saṃhitā gibt er die betreffenden astrologischen Regeln in 64 Strophen von verschiedenem Metrum, wobei in jeder Strophe ihr Name genannt wird; es sind also Musterverse für diejenigen Metra, welche nach seiner Meinung ein Pandit kennen sollte, nämlich 50 samavrittias,

1. Der Name der 3. Klasse madhyā, die Mittelste, scheint entstanden zu sein, als diese 5 Klassen noch eine Einheit für sich bildeten.

2. Es sei aber erwähnt, das Kṣemendra, dessen Suvṛttatilaka praktischen zwecken dient, seine Darstellung der Metra mit Tanumadhyā beginnt.

4 ardhasamavṛttas und die Āryā. Diese Metra erklärt Bhāṭṭotpala, der in den 60er Jahren des 10ten Jahrhunderts schrieb, in seinem Commentar mit Berufung auf einen ungenannten Ācārya; dessen Regeln sind in dem zu lehrenden Metrum abgefasst, und zwar benutzt er dazu bei den samavṛttas nicht die ganze Strophe, wie es Bharata in XXXII tut, sondern nur einen Pāda, was eben bei Verwendung der **trikas** möglich ist. So finden wir hierschon dieselbe Methode, die in späteren Handbüchern wie Vṛttaratnākara und Chandomanjari befolgt wird.



# DER EINFLUSS DER VOLKSPRACHE AUF DIE ZISCHLAUTE IM ZEITALTER DER ENTSTEHUNG DES RGVEDA

Von Prof. I. Scheftelowitz (Köln).

Bereits zur Zeit der Entstehung der Hymnen des Rgveda waren in der damaligen Volksprache der Inder die Zischlaute ś, ṣ und s in der Aussprache kaum unterschieden. Nur so ist es zu verstehen, dass in Rgv. zuweilen 1.) s für urarisch ś und ṣ steht, 2.) ṣ hinter i, u für ś steht.

In denjenigen Fällen, in denen Rv. ś sich für arisch s findet, ist es unter Einfluss eines in der folgenden Silbe desselben Wortes stehenden ś, ṣ entstanden, wie bei śvaśura (=aw. *x-asura*), śmaśru ‘Bart’ (airisch *smech* ‘kinn’), śuṣka, śuṣyati (=aw. *huška*, *haoš*)<sup>1</sup>, ślakṣṇa (AV.) ‘schlüpfrig, glatt’: aisl. *slakr* ‘schlaff’, nd. *slakk* ‘dicke, weiche Masse’ (zum Suffix vgl. *tikṣṇa* ‘scharf’: *ejate*).<sup>2</sup>

## I. Beispiele, in denen Rgv. s für ar. ś steht:—

(1) Rgv. pāṁsurā ‘staubig’ pāṁsú (Av) m. ‘Staub’: aw. paṁsnu ‘Staub’. In MBh. (Kalkuttaer Ed.) liegt die Schreibung pāṁśu vor, die aber als sekundär anzuschen ist z. B. X 9, 14: sa hato grasate pāṁśūn.

(2) Rgv. busā n. ‘das Trübe, trübes Wetter’ (nur X 27, 24), nach den Lexicographen ‘Abfall, Schlacke dicke Schicht der geronnenen Milch’, busā ‘trockener kuhdunger’ (vgl. z. B. Vaijayantī 128 Z. 128; 134, Z. 283; 91 Z. 193), mi. busu, ni. buhu (Grierson. ZDMG. 50, 17). busa ist unmöglich mit Bartholomæ ZDMG. 50, 712 auf urind. br̥sa zurück zu führen und zu

(1) Vgl. hierüber Wackernagel, Altind. Grammatik I 197, Osthoff, Perf. 493 f., Hirt, B. B. 24, 230, Bloomfield J. A. O. S. 13, 118, Hübschmann, Arm. Gram. 476, 491. RV śaśvat ‘wiederholt, jeder’ ist schwerlich aus saśvat entstanden, sondern gehört zu arm. sos-k ‘einfach, allein, gewöhnlich’. Demnach ist das ś in saśvat ursprünglich.

Pamir bis, büs ‘Dunst, Nebel’ zu stellen (vg. Johansson KZ. 36 356 f.), sondern geht auf urind. *buśa* zurück: russ., *bus* ‘Staubregen’, *za-busēt'* ‘trüb, dunkel werden’, *busorēt'* ‘grau, dunkel werden’, *busol* ‘schimmel, schlamm’. Zum Bedeutungswandel vgl. aslav. *tāča* ‘Regenwolke’, russ. *tuca*: serb. *tūška* ‘Schlacke, Treber, russ. *tusknut'* ‘trübe werden’, oder slov. *kaliti se* ‘trüb werden: lat *caligo* ‘Nebel’.

(3) Rgv, *sūcī* ‘Nadel’, prak. *sūl*, pali *sūci*, neben. ai. *sūka* ‘Granne des Getreides, Stachel eines Insekts’, aw. *sūkā* ‘Nadel’. Hierzu auch ai. *sūkṣma* neben *sūkṣma* ‘fein, genau’. *Uṇādīsūtra*, 4. 93 leitet *sūci* falschlich von. *sīv+suff. ca* ab.

(4) Rgv. *srutī I* 46, 11 wofür das Kašmir-Ms. *śruti* liest, was einen besseren Sinn gibt: *ádarśi ví śruti dīvāḥ* ‘offenbart hat sich des Himmels Segen’, vgl. Rgv. II 2, 7.

Ebenso findet sich in anderen vedischen Texten s für ar. s.

(5) **Késara** (VS.) ‘Haar’, aus *kéśara*: Rgv. *kéśa* ‘Haar’, *keśin* ‘lang haarig, haarig’, alb. *k'eoθ* (idg. \**koikō*) ‘schere’, lit. *káiszau* ‘schabe’, *apkaiszti* ‘abschaben’ (Geitler, Lit. Stud 77).<sup>1</sup> Hierher gehört auch ai. *kisala*, *kisalaya* ‘Schößling, Blattknospe’ (Vgl. auch Vaijayantī, p. 46). Kālidāsa Megh. 21: *keśara* ‘Staubfaden’ ist wohl sekundäre Schreibweise. Begrifflich vgl. arv. *varəsa* ‘Haar’: ai. *valśa* ‘schößling, Zweig’.

Bloomfield (J. A. O. S. 13) und Walde (Lat. Et. Wtb.) nehmen an, dass ai. *keśara* mit. lat. *cæsaries* ‘Haupthaar’ verwandt<sup>2</sup> sei, doch idg. \**kaisar* hätte in Lat. zu \**caerar* werden müssen (vgl. lat. *aurora*, *soror*). Lat. *caesaries* geht auf, vorlat. \**kaidh-s-zurück*: ags. *hād* ‘Haar’, germ. \**haid*, ndd., fries. *hēde* ‘Werg, Hede’, lit. *sukidēs* ‘zerzaust’, daneben idg. \**kidh-tōn* \**kiddhōn*, *kizdhōn*=germ. *hizdōn*, ndl. *herde* ‘Haar, Werg’, ags. *heorde*, engl. *hards, hurds* (Sievers, zum Ags. Voc. 24f., Murray V

(1) Zum Bedeutungswandel vgl. aslav. *kosa* ‘Haar’: lit. *kasyti* ‘gelinde Kratzen’, gr. *kséō* ‘schabo’; čech. *škutina* ‘Haarschopf’: lit. *skutu* ‘Kratze, schabe.’

89, Trautmann, Germ. Lautges. 33). Bisher wurde angenommen dass in Lat. **caesaries** das **s** ausnahmsweise ebenso erhalten geblieben wäre wie in lat. **miser**. Doch ist das **s** in letzterem Wort nicht ursprünglich (vgl. WZKM XXI 127).

6. **Musala** m. (AV, TS) 'Stössel, Kolben'; die in **śivapur.** Adhy. 10. 53, sich findende Lesart **muśala** kann sekundär sein: lit. **muszīkas** 'schlägel', **muszū** 'schlage', lat. **muero** 'scharfe Spitze.'

7. **Rāsnā** (V S.) 'Gurt': Rgv. **raśanā** 'Strick, Zügel,' np, **rāśan** 'Strick, Zügel', arm. Lehnw. **erasan**.

(8) **Vásā** (Kāṭh, A Br.) neben **vasā** (TS, SBr.), **váśa** (AV., V1II 9, 24) 'flüssiges Fett:' aw. **ūθa** 'Fett', phl. **ūs**. Unmöglich ist Charpentiers Zusammenstellung von ai.**vásā** mit aw. **vohu** 'Blut', ar. **vasu**, ae. wōs 'Feuchtigkeit' (KZ. 46, 42)

(9) **Suka** (AV. I. 22, 4) fur **śuka** (Rgv. I, 50, 12 und Paippal).

II. Beispiele, in denen Rgv. **s** für ar. **š** steht.

(10) Rgv. **ṛbīsa** 'Schlund, Erdspalte', urind. \***ṛviṣa** (zur Bildung vgl. **ṛjīṣa**, **puriṣa**: **uṣṇiṣa**), lit. **ūrwa** 'Loch in der Erde, poln. **rów** 'Graben', preuss. **rawys**.

(11) Rgv. **kistá**. 'Sänger' (Sāyāṇa: **udgātṛ**): aw. **kaēś** 'lehren', lat. **quaero**, **quaestor**, **quaestio**. Zur Bedeutung vgl. aw. **sach** 'lehren': ai. **śams** 'singen'; np. **āhding**, hanj 'Belehrung, Rat', phl. **frahaxt** 'ausgebildet', ar. W \***sangh:** got. **saggws** 'Sang', ahd. **sang**, got. **siggwan**; lit. **bōti** 'fragen', gr. **φωνή** 'Stimme'.

(12) ved. **bársva** (VS. 25, 1, Kāṭh. 25, 9) 'Zahnfleisch', neben **varsva** (nach Mahīdhara = **danta-pīṭha**), idg. \***volsvo** : gr. **οὐλόν** 'Zahnfleisch'. Betreffs der Behandlung von urgriech. ls, vgl. F. Sommer KZ. 32, 386 ff, Brugmann IF 11, 208 A. Anders über **οὐλόν** Schwytzer KZ. 57.

(13) Rgv. **bísa** (wofür viele MSS. **vísa** schreiben) 'Wurzelschoss' (in **bísa-khā**, AV. **bísa**), mi. **bisu**, ni. **bihu** (Grierson ZDMG. 50, 17), urind. **viṣa** : lit. **wystū**, 'sich fortpflanzen',

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(2) Hier ist das **k** von der Vollstufenform \***kaiṣ** auf die Schwundenstufe \***cis** übertragen, vgl. **gītha**.

waisinū ‘wachsei machen’, waīsius ‘Frucht’. Hierzu auch ai, biṣyati ‘hervorbrechen, wachsen’ (bhedana-karman, vṛddhi karman), nur in Nir. 2. 24 überliefert.

(14) Rgv. brṣaya etwa ‘Zaubere’ und Bezeichnung eines Dämons urind. vrṣaya, asl vlchv ‘Wahrsager’, vlšiba Zauberei’, russ. volchit ‘Zauberer’, wruss. wolchwić ‘zaubern’ asl. volchvica ‘Wahrsagerin’.

III. Beispiele, in denen Rgv. § für ś hinter i, u steht.

(15) Rgv. úṣa (X 95, 4) ‘Liebhaber’ (úṣo yádi vāṣṭi) steht, wie bereits Grassmann erkannt hat, für úṣa. Ebenso steht in Kašmirischen Rgv-Ms. I 162, 11 uṣádbhyo für uṣádbhyo.<sup>1</sup>

Ferner ist in Rgv. das auslautende § von dem Verb piṣ wie ś behandelt worden. So lautet die 2. Sing. Inj. und Impf. sam-piṇak für \*sam-pinaṣ.<sup>2</sup> In klassischer Zeit ist von dieser Wurzel ferner apikṣam, pekṣyati belegt. Ähnlich überliefern die Grammatiker von karṣati die Formen akṛkṣat, krakṣye, die in Anlehnung an karṣati gebildet sind, und von viveṣṭi (W. viṣ)

(1) In Rgv I 6,3 ist uṣádbhis unmöglich von uṣás abzuleiten (vgl. Scheftelowitz, IF. XXXIII 153 f.) sondern steht für uṣádbhis, worunter die hilfreichen Marutas zu verstehen sind, die in diesem Vers wie auch sonst häufig als maryā bezeichnet werden (I 61, 4; 64, 2; III 54, 13; V 53, 3; 59, 6; 61, 4; VII 50 1; X, 77, 23), den Indra stets begleiten und seine Brüder sind (vgl. I 70, 2 : Kīm na īndra jighampsasi bhrātarō marātas tāva) Unter allen Gefährten, die Indra in dem Vrtra-Kampfe beistehen, sind die Martus die treuesten Helfer. Ein Teil der vedischen Lieder und die rituelle Literatur bringt sie so häufig in Zusammenhang, dass man die Verbindung als Gemeingut der RV. angesehen hat (Hillebrandt, Ved. Myth. III 312). Der Vers I 6, 3 lautet : “Dem Lichtlosen Licht schaffend, dem Farblosen Farbe, O ihr Männer (=Marutas), wurdest du (O Indra) mit den Huldreichen (\*uṣádbhis) zusammengeboren”. uṣant dient sowohl im Sg. als auch in Pl. häufig zur Bezeichnung von Göttern.

(2) Betreffs des n vgl. Benfey S. V. Einl. XXXV. Nach Bartholomae IF. III 171 A soll “sám piṇak nach prā piṇak” gebildet sein.

die Formen *vekṣyati*, *vivikṣa*, wo das ś von der W. viś hergenommen ist. In Rg. *vividhī* (I 27, 10; VIII 85, 12) ist bereits das wurzelausl. ś vor dem Imp. suffix -dhi wie s behandelt<sup>1</sup>

Patañjali *Mahābhāṣyam* (ed Kielhorn, I 24) macht ausdrücklich darauf aufmerksam, dass man in der Aussprache ś und s verwechsle, weshalb man ṣaṣṭha für ṣaṣṭha und palāṣa für palāṣa sagt. *Jabāla Upan.* 2 bezeugt ferner, dass ś als s gesprochen wurde Darauf beruhen z. B. Schreibungen wie suṣi, suṣira (Āp Śr.) "Höhlung" neben älterem śuṣi, śuṣira (l. *cavus*); śramṣayitvā (AV IV, 16,7) für śramṣayitvā, śṛgāla (Manu IX, 30) für älteres śṛgāla; sveta (Bhāvaprak., p. 102) für älteres śveta caturasram (*Saubhāgyalakṣmī Up.*, in 108 *Upaniṣads* ed Pāṇḍu-raṅg Jāwajī, Bombay, 1925, 549) für caturaśram; vamṣiṣīya (AV. IX, 1, 14; 16, 9, 4) für vamṣiṣīya (Opt. Aor. von van); kūṣmā (MS.) für Rgv. kūṣma; sikṣasi (Vālakhilya III 6; IV 8 in den Rgv. MSS. Brit. Mus. Add. 5351, India Office 2131) für sikṣasi. Vaśiṣṭha (Bhav. Pur. 139, 54,; 140, 30; III 1, 47; IV 53, 23) für Vasiṣṭha; visrabdhāḥ (Ram. II of) fur viśrabdhāḥ; santva, santvā 'Beschwichtigung' aus śantva, śāntva; sāri, sārikā 'Krahe' fur sāri, sārikā : lat. *corvus*. Weitere Beispiele über die Verwechslung der 3 Zischlaute in nachvedischer Zeit habe ich in WZKM. XXI 132 behandelt.

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(1) Vgl. ferner Scheftelowitz WZKM. XXI, 125 fg. In Rv. kōṣa 'Kufe' ist das ś ursprünglich (vgl. daselbst 127). Jünger ist die Schreibung koṣa, die zuerst in Praiṣādhyāya (Ed. Scheftelowitz, Apokryphen d. Rgv.) VII 1 f, T Br. III 6, 2, MS. IV 13, 2 belegt ist und zwar in dem Wort akoṣadhāvanir (*duras*) "die nngebogen gehenden (Türen)".— ṣaṣṭha (lat. *sextus*) aus \*sakṣ-ṭha ṣaṣṭi aus sakṣ-ṭi. Nach snalcgie von caturtha pañcama, saptama: catur, pañca, sapta hat sich aus ṣaṣṭha die Lautform ṣaṣ entwickelt, die das ursprüngliche \*sakṣ verdrangte.



## THE WORD ARI' IN THE RGVEDA SAMHITA

K. Chatto *pādhyāya.*

अरिन्दमं नमस्कृत्य राघवमार्यभूमृतम् ।  
अरिशश्वर्थयुग्मस्य निरुक्तेनिर्णये यते ॥  
वाहूचे संहिताग्रन्थे शब्दोऽयमार्यसम्मतः ।  
भूयश्च शत्रुपर्यायः शौमेरात्रिप्रभावितः ॥

It is well known to students of the R̄gveda samhitā that the word A R I' has been used in it in both a good and a bad sense, either as meaning 'active', 'pious', 'a pious man', etc., or as 'niggardly', 'godless', 'a niggard or an ungodly man', 'a foe'. etc. This strange phenomenon has exercised the brains of several scholars,<sup>2</sup> but the riddle of how a word could have such contradictory meanings in texts of the same period still remains unsolved. It has been proposed to analyse the word as a-r i', originally meaning 'having no wealth' and having the regular accent of a Bahuvrīhi with the privative particle a-. The word is then believed to run in two different channels, in one '*having no wealth*' coming to mean 'meek' or 'humble' > 'a suppliant' > 'a worshipper of the gods' > 'a pious man' > 'a noble man' and in the other 'a niggard' > 'an envious being' > 'a bad person' > 'a foe'. This is highly ingenious no doubt but fails to give conviction. It is the first series which is unconvincing. Passage from '*having no wealth*' to '*worshipping*' is hard to see in view of the fact that the R̄ksamhitā priest often praised his gods for the benefit of his rich patron. Besides this, passages like 1-150-1, purūtvā dāśvā'n voce arīḥ, where dāśvā'n = 'giving' goes along with arīḥ make it impossible, as Neisser points

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1. Grassman, Woerterbuch zum Riveda, 105-6.

2. Geldner, Vedische Studien, III, 72ff., Oldenberg, Z. D. M. G., 54. 177ff. R̄gveda, textkritische und exegetische Noten, I. 384, II. 28 and *passim*, Bergaigne, E'tudes sur le lexique du Rig-veda, 182, Ghate Lectures on the R̄gveda (Ied.), 121-7, Neisser, Zum Woerterbuch des R̄gveda, 98ff., et cetera,

out<sup>3</sup>, that a r i' h should mean 'having no wealth'. The second series of meanings is, however, more readily comprehensible. 'Having no wealth' can easily mean 'having no wealth to give to others' > 'a niggard', as 'm a g h a' v a n t means 'having wealth' > 'having wealth to give to others' = 'bounteous'. The major portion, if not the whole of the Rksamhitā, being a priestly composition, it is but natural that 'the niggard' (=refusing Bloomfield's buksheesh) should become a type of all that is bad.

The references for the two sets of meanings are: -

**(1) In Good Sense:**

I-4-6, 70-1, 71-3, 122-14, 150-1, 184-1, 185-9; III 43-2; IV-2-18, 4-6 (?); V-48-5, 54-12; VI-25-7, 45-33, 51-2; VII-8-1, 34-18, 60-11, 92-4; VIII-1-4, 54-9, 61-16, 83-3; Vālakhilya 3-9; X-27-8, 28-1, 39-5, 86-1, 3, 148-3.

**(2) In Bad Sense.**

I-73-5, 118-9, 169-6 (?); II-8-2, 12-4, 5, 23-13, IV-16-19, 20-3, 29-1, 50-11; V-2-12, 33-2; VI-13-5, 14-3, 15-3, 16-27, 20-1, 24-5 36-5, 48-16, 59-8; VII-21-9, 31 5, 34-10, 48-3, 56-22, 68-2, 83-5, 97-9; VIII-21-6, 24-22, 33-14, 39-2, 48-8, 49-12, 55-12; IX-23-3, 61-11, 79-1, 3; X-42-1, 59-3, 115-5, 116-6, 133-3; to which may possibly be added I-33-31, I-121-15, VI-47-9 and X-191-1.<sup>4</sup>

A R I' in a good sense seems connected with a r y a<sup>5</sup>

3. *Op cit.*, p. 98.

4. The above references are not copied verbatim from Grassmann. I looked up all these passages and succeeded in checking some of his mistakes. The same remark also applies to the other references in this paper.

5. I 33-3 (?). 81-6, 9, 121-15 (?); II-23-15, 35 2; IV-1-7, 2, 12, 16-17, 24-8; V-33-6, 9, 34-9. 75-7 (a r yā'; VI-47-9 (?)-86-7; VII-21-5, 64-3, 65-2, 86-7, 100-5; VIII-1-34, 19-36, 52-7; Vālakh. 3-9, 6-7; X-20-4; 27-19, 34-13, 76-2, 89-3, 191-1 (?). Of all these passages I-33-3, I-121-15, VI-47-9, and X-191-1 may possibly have a r y a' h as gen. sg. of a r i' = 'foe' or 'niggard', instead of masc. sg. of a r y a' = 'the excellent one'.

'kind', 'benevolent', 'righteous', 'pious' *et cetera* and ā'rya = ('Aryan' as an adjective and a noun) in the Rv. S. and airya and ariya of the Avesta and the Ancient Persian Inscriptions. We should follow Neisser's suggestion<sup>7</sup> in adding to the etymology the Greek word ἄριστος, meaning 'noblest', 'best of its kind' which is believed to be one of the irregular superlatives of ἄγαθος, it being further assumed that "In the early prim. Indg. period the comparative and superlative stood in no grammatical relation to the so-called positive."<sup>8</sup> I cannot, however, help feeling that it was not so and it is on account of the disappearance of words that we cannot always find the corresponding positive or superlative bases in Greek or other languages. The Sanskrit language gives abundant illustration of the former existence of words and forms which recur later only in special combinations, e. g., puṣpadhanvan (showing the old dha'nvān =bow), yuva-jāni (the old ja'ni =woman). I have, therefore, no hesitation in taking ἄριστος to be a superlative from a stem \*ἀρὶ. or \*ἄρι. The accent is on the first syllable (or third from the end) as in μέγιστος (=mahiṣṭha, from μέγ-ιας =Vedic māhāh and māghāh with accent on the second syllable), ἥδιστος (=s vā' d i s t h a h with accent on the first syllable, though the positives vādūh, Greek ἥδου, has accent on the second syllable, ἐλάχιστος (=laghiṣṭah) *et cetera*. The passage from 'noble' to 'Aryan' in ārya, airya or ariya is very natural under the influence of race pride and it is possible that ari' has got that sense in some passages of the Rgveda samhitā.<sup>9</sup>

6. I-51-8, 59-2, 96-3, 103-3, 117-21, 130-8, 156-5; II-11-18, 19; III-34-9; IV-26-2, 30-18; V-34-6; VI-18-3, 22-10, 25-2, 33-3, 60-6; VII-5-6, 18-7, 83-1; VIII-24-27, 92-1; Vālakhilya 3-9; IX-63-5, 14, X-11-4, 38-3, 43-4, 49-3, 65-11, 69-6, 83-1, 86-19, 102-3, 138-3.

7. *Op. cit.*

8. Wright, *Comparative Grammar of the Greek Language*. 378. See also Brugmann, *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik d. indg. Sprachen*, 391.

9. E.g. in VI-45-33.

I have already said that *a r i'* in a bad sense is a Bahuvrihi formed from *a-*(='not') and *-ri* (weak form in compound of *rai*, *rayi*=‘wealth’, as in *bṛha'd-ri et cetera*). The usual sense is that of ‘a niggard’ but sometimes the meaning seems to be ‘a foe.’ In many cases it is difficult to ascertain whether the poet meant ‘a niggard (or envious being)’ or ‘a foe’. The sense of ‘foe’ really constitutes a difficulty, because the passage from ‘niggard’ to ‘foe’ is not so easy as from ‘moneyless’ to ‘niggard’ and we have other words in the Rv. S. for an enemy, *vṛtrā*, *dveśas* *et cetera*. In the later language, of course, *ari* means ‘an enemy’ and that alone, but this gives us no help for its correct etymology. *A r i'* = ‘enemy’ in the *Rgvedasamhitā* has, therefore, remained a great problem with me for a number of years.

Recently some solution of the difficulty has seemed within sight. A somewhat similar word seems to have existed in the old Sumerian language, which Gadd<sup>10</sup> transliterates as *erim*<sup>2</sup> and Langdon<sup>11</sup>, earlier, as<sup>1</sup> *ari*. It will be recalled that Hall threw out a suggestion years ago that the old Sumerians were connected with the Dravidians of India<sup>12</sup> and several scholars have in recent times followed him and believed, further, in the Sumerian affinity of the dwellers of the pre-historic Indus basin. It must be admitted that connexion of the Sumerians with the Dravidians or with the pre-historic inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro, Larkana, Harappa etc. has not been proved. Keith's statement, however, that the facial aspect of the Sumerian *patesi* Gudea in his statues seems to be “wholly un-Dravidian”<sup>13</sup> cannot be accepted, for we do come across such types among Dravidians and I have myself seen a number of Dravidians with the receding fore-

10. **Sumerian Reading Book**, pp. 2, 65 and ff. and L82.

11. **Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy**, p. 203. So also Delitzsch in **Sumerisches Glossar**, p. 10 (*I a-ri*).

12. See his **Ancient History of the Near East**<sup>5</sup>, pp. 173-4.

13. **Religion and philosophy of the Vedas**, Vol. I, p. 10 n. 1.

head and peculiar skull we find in the Sumerian sculptures.<sup>14</sup> Regarding the further connexion of the Sumerians with the prehistoric dwellers of the Indus basin, I may say that a bust I saw in the Mohenjo-daro Museum in November, 1928, appeared in my eyes as having strong resemblances with Sumerian statues like those of Gudea.<sup>15</sup> G. A. Barton in his recent article in the J. A. O. S., "Whence came the Sumerians?"<sup>16</sup> has combated the Indian hypothesis.<sup>17</sup> But his objection that not all the signs in the seals of Harappa and Mohenjo-daro agree with Sumerian signs creates no great difficulty for we may have here an earlier or a later or a different settlement of the same people and some differences in writing would be inevitable under the circumstances. Consequently the hypothesis that before the advent of the Aryans, the Punjab was inhabited by a people having Sumerian affinities seems still possible or even likely. Consequently a native word *ari* or *erim*, meaning 'foe', could easily affect Aryan usage and give to *a-r i'* = 'a niggard' the occasional sense of a 'foe', which had the good fortune of surviving as the only meaning of the word in later Sanskrit, to the exclusion of 'a niggard' and of the good sense, 'a kind' or 'noble person'.

14. I must confess that I do not very much believe in identification of races of very different periods on purely anthropometrical grounds, for emigrants have been known to have changed their skulls in a few generations under the influence of the new environment. See Franz Boas, *Changes in the Bodily Form of Immigrants* (Columbia University Press, 1912). Besides this there is always in such cases admixture of blood with other races with a resultant physical change. It cannot be assumed that the present day speakers of Dravidian tongues carry *cent per cent* Dravidian blood. The only safe method that can be pursued for proving or disproving the Sumerian affinity of the Dravidians is linguistic. But for this we require trained linguists, possessing deep first hand knowledge of both the languages and not a Waddell or a Vaidyanatha Ayyar. It may be noted here that like Sumerian, Dravidian languages are agglutinating.

15. See Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1925-26, Plate XXVIII.

16. Vol. 49 pp. 263 ff.

17. pp. 264-6.

Another classical word for 'foe' is *arāti*, which we find in the Rv. S. usually as an abstract or action noun, meaning 'niggardliness', 'envy', 'hostility', etc.,<sup>18</sup> but also as a concrete noun, meaning 'godless person', 'demon' or 'demoness' and 'enemy'.<sup>19</sup> The accent is on the first syllable in both the cases. Consequently we cannot understand the *samāsa* as a '*Bahuvrīhi*', even for the sense of 'enemy'. The change of meaning from 'hostility' to 'a hostile being', without a shift of accent, is probably due to personification, the transition being indicated by the meaning of 'demon' or 'demoness'. We may find a parallel in *dveśas*, which is used in the Rv. S. for both 'animosity' and 'enemy'.<sup>20</sup> It is possible, however, that *a' rāti* and *dveśas* as concrete nouns have been influenced by *a'ri'* as a concrete noun meaning 'a foe', because abstract or action nouns (at least those ending in *-as* or *-an*) usually shift the accent to the final syllable, when meaning concrete or agent nouns.<sup>21</sup>

The Sumerian word that has been suggested above as affecting the meaning of the Vedic word *a'ri'* seems to be a native Sumerian word, for though there is a word in that language with the same phonetic value but written differently—its meaning being 'man', 'servant', 'soldier', 'army',<sup>22</sup> (1) there seems to be some pictographic connexion between the signs of the two words, (2) the sense 'army' seems to supply the connecting link between 'man' and 'foe' and (3) *ur*,<sup>22</sup> 'to bristle', seems to be the

18. I-29-4; II-7-2, 35-6; IV-4-4, 50-11; V-53-14; VI-53-14; VII-16-27, 44-9, 48-16, 59-8; VII-83 3, 5, 97-9; VIII-39-2, 48-3, 60-1; IX-79-3; X-34-14, 63-12, 133-3.

19. I-43-8, 99-1 (*a' rāti yātā' h*); II-38-9; III-18-1; V-2-6; VI-4-5; VII-1-7; IX-96-10, 97-10; X-85-32.

In III-24-1, IV-26-7, IV-27-2, IX-79-1 and X-57-1, *a' rāti* may possibly be a concrete noun but this is not certain and I-116-21, III-23-5, 9, VIII-9-1, VIII-11-3 and VIII-60-4 are wholly doubtful.

20. Grassmann, *Wörterbuch zum Rigveda*, 653.

21. See Macdonell. *Vedic Grammar for Students*, p. 453.

22. Gadd, *Sumerian Reading Book*, pp. 2 and 182.

root behind both the words.<sup>23</sup> Variety of signs with identical phonetical value is a too well known phenomenon in the Sumerian language to make Gadd's *'erim* or Langdon's *'ari* a non-Sumerian word.

In conclusion, I wish to remind students of the R̄ksamhitā that other non-Aryan words have been believed to occur in the Rv. S., e.g., *m a n ā'* of VIII-67-2, meaning 'a weight or an ornament', connected with the Babylonian word *minu* or *ma-na*<sup>24</sup> (from which we have Greek μῆνας and Latin *mina*); we find this latter word also in Sumerian (e.g., in the Inscription of Sin-gashid, king of Erech<sup>25</sup> as *ma-na*).<sup>26</sup> It should be noted that *m a n ā'* occurs only once in the Rv. S. and that in the Eighth Book, which for various reasons appears to be a later collection than the rest of the work except Book X. This Eighth Book has also strong western affinities,<sup>27</sup> which would make the occurrence of a Sumerian or Babylonian word in it easily intelligible. The other word *manā*<sup>1</sup> occurring four times in the Rv. S. thrice means 'devotion or' 'attachment' (I-173 2, IV-33-2 and X-6-3) and once 'wrath' or some such thing (in II-33-5, in connexion with Rudra). In the previous case derivation from √*man* to 'think' > 'to worship' is quite evident. The same etymology seems possible in the latter case too, in view of the fact that *m a n y u'* in the Rv. S. means both 'ardour' and 'wrath'. It is, however, tempting to connect *m a n ā'* of II-33-5 with the Melanesian word *mana*, well

23. It is at least so for *ari* = 'foe', according to Langdon, *loc. cit.* Delitzch gives a root II *ar-i* 'to devastate' (*loc. cit.*)

24. King, *First Steps in Assyrian*. p. 291 (k. 251, 1. 6).

25. Gadd, *op. cit.*, pp. 50 and 51 (l. 9).

26. See Hommel, *Grundriss der Geographic and Geschichte dre alten Orients* part 1, p. 228 n. 1, S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and Development of the Bengali Language*, Vol. I pp. 27-8-n.

27. See Hopkins in *J.A.O.S.*, XVII. pp. 81ff. In the Avesta *minu* occurs twice (Yašt V. 127 and XVII. 10) in the sense of a necklace. See Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Woerterbuch*, 1186, under *minav* with note.

known to anthropologists, meaning a mysterious power inhering in a person or object coming in whose contact a man may injure himself.<sup>28</sup> The researches of J. Przyluski and following him, of Sunitikumar Chatterji, have abundantly made clear the Austric affinities of many neo-Indian words, which shows that the Austric peoples must have once inhabited India. I am not in a position to determine whether the Melanesian word *mana* is an Aryan loan word or the Vedic word *manā'* of II-33-5 is of Austric origin, but the former may be the right view, because of the double usage of the word *many u'* in RV. S.<sup>29</sup> and the capability of *man* 'to think' of lending itself to the meanings of both good and bad thinking. *A'ri'*, however, can hardly have come from a root that can give both 'noble man' and 'foe'.

**Post-script.**—The above paper was written more than three years ago. Since then I have felt that Indo-European etymology of *ari*=‘foe’ is not absolutely wanting. First of all, we have *arika*=‘inimically disposed’ in Ancient Persian (**Behistun** IV l. 13) though Bartholomae (**Altir wörterbuch**, 189) connects it with Av. *ayra* (=ski. *asra?*). One may also think of Greek *ερις* = ‘strife’ though Brugmann, (**kurze vergleichende Gramatik** §426), Uhlenbeck **Kurzgefasstes etymol. Wörterbuch d ai Sprache** 13 and others have doubted the connexion. It is possible that *ari* = ‘noble’ and *ari*=‘foe’ of Veda come from two distinct I.E. words of somewhat similar sound. The question is however wrapped in a good deal of obscurity. I allow this paper to be published because the sumerian affinity pointed out above is interesting and may be suggestive to those who believe in a prehistoric contact between Indo-European and Sumerian.

28. See Marett, *The Threshold of Religion*,<sup>2</sup> 12ff, *et passim*.

29. Compare also English **passion**, which has been used both in a good and a bad sense.

# PĀNINI'S GRAMMAR AND THE INFLUENCE OF PRAKRIT ON SANSKRIT.

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It is well-known that Prakritisms are found even in the Vedic language. That it has exercised a great influence also on classical Sanskrit can be shown, among others, from the grammar of Pāṇini himself. A few instances from that work are given in the following lines.

It is a general rule (VIII. 3. 23) that *m* followed by a consonant becomes *m̄*; e. g. *vanaṁ* (for *vanam*) *hasati*. But when after *m* there is *h* followed by *m*, the first *m* becomes *m̄* as usual, or it may remain unchanged; e. g. *kim* before *hmalayati* may be either *kim̄* or remain as *kim* there being no change whatsoever in the second case. But why? It is quite evident from the very observation of Pāṇini that in his time in the country or in a particular part of it the sound *hm* was in many cases not pronounced as it should have been; i. e. first *h* and then *m* uttered in a syllable; but it was pronounced as *mh* owing to metathesis (*varṇa-viparyaya*) as in Prakrit and Indo-Aryan vernaculars. For instance, Skt. *brāhmaṇa*, Pkt. *bamhaṇa*, Bihāri *bāmhan*.

Similarly the origin of the next sutra *na pare nah*, (VIII. 3. 27) of Pāṇini where he says that *m* before *h* which is followed by *n* may optionally change to *n* (e. g. *kim* before *hnute* may be either *kim̄* or *kin*) is the same fact, that is to say, in Pāṇini's time some used to pronounce *hn* as *nh*; and he had to take cognizance of it in his grammar. Cf. Skt. *cīnha*; 'mark', Pkt. *cīnha* (and *cindha*), Od., Beng. *cinha*, Skt. *vahni* 'fire', Pkt. *vanhī*.

Kātyayana noticed such metatheses in three cases more and added here a short sentence saying that *m* before *k* which is followed by *y*, *v*, or *l* optionally changes to them respectively (*yavalapare yavalā vā*, VIII. 3); e. g. *kim* before *hyah*,

hvalayati, and hlādayati may be kiȳ, kiv̄, and kil̄ respectively. This clearly shows that, as in Pkt. and modern Indo-Aryan vernacu'as, (i) hy was often pronounced as yh; (ii) hv as vh; and (iii) hl as lh. Cf. (i) Skt. guhya, Pkt. gujjha (<gujha <guyha), Beng. gujjha) Panj. gujjhā, Sind. gujho, Guj. guj, Mar. gūj; Skt. nahyati, Pkt. nājjhai; (ii) Skt. jihvā, Pali jivhā, Pkt. jibbhā (and jīhā), Beng. jibbhā (jibh); (iii) Skt. āhlāda, Pkt. alhāda.

Such euphonic combinations (*sandhi*) as prejate (for pra+ejate), not praijate; or upoṣati (for upa+oṣati), not upauṣati (according to Pāṇini VI. 1. 94); or adyom (for adya+om), not adyaum; or adyodhā (for adya+odhā, odhā=ā+ūdhā), (not adyaudhā (in accordance with VI, 1. 95). are instances of Prakritism. It is well known that such forms abound in Pali and Pkt. Kātyāyana notices some other forms of the kind and gives a few examples saying that when ascertainment is not meant (aniyoge) the forms like iheva (for iha+eva), and adyeva (for adya+eva.) instead of ihaiva and adyaiva respectively are quite correct. Similarly such words as sthūlotu beside sthūlautu, bimboṣṭhī beside bimbauṣṭhī are admissible. For such uses in the Vedic language one may be referred to the *Taittiriya Prātiśākhya* X.14; Macdonell. *Vedic Grammar* §70.2 (p. 64). He notices also a group of other words which are formed according to the rules of *sandhi* in Pali or Pkt. This group is known to the grammarians as Śakandhvadi which includes words like sāraṅga (for sāra+aṅga), halisā (for hala+īṣā), etc. besides śaṅkandhu (for śaka+andhu). Later grammarians take this gāṇa or group as an ākṛti-gāṇa meaning thereby that it does not include only the words which are actually enumerated in it, but also others found in use in literature.

The phenomenon of ya-Śruti in Pkt. hardly needs any special mention. The literal sense of the word is 'hearing of y.' But, in fact, it implies that the y meant here is not a *fully* pronounced y, but only, so to say, the 'hearing' of it ; i.e. y which is,

uttered with a slighter effort (laghuprayatnatara-yakāra-śrutiḥ bhavati. —Hemacandra, VIII 1. 180; Lakṣmīdhara, I. 3. 10).

Now according to Pāṇini, VIII. 3, 17 for kah̄ āste we have kaȳ āste (h̄ drops and the hiatus is filled up by y). So far as Pāṇini is concerned there is nothing to show that this y is not a fully pronounced one. But in accordance with Śākaṭāyana quoted by Pāṇini himself (VIII 3. 18) and Vātsapra mentioned in the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*, X.23, thus y is laghuprayatnatara ‘uttered with a slighter effort.’ It is sometimes called leśa<sup>1</sup> or ‘attenuation’ of y (*Taittirīya Prātiśākhya*, X.23, see Whitney: *Atharvaveda Prātiśākhya*, II. 24), and is, in fact, nothing but the ya-śruti of the Prakrit grammarians.

It may be gathered from the above that ŷ (or laghuprayatnatara y, or leśa of y, or ya-śruti) of Śākaṭāyana and Vātsapra changed to a fully developed y when Pāṇini wrote his grammar. But according to Sākalya, as says Pāṇini himself (VIII 3.19), in such cases there was no sound either as ŷ or as y<sup>2</sup>. Gārgya a predecessor or contemporary of Pāṇini is, however, of opinion that only in certain cases that sound is not heard.

All this is quite in agreement with Pkt. in some of the dialects of which there is ŷ. while in others it is not.

The case is exactly the same with regard to v or v (leśa of v) though there is some difference of opinion according to different authorities.

It may be noted here that it is in this way that such forms as devayoh̄ (for deva+os, gen. or loc. dual), dāyin (for √dā+-in), vāyu (for √vā+-u), etc. or again bhūvādayah (for bhū+ādayah; Pāṇini, I. 3. 1) can very satisfactorily be explained.

(<sup>1</sup>) The word leśa is explained by a commentator saying luptavad uccāraṇam, while another says ekadeśo yathokta-viṣaye lupyate, ekadeśah̄ śrūyate.

(<sup>2</sup>) The same view is held also by the author of the *Taittirīya Prātiśākhya* (X. 19); while Mācakīya says that after a or ā y and v followed by u or o are dropped (*O p. cit* X. 22)



## AŚOKAN VĀSA- 'YEAR'.

R. L. Turner.

The Sanskrit word for 'rain', *várṣa*-(*n.*, later *m.*) in the Brāhmaṇas acquires the meaning 'year', for which it becomes the most usual word. But it retained the meaning 'rain', especially in certain compounds, such as *prabandha-varṣa*, *vāta-varṣa*-; and in the plural it continued to mean 'the Rainy Season.' The feminine *varṣā*-, usually in the plural, means only 'rain, Rainy Season.'

In Pali *vassa*- *n.* means both 'rain' and 'year'; but the plural *vassā* (*m?*- or < Sk. f. pl. *varṣāh*?) means only 'the Rainy Season'.

There seems, then, to be already a certain tendency towards differentiation, *viz.* *várṣa*- *n.* 'year', *varṣa*- *m.* and *varṣā*- *f.* 'rain'. This is continued in Singhalese *vas* 'year' (<*várṣa*-)<sup>1</sup>, but *vasi* 'rain', (< \**varṣikā*-enlargement of *varṣā*. or <*várṣika*-).

Elsewhere other means were used to avoid confusion. The Inscriptions of Aśoka unfortunately do not contain the word for 'rain'; but they have three divergent forms for 'year', a study of which discloses the same striving after differentiation.

In the Girnar inscription 'year' is *vāsa*- . This cannot be from Sk. *várṣa*<sup>2</sup>-, which would have become *vasa*- (*i. e.* *vassa*-). In the Eastern Inscriptions a long vowel before two consonants is shortened ; but in Girnar it remains long, *e. g.* *nāsti* <Sk. *nāsti*, *ātpa*-<*ātma*- . We may therefore read *vāsa*- as *vāssa*- and derive it from Sk. *várṣā*- yearly. As in several other cases

<sup>1</sup> Replaced in the modern language by *avurudda*. < \* *havadura*, loanword from Pa. *samvacchara*.

<sup>2</sup> As maintained among others, by Michelson, JAOS. 1911, p. 236 ; and in the last instance by Hultsch, Inscr. of Aś., p. LIX. I have shown in Bull. SOS. VI. 2 that *kāsatī* 'will do', sometimes quoted in support of the hypothesis that *ass>ās*, is probably to be read *kāssati* and is certainly a future made on the pattern of \**dāssati* < Sk. *dāsyāti*.

(e.g. Sk. bailvá- which in Pk. bella-, Hi. bel etc. supplants bilva-) the Vṛddhi adjective was used to form a substantive, which with its long vowel provided a word distinct from vassa- 'rain' (<Sk. várṣa-, varṣā-),

Whether vasa- of Shah. Mān is to be read vassha- or vāṣṣa-, we cannot say in the absence of any modern form for 'year' from this word. vāṣṣa- may have existed, but subsequently been driven out of use by collision, c.g. in Sindhi, with a loanword of the type vāsu m. 'scent'. But the apparently complete absence of a descendant of vāṣṣa- in all NW. languages renders it probable that the form is to be read as vāṣṣa-.

The forms of the Eastern group- vāṣṣa-, vāṣṣa-, and vasa (i.e. vāṣṣa-, etc.)- may be derived from earlier vāssa-, and have then fallen together with vāṣṣa-<várṣa-. But we have no criterion for deciding.

In Girnar, in one instance, there appears another form, viz. varṣa-, in place of the usual vāṣṣa- (vāssa-). Here is another device to find a form for the word for 'year' different from that for 'rain', namely the borrowing of a learned Sanskrit form.

It is this procedure which has been generally adopted (subsequently to the Aśokan Inscriptions) in most Indo-Aryan areas to provide a word for 'year': Pk. varisa- m,n.; Rom. eur. berš m., Syr. wars, Shina bāriş (pl. bāriží) m.. Kash warihy, waharm. W. Pah. pād. cam. barh, Nep. barsa Ass. barih, Bg. barib, Or. barsa, Hi. baras m., Pj. varah m., Si. varhyu m., Guj. varas n., Mar. varīs n.

In distinction to this the North-West preserves várṣa-, varṣā- in the sense of 'rain': Kalasha bashik 'cloud', Torwali baṣā m. 'Summer' (?), Kash. woṣu m. 'shower'. Si. vasa f. 'rain'.

In Shina, where it might collide with baş f. 'language' (<bhāṣā-), it has been replaced by ázū m. <Sk. abhrā- n. m. or ārdrā- (cf. ázū adj. 'wet').

In Lahndā and Panjabī, where it might collide with vass m. 'power' (<Sk. *vāsyā-* n.?), it has been replaced by mēh m. Sk. <*mehā-* m. 'cloud'.

In the Centre, South, and East, where MI. *vassa*-> \*vās, \*bās-would certainly collide with vās, bās <Sk. *vāsā-*, it has been replaced in various ways.

In Marathi the compound *prāvr̥ṣa-* m. 'the Rainy Season' provides a general term for 'rain', viz. pāūs m. (Hi. *pāwas* m. and Guj. *pāvas* m. retain the meaning 'Rainy Season'). In Gujarati another compound, *varsād* m. (<OGuj. *varasāt*, cf. Sk. *varṣārātra-* and see below), is the usual word for 'rain'. Hindi, like Lahndā and Panjabī, uses mēh m. <*mehā-*. In Nepali *pāni* (<Sk. *pāniya-* n.) is the general term for rain; the corresponding word *pārī* m. is also so used in Hindi. Bengali has *jal* (<Sk. *jala-*, or perhaps loanword) or the Sanskrit loanword *bṛṣṭi* or *bisti*. Only in Nepali, and there only in the compound *bāsi-bido* 'cessation of the Rains', does *varṣā-* or *vārsika-* survive.

In Prakrit the loanward *varisa-* means both 'year' (see above) and 'rain': in the modern Indo-Aryan languages the meaning, as we have seen, is restricted to 'year'. But the compound *varisāratta-* n. (formed after Sk. *varṣā-rātri-* f., *varṣā-rātra-* n. : Pa. *vassāratta-* n.), in which the *varisa-* 'rain' is not liable to be confused with *varisa-* 'year', remains in a number of languages in the sense of 'the Rainy Season', viz. Kash. *waharāth* (dat. *waharōiū*) f. Guj. *varsād* m. (only 'rain'), Nep. Hi. *barsāt* f., Bg. *barisā*, Or. *barasā*.<sup>1</sup>

The verb *vārsati*> Pa. *vassati* survives in the North-West: Kash. *waśun*, Lah. *vassan*., S. *vasanu*. But in the Centre, South and East, where *vass*-> \*vās-, \*bās-would collide with vās- bās- <*vāsayati* and *vāsyate*, it is descendants of Pk.

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1. With-ā <-ātra-, as in Pk. *amg. rāī <rātri-*, Sgh. *pā <pātra-*.

**varisa<sup>u</sup>** (loanword from Sk. **várṣati**) which are employed: Ku. **barsaṇo**, Nep. **barsanu**, Ass. **barahiba**, Or. **barasibā**, Hi. **barasnā**, Guj. **varasvū**, Mar. **varasnē**. This extends even into Panjabi with **varhnā**: for here **vass-** 'to rain' collides with **vassnā** 'to stop'.

Finally, though **varisa-** loses its meaning 'rain', there is no likelihood of confusion between the verb **varisa<sup>ü</sup>** 'rains' and the substantive **varisa-** 'year'.

[Contributed in 1930.]

# DHARMAPRABHASŪRI'S VERSION OF THE KĀLAKĀCĀRYAKATHĀ<sup>1</sup>

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Up to the present texts of four versions of the Kālakācāryakathā or °kathānakam have been published, three of these from single manuscripts, the fourth in a more or less critical edition; in addition there is a Kālakasūriprabandha in the Prabhāvakacarita<sup>2</sup>. Other versions are in existence, represented by numerous MSS. in Jaina bhanḍārs and in other collections in India, Europe, and America. Many of these I have photographed, or copied, or collated with manuscripts already transcribed by me, and most of these versions, I shall, in due course, publish. In addition there are a number of references to Kālaka in Jaina works, giving incidents from the Kālakācāryakathā and in some cases additional information. Such references as I have found will, in their proper place, be incorporated in a study of the Kālaka cycle. In this paper I propose to present only a critical edition with translation and a few notes of one version of the Kālakācārya legend, namely that composed as a summary (*samkṣepataḥ*) by the sūri Dharmaprabha in the Samvat year 1389.

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(1) This edition and translation of Dharmaprabhasūri's version of the Kālakācāryakathā is a portion of a study of the Kālaka cycle made by me during the year 1928-29 as a fellow on the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation. The materials were mostly collected in India.

(2) The editions to which reference is made are; (1) "Das Kālakācārya-Kathānakam", by Professor Jacobi in **ZDMG** 34. 247-318 (cf. **ZDMG** 35. 675-679); (2,3) "Zwei weitere Kālaka Legenden", by Professor Ernst Leumann in **ZDMG** 37. 493-520; (4) Sri-Kālakācāryakathā, being in appendix to the Sri-Kalpasūtra, vol. 18 of the Sheth Devchand Lalbai Jain Pustakoddhar Fund Series, Bombay, 1914. (This is a brief Sanskrit version in 65 stanzas); (5) **Prabhāvakacarita**, ed. Pandit Hirananda M. Sharma, Bombay. Tukaram Javaji. 1909 (pp. 36 ff.) The name Kālaka alternates with the form Kālika.

This version is one of the two published by Professor Leumann from single MSS. and without translation. His Ms. gave no indication of the date of composition and contained a number of false readings which can now be corrected. A number of errors in his Ms. were successfully emended by him, as will appear in my critical notes. By a strange coincidence the other version published by Professor Leumann bears a peculiar relation to that of Dharmaprabha. It is the version ascribed to Bhāvadeva sūri, whose date was unknown to Professor Leumann in 1883 when he published the text, but who flourished in Samvat 1312<sup>1</sup>, sixty-seven years before Dharmaprabha. Bhāvadeva composed his Kālikācāryakathānakam in śloka metre; Dharmaprabha, as seems obvious from a comparison of the texts, largely based his version on Bhāvadeva's or one very close to it, abbreviated, changed the metre to āryā, with a few other metres used sporadically, and added one onomatopoeic stanza describing the rainy season. The most important differences between the two are in proper names. I have not published Bhāvadeva's version here but shall perhaps do so elsewhere, as I already have the materials at hand for a critical edition.

In preparing this edition of Dharmaprabha's text, I have used five MSS. These are clearly divided into two groups (here designated A and B), yet all seem to come from a common source for all seem to have common corruptions, namely in stanza 9 nomūlemi for nommūlemi; in stanza 20, where all read patto instead of patte; and in stanza 45, where all read suttam for mottum. For differences between A and B, see stanzas 5, 6, 10, 12, 17, 18, et passim.

The following abbreviations are used to indicate the manuscript sources of my edition.

**A** l Lohar Pol Bhandar (Ahmedabad), No. 33-3-3, being folios 93 verso to 98 verso of an illustrated paper Ms. of the Kalpasūtra. Dated Samvat 1513.

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(1) See in Bloomfield, *Life and Stories of the Jaina Savior Pāṇḍyanātha* (Baltimore; The Johns Hopkins Press, 1919), p. 3.

*n* Vijayanemisūri's Bhandar (Cambay), No. 181/2, being folios 137B-144B of an illustrated paper Ms. of the Kalpisūtra. Although all the folio numbers are present, nevertheless one folio is missing containing stanzas 44-50. No date.

b. Preuss. Staats-bibliothek (Berlin), Or. MSS. folio 1737, being an illustrated paper Ms. of 5 folios. No. date.

**B w** Wādi Pārvanātha Bhandar (Patan), No. 18. 19. Illustrated paper Ms. of 5. folios Dated Samvat 1502.

*i* India Office Library (London), bundle 1530 No date. I have not examined this Ms. but have relied entirely upon Leumann's edition of it; see the following item.

[**L** The foregoing Ms as published by Leumann in **ZDMG** 37 (1883). 505-509.]

Words or forms which I have not found in the **Paia-Sadda-Mahānāvō** (that most welcome work by Pandit Har Govind Das, T. Sheth, in 4 vols., Calcutta, 1923-25) are.

Khetta for kṣipta (stanza 6)

kārai (causative of kr; stanza 35)

āra for ādara (stanza 42; noted by Leumann)

pairiccham, pairitham for pratirathyam (stanza 10)

Si for srī (?) (stanza 19)

ūraṇī from anṛṇa (stanza 31; noted by Leumann)

arham

nayarammi Dharāvāse  
putto Kālaya · kumaro  
so patto kilēe  
sun̄iya Guṇāgara · guruno  
thavio ya so gurūhim  
viharanto Ujjenim  
sāha sahun̄ihimtattha ya

āsī · siri · Vairasimha · rāyassa  
devī · Surasundari · jāo. 1  
ujjāne annayā ya dhammadham  
pāse padivajjai dikkham. 2  
sūri · pae · nega · sīsa · pariario  
patto aha tassa lahu · bhaiṇī 3  
mahā · saī Sarasai - tti sampattā,

|   |  |
|---|--|
| bahi viyarantī dīṭṭhā                                 | nivena sā Gaddabhillena. 4                   |
| aha handa mahā · muṇī ha hā                           | aha hā Kālaya sūri · pungava                 |
| mama sīla · mahā · maṇīm ha hā                        | hīrantam naṇu rakkha                         |
| iya vilavantī mayaṇ · āureṇa                          | rakkhaha. 5 (vāitāliya)                      |
| pāvena tēṇa gahiūṇam                                  |  |
| bāleṇa balā bālā                                      | kheittā anteure, avvo. 6                     |
| aha tam nāum sūrī                                     | tattha gao bhanai: n' esa niva               |
| candā aggī sūrā                                       | dhammo;                                      |
| tā rāya munca eyam.                                   | tamo ya jai, tā hao loo. 7                   |
| tav · vayaṇam tammi visam                             | sangheṇa vi so taheva vinnatto.              |
| to avaganṇiya · vayaṇo                                | jāyam duggham va sappa                       |
| jai n' ommūlemi aham                                  | muhe. 8                                      |
| evam kaya · ppainno                                   | sūrī karae imam painnam tu:                  |
| bhamai ummatta · veso                                 | to 'ham ciya sangha padī-                    |
| yadi guru bālah so 'yam rājā tataḥ kim atah param     | kūlo. 9                                      |
| yadi ca nagarī se 'yam ramyā tataḥ kim atah param     | nivam ca vijjā · bal 'ukkaḍam                |
| svapimi yadi vā śunye gehe tataḥ kim atah param       | muṇium                                       |
| pratigrham atho yāce bhiksām tataḥ kim atah param. 11 | <sup>1</sup> pairiccham imo-tti cavamāṇo: 10 |
| tam datṭhum tahabhūyam                                | (harinī)                                     |
| so vi bhanai: uvaesam                                 | nivam tu bohinti manti · sāmantā.            |
| vuttantam tam nāum                                    | gantūṇam deha niya piṇo 12.                  |
| sāhaṇusāhi-tti nivo                                   | Saga · kūlam so gao muṇī. tattha             |
| sāhiss' egassa pure                                   | sāmantā sāhiṇo khāyā. 13.                    |
| āvajjai aṇudiyaham.                                   | ṭhiomuṇī tam ca manta · tantehim             |
| sāhaṇusāhi · pahio                                    | ah' annayā sāhiṇo tassa 14                   |
|   | dūo taith'āo churiya · haṭṭho.               |

<sup>1</sup> pairiccham (**B** pairittham), from pratirathyam: for assimilation of vowels, see Pischel, Grammatik der Prākrit-Sprachen, section 177. The meaning is borne out by other texts, as in ZDMG 34. 261, line 44, tiya · caūkka · mahāpaha · tṭhāṇesu ya imam palavanto hindai.

tam pikkhiyo vicchāyam  
so sisai: maha eso  
t̄ha annesim ankā  
bhanai gurū mā tappasu  
vaccaha Hinduga · dese  
jāv' uttarītu Sindhūm  
vās'āgamo payat̄to.  
yatr ca varṣāgame  
si · riramsu · sūro sūro so  
sāsār'āsā susār'āsa sarim  
patte sarae Mālava ·  
sāhīnti sambalassā  
cunna · jogenā kanayam  
pattā Mālava · desam.  
nihario nayarío

jujjhai. aha bhagga · balo  
tam nayarim vedheum

thiyām nivām pucchāe sūrī. 15  
khuddāeso ya sāminā pahio  
pancānauī ya sāhiṇam. 16  
meliya egattha sāhiṇo savve  
tena vi savvām taheva kayām. 17  
pattā Sorattha · mandalam tāra  
thiyā hu tatth' eva te cchāiu.m  
**18**  
sarasi rasā  
irāsā saram. 19:  
visayām pañ periyā u te muniṇā  
'bhāvām. tu buddhimām sūrī 20  
pāḍai. tam te vīgñhium cāliyā  
tam jāṇiya Gaddabhilla · nivo. 21  
sa · visaya · sandhimmi gantu  
tehim samam  
purim paviṭṭho siyālu vva. 22  
thiyā; tao sahino 'nnayā sunnam

<sup>1</sup> The editing of this stanza is conjectural. In the first place I do not know the metre. It could conceivably be a very free *sloka* (for such *pādas* see in Hopkins, *Great Epic of India*, pp. 453, 458), but this hardly seems probable. As *chāyā* I suggest:

śrī · rlramṣu · sūryah śūraḥ sa · ūṣarā sarasī rasān  
 sāsāra · āsā · susāra · āśāḥ asmārṣuḥ (or asvārṣuḥ) sār-  
 asāḥ sarah (or, svaram).

si for śrī is difficult, although the **Paia-Sadda-Mahānavo** (by Paudit Har Govind Das; Calcutta, 1923-28; 4 vols.) records si for śrī. In n there appears a commentary written in marginally, but only one line of it appears in my photograph. It seems doubtful if the commentary could give the correct rendering. for in the first part of the stanza n reads isiramsu°.

gaḍham āloiya sūrim  
ajj' atṭhamii katttha vi  
tam ca niyacchaha tubbhe.

siṭṭhā guruṇo. teṇa vi  
succā saddam̄ savvam̄  
osaraha gāuya dugam̄  
atṭhasayam̄ maha' pāse  
aha jāva gaddabhīe  
tie avihya·saddā ceva johehim tam

kāum vīṭṭham naṭṭhā;  
bandhittu Gaddabhillō  
gāḍham tajjiya dikkham̄  
niddhādio sa · desā;  
ṭhavio, sā vi hu bhaiṇī  
aha te Sago tti khāyā.  
jāo Vikkama rāo  
tatto puna paṇatise

jen' ankio ya samvatsarotti. pāsan giyam inam o. 32

siri Kālagasūrī aha'

Balamitta Bhāṇumittā  
vandanti gurū dhammadam̄

tie suo Balabhāṇū  
aha tattha dutṭha · citto  
kārai aṇesāñāim.  
Marahṭṭha visaya · maṇḍaṇa ·  
tatth' atthi Sālivāhanā ·

pucchinti ya; so vi vajjarai: 23  
sāhai rāyā hu gaddahim vijjam;  
tehim ya atṭālāe diṭṭhā. 24

vuttam: kaya sāhaṇāe eyāe  
nuya · sinnam aceyaṇam hohī. 25  
tubbhīe; tā saddaveha · jahāṇam  
ṭhaveha. tehim ya tahā vihiyam 26  
dūram uppādiyam muham tāva.  
baṇehim. 27

sā haya sati-tti Gaddabhill'  
uvarim

sāhīhim purī ya sā bhaggā. 28  
paṇāmio sūriṇo ya. teṇāvi  
aṇabhilasanto abhavvo so 29  
aha sūrīhim tu samjame appā  
pāyacchitteṇa sujjhaviyā. 30  
tav · vamsam chindiūṇi puna  
kāle puhavī jen' ūraṇī vihiyā. 31  
vāsa · sae naravai Sago āsi.

Bharuyaccha puram gayā  
viharamāṇā.

sūrīṇam taitha bhaiṇī suyā. 33.  
sunanti. tāṇam ca bhaiṇī  
Bhāṇusirī.

giṇhai dikkham bħava viratto.34.  
purohio sūri · niggamōvāe  
sūrī vi hu tam muṇeūṇam 35  
Puheitṭhāṇammi paṭṭane pattā.  
nivāi su · ssāvao paramo. 36

mahayā vicchāddeṇam  
 thoūṇa vandiūṇam  
 aha patto pajjusaṇā ·  
 bhaddavaya·suddha ·pancam  
 hohī ua dhamma · kiccaṇ  
 tā chaṭṭhi diṇe kuvvaha  
 avi ya calai Merū, siyalo hoi aggī,  
 muyai niyaya ·meram sāyaro vā kayā vi,  
 avi ya divasa ·nāho uggame pacchimāe,  
 na parivasana ·pavvam pancam im akkamei. 40 (mālinī)  
 to bhanai nivo : tamhā  
 tam gurunā 'v' aṇuṇnāyam  
 ārenī vi hu pajjosaviyavvam.  
 bhayavam aṇugahio 'ham  
 pakkhōvavāsa · pāraṇa ·  
 sāhūṇ' uttara·vāraṇa ·  
 pajjosavaṇā · pavvam  
 vihiyam kāraṇa · vasao  
 jam āsi sāhu · pūyā ·  
 tap · pabhii sāhu · pūya  
 aha kālenam savve  
 sutte mottum sijjāyaram ca jāṇāviṇam sūrī 46  
 niya · sīsa · sīsa · Sāgarasūrī ·  
 uvalakkhio ya vutto:  
 ruiram kayam na va tti ya.  
 aha te vi duīṭha · sīsā  
 tath' āgayāu Sāgarasūrim  
 guruṇo. vandiya khāmanti  
 aha lajjio ya Sāgarasūrī raya ·  
 vutto gurūhim bahuhā

pavesiyā teṇa te puram niyayam  
 samthaviyā phāsue thāne. 37  
 samao. to vinnavati nivo sūrim:  
 diṇammi Indo ·nugantavvo; 38  
 janāṇuvittī vāvadassa maham.  
 pajjusaṇam. to gurū bhanai: 39  
 cautthi divasammi kunaha  
 pavvam tu.  
 jaṇ bhaniyam āgame paya-  
 dam: 41  
 to bhanai nivo tuṭṭho:  
 jaṇ maha anteuriṇam tu 42  
 divasammi ya bhāttam-esuṇā,  
 suddham  
 divasammi bhavissae bahu-  
 yam. 43  
 Kālagasūrihim iya cautthie  
 sanghen' aṇumanniyyam taiyā. 44  
 paro jaṇo tattha kira tayā visae  
 nāma mahio ajja vi pasiddho. 45  
 niya · sīse viṇaya · vajjie nāum  
 vihiyam.  
 pucchiya sijjāyaram kiechā, 48  
 pucchanti jāva, tā diṭṭhā  
 pāya · laggā puṇa puṇo vi. 49  
 punja · tiyaga diṭṭhantam  
 khāmei puṇo puṇo paṇao 50

|  |  |
|--|--|
| Sakko 'nnayā Vidhe   | Siṁandhara · jiṇa · varā suya<br>nigoo   |
| puehai: Bharahe bhayavam<br>bhaṇiyam jiṇenā: Kālagasūri<br>māhaṇa · rūvaga · harinā<br>golā ya asam̄khijā<br>puṭṭho jāṇiya sūri                                    | ko v' atthi viyārago esim. 51<br>atthi tti. to tahim gantum<br>nigoya · bhee gurū puṭṭho. 52<br>iccāi kahei. to niyayam āum<br>jampei: I'urandaro tam si. 53 |
| to payadīya niya · rūvam   | aisaya · nāṇenā tēna tutṭha · maṇo   |
| Sakko thunēi Kālagasūrim nāṇāviha · thuīhim. 54  |  |
| ghanā garjitam iva yasya vacah śrutvā bhavika · samājah<br>narinārttī 'ha śikhī 'va mudā: dhanyastvam muni rāja 55   |  |
| iya thunīya sa · thāṇam pāvio deva · rāyā.   |  |
| aha muṇiya niy'āum catta · bhatto muṇ'indo<br>aisaya · saya · jutto so vi patto surattam.  |  |
| ti · jaga · kitti deu sanghassa bhaddam. 56 (mālinī)<br>iti śrī · Kālikācārya · kathā samkṣepataḥ kṛta<br>aṅkāṣṭa · yakṣa · varṣe 'sāu śrī · Dharmaprabhasūribhiḥ. |  |
|  | 57 (śloke)   |

#### **NOTES ON THE TEXT.**

1<sup>1</sup> has lacuna (°vā) se ā (sī) 3 b *Slightly confused but intends yario* 4 b Sarassaisaraiti 5 i °gave (*L emends*); B omits *hi* after °manim (*L. supplies*), b omits ha hā but adds in correction; i, hīranta (*L emends*): i rarakkha (*for rakkha, L emends*): nb rakkhahā 6 B gahiūṇa; B baleṇa (*L emends*); b omits bālā but adds in correction; all MSS khettā (*L emends to khittā*); i att̄ho *L conjectures* anto) 7 i nesa i sūrī (*but L in vocabulary sūra*); L punctuates tamo ya: jai tā, hao loo 8 n vinnatto; i jāya (*L emends*); w ca for va 9 l the original writing of the MS seems to have become faint; over it is pasted a slip of paper on which are reproduced parts of the text, as follows: to avagāṇiyavayalo sūrī va . . . ima painnam tla jai nomūlemi aha to ha ciya sām . . . padikūlo (9) . . . vam . . . innoni .vavijjābalukkada: then

<sup>1</sup>Is the metre of this stanza a Sanskrit representation of the dohā?

original writing is resumed. Only *n* reads *avagañṇlya*, others <sup>o</sup>*gaṇiya* (*L* emends to *avamanniya*); *i* *kaeme* (*L* emends); *w* *pannamimtu*; *m* *jai nno°*; all MSS *nomūlemi*, emendation here on basis of readings of other versions of *Kālakācāryakathā*, which regularly show verb *ummūlemi* 10 metre irregular; all MSS *painno* (emendation following *L*'s suggestion); *b* confused but intends *vijjā*; *l* (see note to *stadza 9*); *b* *ummutta*; *B* *aītham* (*L* divides *pai · rittham-imō*); *L* emends *cava°* to *vacamāṇo* 11 *nbw sūnye*: for atho *L* conjectures *aṭo*.

' 12 *B duṭṭham*; *B piyaṇo* 13 *n tam vutta°*; *B sāhaṇnsāha* 15 *i vitthāyam* (*L* emends); *b* *nava* (for *nivam*) 16 *b* omits *paho* 17 *i gaccha* (*L* *meliyae gaccha*); *b* *suvvē*; *B Hindaga* (*L* emend.) 18 *w patto*; *B ṭhayā* (*L* emends); *A cchāium*, *i cchāiyam*, *w cchāiyam* (text here with *L*; *Bhāvadevasūri's version*, in śloka metre, has *ṭhiyā tatth' eva chāium*) metre irregular 19 *l* starting with (sa) *rasī* and continuing through *tesu* (for *te ma°*) of stanza 20 the original text is covered with a repair slip on which appears a fragmentary copying of the original; *n sisiramsu*, *i ssirim rasu*; *n sarasā · rasā*; *i . tu sāra .* (for <sup>o</sup>*su sārasā*), *i uspara* (for <sup>o</sup>*su sāra°*, *L* *sussāra*) 20 MSS *patto* (text here with *L*; *Bhāvadeva's version* *patte saraya · kālammi munīnā Mālavam* *pai periya*); *l* *sohinti* 21 *i kaṇazam*; *B vigiñhio*; metre irregular 22 *in nīharium*; *b* *mantu* (for *gantu*); *i tehi*; *w sammap*

23 *i vedhio* (*L* emends); *b gāḍham*; *b* omits *so* but adds as correction, *B chajjarai*, *b jjarai* but adds syllable *ba* as correction 24 *bB tehi* 25 *n sāhaṇyṇāe*; *l* *sannam* (for *sinnam*) 26 *b* *usaraha*; *l* *saddavehi*; *b ppāse*; *b* wrote *ṭhaveha* but corrected it to <sup>o</sup>*hi*; *B tehi*, *b ehim*; *B vikayam* 27 *B uppāḍiya* (*L* emends); *B avihaya* 28 *nbB satta* (*L* emends); *i kāo* (*L* emends); *i sāhihi* 29 *b* *bandhitu*; *L* emends to *surinā*; *l* has lacuna beginning with *ya* and ending with *dikkham*, due to a repair slip having been pasted over the original text 31 *b chidiūṇa*, *i ched°* 32 *i Saggio* (*L* emends); *i samvaccharo* 33 *i puraḥ* (for *pnram*) (*L* emends) 34 *i vadanti* (*L* emends) *i guru* (*L* *gurum*)

35 All MSS kārai, L emends to karei, which is against metre; B āī (for āim, L āī; B muṇ̄yaṇam 36 w ssāvāī, but corrects to °vao 37 B mahiyā (L emends); A vichaddenam; b pāsue 38 i bho (for to, L emends); B vinnavatti (L emends), b vinnave 39 w pajasanam 40 w omit; ya before calai; n meru; w niyameram; l original text of portions (me) ram . . . nā (ho) and (pariva) saṇa . . . bhīṇa (i) (stanza 41) covered by repair slip, but first section is rewritten on slip; l tha diva; w disava, but corrects 41 l covers original text (divasammi) . . . jam with blank repair slip; i aṇūṇāyam 42 i areṇāvi (L emends); i aṇuggaheo ham (L suggests aṇuggaho 'mham 44 osūrihī; n a folio of MS missing, starting with 1ya and extending through atthi in stanza 51 (numbering of folios does not indicate loss) 45 This stanza does not appear in B, although i preserves the words ajja vi paśiddho and in the numbering of its stanzas the number 50, making stanza 51 correspond in number with our 51; w numbers the last stanza of its text 56, where 55 would be the correct number, and the next to the last 54, thus omitting the number 55. It is possible that this confusion of the numbering indicates a source, immediate or remote, for w containing our stanza. At the corresponding place in Bhāvadevasūri's version, which is close to Dharmapribhasūri's, there is a stanza corresponding in meaning to this. The text here is from l and b. It seems probable that the missing folio of n also had the stanza, for when the text of n is resumed the numbering of stanzas corresponds with that of the stanzas in our edition.

46 b savvam; all MSS suttam (emendation gives conformity in meaning with other versions); bi jāṇāvīo (L emends) 47 b enam (for tēna) 49 l taṭṭha gayāo; b pucchinti; all MSS khāmantī (L emends to khāmenti); b laggā ya punā punā vi 50 i guru°; i puṇo puṇo o (L conjectured pu° pu° guruṇo) 51 Sakkonayā; b Bharaho 53 b āo 54 B paḍiya (L emends); b tēnai a tu° 55 ln dhanyas tvam, dhanyas tvam dhanyas tva n, bi dhanyas tvam dhanyas tvam, w dhanyas tvam dha

56 *n* patthuo (*for pāvio*); *b* nimāum, *n* jaya (*for jaga*)  
*Memorial stanzas with the dates of the various Kā'akas appear in several of the MSS, namely i, which has four as stanzas 56-59; w, which has four stanzas as glosses written on margins at appropriate parts of the text; l which has three; and b, which has one, written on margins as glosses at appropriate points in text. They are as follows:*

1. *found only in i, syllables in parentheses missing from MS, supplied by L*

|                          |                 |                |
|--------------------------|-----------------|----------------|
| bārasā vā(sa) · saeum    | pannās'ahi(e)su | Vaddhamāñāo    |
| caudisi paḍhama · paveso | pakappio        | Sāya · sūrīhi. |

2. *found in liw*

|                             |                |   |
|-----------------------------|----------------|---|
| sirivīrāu (i °rāo) gaesum   | pañatīs'ahiesu | ti · varisa-saeum<br>(l °su)              |
| paḍhamo Kālaga (i °ka) sūrī | jāo            | Sāmajja · nāma (w nāmu,<br>l nānāma) tti. |

3. *Found in iw; was in l, but with exception of a few akṣaras is now covered by a repair slip.*

|   |                  |                            |
|---|------------------|----------------------------|
| causaya · tipanna · varise                | Kālaga (w °liga) | gurunā<br>Sarassai gahiyā; |
| causaya · (i omits saya) sattari · varise | Vīrāo            | Vikkamo (w<br>Vikamo) jāo. |

4. *found in liw*

|   |                |             |
|---|----------------|-------------|
| navasaya · teṇauhehim (i °ṇūe°, w teṇaunavasaehim l °ṇaūe°) | samaikkantehim | Vaddhamāñāo |
| rajjosavāṇa · (w pajusa°) cautthī (i cotthī)                | Kālaya (w°ga)  |             |
| sūrīnto ṭhavyiyā.   |                |             |

5. *found only in w*

|                      |                      |            |
|----------------------|----------------------|------------|
| visehim dīṇehi kappo | vamcaga · hāṇī kappa | ṭhavaṇā ya |
| navasai · teṇūhehim  | vucchijjā sangha     | · āṇāe.    |

6. *found only in b,*  
*tinnisae 335 pañatise*

nigoya · vakkhāya Kāligāyario;

causaya · tipanna (MS tippanna) · varase 453 Kāligagu (MS ga)

ruṇā Sarassai gahiyā

57 n ankāṣṭakāyaksavarṣesāuśrī *with lacuna to bh. h*

b iti Kālkācārya · kathā samkṣepataḥ kṛtā

i iti Śrīkālikācārya · kathā kṛtā Śrī Dharmaprabhasūribhiḥ

w iti Śrīkālikācāryakathā.

↑ as above, actually writing in pāda c ankā 9 ṣṭa 8 yakṣa

13 varṣe

---

### TRANSLATION

In the city of Dharāvāsa King Vajrasimha had a son, prince Kālaka, born of queen Surasundarī. He once went for amusement to a park, heard a sermon by the master Gunākara, and received initiation from him. He was established by the master in the position of sūri (pontiff), went wandering about with a following of many disciples, and came to Ujjayinī. (1—3c).

Then his younger sister, the very holy Sarasvatī, arrived there with many nuns. As she was going outside,<sup>1</sup> king Garadhbilla saw her. (3d—4).

“ Ah, alas, great sage, alas, alas, Kālaka, sūri-chief, save, I beg, the great jewel of my virtuous conduct, which, alas, is being raped. Oh, save!” Even as she cried out thus, the girl was seized by the hair by that lust-diseased villain, and forcibly cast into his harem. O shame! (5—6).

When the sūri learned this, he went there and said, “ This is not kingly conduct. If fire comes from the moon and darkness from the sun, then the people are destroyed. Therefore, king, set her free!” The congregation, too, admonished him in the same way. Their word turned to poison in him like milk in a snake’s mouth. (7—8).

Then, when the sūri saw the counsel scorned, he took this oath, “ If I do not uproot (this fellow), then I, even I, am an enemy of the congregation.” After he had taken this oath, being aware that the king was superior through the power of a magic art, he took the guise of a mad man, so as to wander along all the highways, crying out: “ If this king has great might, then what is there beyond that? And if this city is charming, then what is there beyond that? And if I sleep in a deserted

1. Collateral versions make it clear that she had gone outside to the latrine (*viyāra. bhūmie niggayā*). A low fellow, this Garadhbilla, to be hanging around the nuns’ latrine. (Sarasvatī had become a nun when Kālaka was ordained monk).

house, then what is there beyond that? And if I go begging from house to house, then what is there beyond that?" (9—11).

When the ministers and nobles saw Kālaka in this state, they admonished the king. He replied to them, " Go give advice to your fathers!" (12).

The muni heard of this affair and went to Śakakūla<sup>1</sup>. There the king was called Sāhanusāhi and the nobles Sāhi. The muni stayed in the city of a certain sāhi and daily won his favour with charms and sorcery. A messenger once came there sent by the Sāhanusāhi with a sword in his hand. When the king saw him he went pale; and the sūri asked the reason. The king explained, " This (messenger) has been sent to me by my lord with a dreadful command,<sup>2</sup> and just so, according to the number, to the 95 other sāhis."<sup>3</sup> (13—16).

The master said, " Do not be worried!. Call together all the sāhis in one place, and go to India (the country Hinduga)." And he did all just so. When they had crossed the Indus and came to the region of Sāurāṣṭra (Surat), the rains broke, and they remained right there. (17—18).

Where at the advent of the rains: The Sun eager for intercourse with Sri (or, eager to enjoy rich substance), the warrior, and the lake with its salty ground longed for the essences and the cranes that eat the riches of the stormy skies uttered their cry (or longed for the pool). (19)<sup>3</sup>.

When autumn came the muni urged them to go to the land of Mālava (Malwa), but they announced that they had no sup-

1. Is this the name of a country or merely of the region east of the Indus!

2. The command was to cut off his head with the sword and send it to the Sāhanusāhi in a metal pot which the messenger had brought. The number 96 was written on the sword.

3. Translation conjectural. (The sun sucks up water; the warrior longs for the rains as a period of rest and love—play on rasa).

plies. Then the wise sūri by means of magic powder made gold,<sup>4</sup> this they shared and went to the land of Mālava. King Gardabhillā heard of this, came out from his city, went to the border of his kingdom, and fought with them. Then his army was smashed, and like a jackal he entered his city. (20—22).

The sāhis invested the city; then one day they saw the fort empty, and they inquired of the sūri. He told them, “At some time to-day, which is the eighth, the king will accomplish the “She-Ass” magic art. You must watch for it.” When they saw it (the She-Ass) on a tower, they reported it to the master. He said “When the charm for it is completed, our entire army, on hearing it bray, will become lifeless. You must withdraw two gavyūtas<sup>5</sup>; then put under my command 108 warriors (bowmen) who take aim by sound.” And this they did. (23—26).

Then as soon as the She-Ass’s mouth was wide open, but before it had uttered a sound, the soldiers filled it with arrows, as though it were a quiver. The She-Ass, because its power was destroyed, dunged upon Gardabhillā and fled. And the sāhis broke into the city. (27—28).

Gardabhillā was bound and made over to the sūri. The muni rebuked him sternly; but he had no desire to renounce the world, being unfitted for salvation, and the muni banished him from his land. Then the sūri devoted himself to the discipline, and purified his sister with the rites of expiation. (29—30).

Then these were called “Śaka”. But in time king Vikrama was born, who cut off their line and rendered the earth free of

4. He sprinkled the powder on some bricks and converted them to gold. The powder had been given him by his Sāsana devī (female guardian deity), who had appeared to him by night.

5. A distance said to equal four kos, about eight miles

debt.<sup>6</sup> One hundred and thirty-five years later there was a Śaka king, after whom an era was named. This is occasional (to the main story). (31—32).

The reverend Sūri Kālaka then went to live in the city of Bhṛgukaccha (Broach). There the sons of the sūri's sister, Balmitra and Bhānumitra (the king and heir-apparent) revered the master and listened to the law. They had a sister Bhānuśrī, whose son Balabhānu became disgusted with the round of existence and took the vow. Then the evil-minded chaplain there, in order to make the sūri leave, caused improper alms to be given to the monks and did other such things. The sūri understood this and went to the city of Pṛthivīsthāna, the ornament of the land of Mahārāṣṭra. (33—36b).

There king Śālivāhana lived, a most devoted lay disciple. He led the sūri into his city with great pomp, extolled him, revered him, and settled him in a place free of living creatures. (36c—37).

Then the Paryuṣanā season arrived; whereupon the king requested the sūri, "On the fifth day of the light half of the month Bhādrapada we honour Indra. While I am observing the festival according to the custom of the people I shall not be able to perform the offices of the Religion. Therefore celebrate the Paryuṣanā on the sixth day" (38—39c).

The master said, "Even though mount Meru should shake, fire become cold, or the ocean sometime leave its bounds, even though the lord of day should rise in the west, the Paryuṣanā celebration cannot come after the fifth." (39d—40).

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6. Text: *puhavi jen' ūrani vihiyā*. Bhāvadeva's version: *mahi jen' ūrani kayā*. For *u rani* Leumann suggested *a-ṛṇa*. Prākrit ūrani should mean "ewe", but I cannot make sense of the passage with that meaning. Nor do I see any other possibility that is without phonetic or formative difficulties. Hence Leumann's suggestion seems the best possibility. For confirmation, cf. in No. 91 of the story of Kālaka in the Prabhāvakacarita (P. 45), where at the corresponding point we read concerning Vikrama: *sa co<sup>in</sup>nnatamahāsiddhiḥ sāuvaṇapuruṣodayāt medinīm anṛṇām kṛtvā cikarad vatsaram nijam*

Then the king said. "In that case have the celebration on the fourth." The master agreed to this, as it is clearly stated in the Scripture, "Let the Paryuṣanā be celebrated with honour!"<sup>7</sup> Then the king was delighted and said, "Sir, I am obliged, and so on the day of breaking the fast observed during the light half of the month my gueens shall provide much food, pure according to the ceremonial rules of pure food for the day of the monks' second meal after the fast." (41—43).

It was on this account that the sūri Kālaka thus fixed the Paryuṣanā festival on the fourth and the Order then endorsed it. Because the people there were devoted then to honouring the monks from that time even to the present a festival has been celebrated in the kingdom under the name of "Monk-honour". (44—45).

Then once upon a time the sūri, being aware that all his disciples had forsaken the rules of conduct, left them while they slept, and after telling the keeper of the monks' rest house went to his disciple's disciple, the sūri Sāgara. The latter did not recognize him and asked him. 'O elder, do I expound well or not?' The master said, "You do it very well." (46—48b).

Then those wicked disciples repently inquired of the rest house keeper, came there, and just as they were inquiring of the sūri Sāgara, they saw the master. They humbled themselves and touching his feet again and again asked forgiveness. Then Sāgarasūri was ashamed, and after the master had told him the illustration of the three piles of dust, he bowed down again and again and asked forgiveness. (48c—50).

Once upon a time Śakra, after hearing the Nigoda doctrine from the Jina Śimandhara in Videha, asked him, "Sir, is there any one in Bhārata who is versed in (the doctrine of) these (Nigoda creatures)?" The Jina said, "There is the sūri Kālaka." (51—52a).

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7 The word ārena also means "before".

So he went there wearing the form of a Brahman and asked the master the varieties of Nigoda. He gave him the exposition which begins, "The balls are innumerable." Then he asked how long he would live. The sūri knew him and said, "You are Puram̄dara (Śakra)." Then Śakra manifested his true form and delighted with that superlative knowledge of Kālaka sūri praised him with many kinds of songs of praise. (52b—54).

"When the congregation of the righteous hears his speech, which is like the rolling of thunder, it dances with joy like a peacock. "Blessed are you, O chief of munis. (55)

After thus giving praise, the king of the gods went to his own home. Then the chief of munis, knowing his time had come, gave up food, and possessed of countless excellences became a god. May he whose glory extends through the three worlds give a blessing to the Order. (56).

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Thus the story of the reverend Kālkacārya has been told in summary by the reverend sūri Dharmaprabha in the year 1389. (57).

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## KASHMIR-BHATĀ ŚIVASVĀMIN'S UNPUBLISHED BUDDHIST MAHĀKĀVYĀ—KAPPHINABHYU- DAYA.

In the following pages an attempt has been made to give an account of the Kapphiṇābhuyudaya of Śivasvāmin, who was a contemporary of King Avantivarman of Kashmir.

The reign of King Avantivarman (855/6-833 A. D.) forms one of the glorious records in the chequered history of Kashmir. Aided by his far-sighted and able Minister Śūra, he succeeded in giving the 'happy valley' a comparatively long period of peace and prosperity which provided a fruitful era of great literary activity. As Kalhaṇa says in his Rājatarāṅgiṇī :—

मुक्ताकणः शिवस्वामी कविरानन्दवर्धनः  
प्रथां रत्नाकरश्चागात् साम्राज्येऽवन्तिवर्मणः ९,३९ ॥

'Muktākāṇa, Śivasvāmin, the poet Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara became famous during the reign of Avantivarman.

Ānandavardhana and Ratnākara have their fame established through published works, Muktākāṇa is familiar only through stray quotations, while Śivasvāmin till 1893 was known only from several stanzas attributed to him in Anthologies and Kṣemendra. Sesagiri Śāstrin in 1893 gave an account of a poem Kapphiṇābhuyudaya by Bhāṭṭaśivasvāmin. Therein he traced and identified the quotations from that poem given in the Tīkāsarvasva of Sarvānanda and in the Subhāśitāvali of Vallabhadeva. Professor Thomas in his Kavīndravacanasmuccaya gave a fuller account of the stanzas attributed to Śivasvāmin in different anthologies and of the quotations from his work, the Kapphiṇābhuyudaya.

The poem itself seems to have been quite well known and the fact that it had established a reputation far itself among the great Sanskrit works is testified to by the liberal use made of it by many a Sanskrit writer. Its importance as a literary

production of note was soon realised by compilers of anthologies, writers on Sanskrit poetry, commentators on Lexicon, and Grammarians. The compiler of the *Kavīndravacanasamuccaya* (circa 1000 A. D.), Sarvānanda (1159) Sridhara (1205), Sāringadhara (1363), and Rāmānātha (1537), have all at one time or another recognized its merit and acknowledged their debt by extensive quotations from it. As it would appear Mammata (circa 1100 A. D.) has also quoted from it in his *Kāvyaprakāśa* although it is surprising for a writer of such a comparatively early date that he should not have given the source.

Further, Śivasvāmin's work assumes an importance in the history of Sanskrit Literature in general and the literary history of Kashmir in particular, in-as-much-as it shows the development of *Kāvya* in Kashmir and the influence of Ratnākara on his contemporaries. To the religious history of that period it makes a useful contribution. Its theme is neither Paurānic nor epic like most of the *Mahākāvyas*, nor is it historical like *Vikramāñkadevacarita* or *Navasāhasrāñkacarita*; on the contrary it deals with the Buddhist legend of King Kapphina who is well known in Pāli and Sanskrit Buddhist Literature.

From the Buddhist sources it appears that King Kapphina was a contemporary of the Buddha and was converted by him to Buddhism. The Buddhist tradition has given him a place among the twelve chief disciples of the Buddha, and refers to him as having become an Arhat in the Buddha's life-time. Even in the engraving on the walls of the Borobudur Temple in Java his figure appears among the Śrāvakas. Such a personality, popular in legends and tradition, provided Śivasvāmin with a suitable hero for his *Mahākāvya*.

But the merit of Śivasvāmin lies in moulding the material furnished by such a legend into a *Mahākāvya* written in strict observations of the rules laid down by writers on Poetics.

While doing so he could not escape the influence of the religious atmosphere of his age. Although he acknowledges that in writing his poem he was inspired by his Buddhist preceptor, Candramitra, yet it is not the Buddhist ideal of monkhood that he holds supreme in the concluding verses of his poem, but it is that of a householder or the 'gr̥hastha' whose 'āśrama' has always given the highest place in the fabric of Hindu Society. This seems to indicate the process of absorption of the late Buddhism by the reviving Vaiśnavism and suggests that the teachings of Kṛṣṇa and the Buddha had begun to be reconciled. Thus Sivasvāmin's poem is an important evidence of the tendency which gradually found its full expression in Kṣemendra's Daśāvatāracarita.

From the following stanza, written perhaps by some contemporary admirer of his it seems that Sivasvāmin wrote several works out of which this poem and some stray verses attributed to him in Anthologies and Kṣemendra have survived the ravages of time.

वाक्यानि द्विपदीयुतान्यथमहाकाव्यानि सप्त क्रमात्  
 ऋक्षप्रत्यहानीर्भितस्तुतिकथालक्षाणि चैकादश  
 कृत्वा नाटकनाटिकाप्रकरणप्रायान् प्रबन्धान् बहून्  
 विश्रामत्यधुनापि नातिशयिता वार्णी शिवस्वामिनः

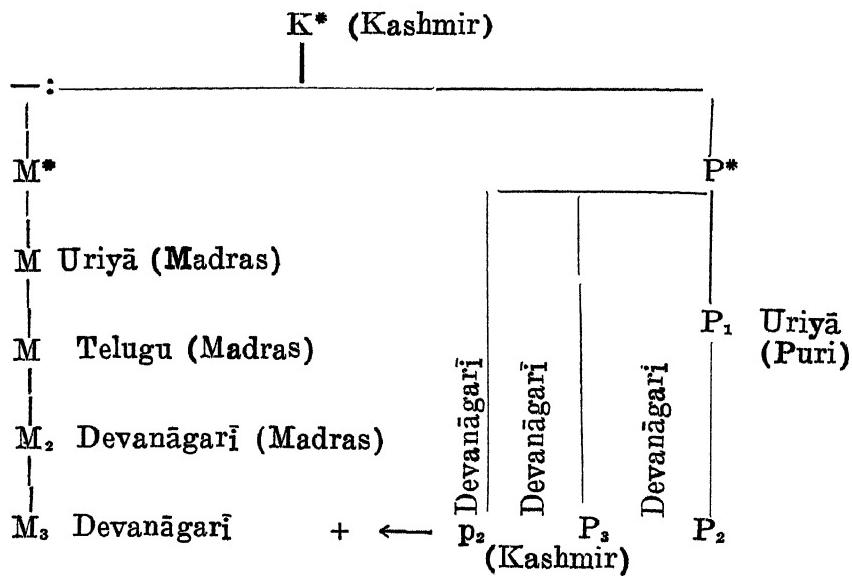
'Not even now does Sivasāmin's unsurpassed Muse find rest though he has composed seven Mahākāvyas which have 'dvipadīs', and has written eleven lacs of hymns to Siva every day, and several dramas, and other minor plays and Prakranas and other prose works.'

It could not be, therefore, possible to compare the style of this poem with that of any other work of the poet except with a few stanzas given in Anthologies and Kṣemendra. It cannot, therefore, be ascertained what stage of development this poem marks in the literary career of Sivasvāmin. But it was possible to make comparison with the Mahākāvyas of his contemporary

Ratnākara and his predecessor Māgha. This would serve to illustrate the greatness of this poet in an age when literary genius was by no means rare.

From the detailed comparison of the various existing texts of the poem it is found that there are two families of Manuscripts in respect of this poem. The oldest palm-leaf Manuscript is preserved in Uriyā script in Madras, and has yielded two more transcripts, one in Telugu and one in Devanāgarī. To the other family of the MSS. belongs another paper MS. at Madras, which has been proved to be closely related to the recently discovered MS. at Puri, and the transcript from Kashmir.

The fact that the Text has passed through the Uriyā, the Telugu and Devanāgarī scripts necessitated an investigation into the details of the orthography of these scripts in their relation to śāradā in which the original was written by the poet. The scribal errors due to the orthographic or phonetic similarities of symbols have been fully taken into account and the different readings and omissions noted. The conclusions arrived at by this study gives us the following pedigree of the extant MSS. and transcripts of the Text.



The transcript of M, is that of the Madras Manuscript and belongs to Professor F. W. Thomas, oxford, who kindly lent it to me for my use. It is a fuller Text than the others, but the absence of a verse authentically known to have been quoted from the Kapphiṇābhuyudaya shows that even this does not represent a complete transcript of the original poem.

On the basis of these enquiries and studies the text has been reconstructed and an attempt has been made to present Śivasvāmin's poem in its original form.

#### **CONTENTS OF THE POEM.**

##### **Canto. Stanzas.**

- I. 1. Invocation to the Buddha as Daśabala.
- 2—22. Description of Līlāvatī, a town situated on the Vindhya.
- 23—44. Description of King Kapphiṇa, master of Līlāvatī.
- II. 1. A spy from the North arrives in the Court of King Kapphiṇa.
- 2—3. The poet remarks on the need for the system of espionage.
- 4. The spy enters the Assembly Hall.
- 5—9. The Hall is described.
- 10—18. The spy sees King Kapphiṇa, who is again described.
- 19—22. The King receives the spy, who addresses the Assembly.
- 23—53. The spy speaks of the Kosala Kingdom and its ruler, King Prasenajit, the latter's hostility towards King Kapphiṇa, and his advice to overcome him.
- III. 1. The description of the effect produced on the vassal chieftains who were attending the Court of King Kapphiṇa by the news brought by the spy.  
The chieftains are:—

|      |              |     |               |
|------|--------------|-----|---------------|
| 2.   | Subāhu.      | 23. | Kaṅka.        |
| 3—5. | Darśaka.     | 24. | Sitadhvaja.   |
| 6.   | Subandhu.    | 25. | Indu.         |
| 7.   | Jiṣṇu.       | 26. | Nala.         |
| 8.   | Bala.        | 27. | Satadhanuś.   |
| 9.   | Suśarman.    | 28. | Sālva.        |
| 10.  | Bhūridhāman. | 29. | Pr̥thudhvaja. |
| 11.  | Pāṇḍya.      | 30. | Jṛmbha.       |
| 12.  | Surāṣṭra.    | 31. | Pradyota.     |
| 13.  | Sukeṭu.      | 32. | Babhru.       |
| 14.  | Bhiṣmaka.    | 33. | Gada.         |
| 15.  | Bhiṣma.      | 34. | Protha.       |
| 16.  | Kirmīra.     | 35. | Ugrasena.     |
| 17.  | Āndhra.      | 36. | Karandhama.   |
| 18.  | Utkala.      | 37. | Dantavaktra.  |
| 19.  | Bhīma.       | 38. | Rukmin.       |
| 20.  | Samudra.     | 39. | Sauvalka.     |
| 21.  | Dṛḍhadhanuś. | 40. | Kauravya.     |
| 22.  | Ambariṣa.    | 41. | Duhṣena.      |

42—43. A general description of the disturbance created.

IV. 1—4. Description of the Assembly.

5—41. Subāhu's speech: He asks the King to prepare for battle and mentions individually the members of the audience, *viz.*, Suśarman, Dṛḍhadhanuś, Bala, Nala, Gada, Pāṇḍya, Protha, Kirmīra, Kaṅka, Kṛpa, Yavana, Surāṣṭra, Āñdhra, and Indu.

42. The poet brings in again the mention of Yavana, Satadhanus, Babhru, Jṛmbha, Ambariṣa, Pradyota, Protha, and Pāṇḍya.

V. 1. The Council of War is still sitting after the speech of Subāhu, and the Kings are again mentioned by name:—

- |    |             |        |              |
|----|-------------|--------|--------------|
| 2. | Nala.       | 8.     | Bhūridhāman. |
| 3. | Suśarman.   | 9.     | Karandhamā.  |
| 4. | Kṛpa.       | 10.    | Nala.        |
| 5. | Yavana.     | 11.    | Rukmin.      |
| 6. | Satadhvaja. | 12.    | Bhīma.       |
| 7. | Gada.       | 13—14. | Bhīṣmaka.    |

15—42. Bhīṣmaka addresses the assembly and proposes that a messenger should be sent to Prasenajit before any action is taken against him.

43—45. King Kaphīṇa approves.

46—48. Darśaka is chosen as the messenger.

49. He sets out on his errand.

50—51. A Vidyādhara, Vicitrabāhu by name comes and implores King Kaphīṇa to accompany him to the Malaya mountain. The King accedes to his request and goes with his royal camp to his friend, Vicitrabāhu.

VI. 1—9. King Kaphīṇa sees the mountain Malaya.

10—84. Vicitrabāhu describes the loveliness of the mountain

VII. 39. The description of the encampment in which the Vidyādharas help the followers of King Kaphīṇa in their preparations.

VIII. 1. The six seasons appear simultaneously on the mountain, and they are described:—

2—15. Vasanta (spring) 37—48. Sarat (dewy autumn).

16—23. Grīṣma (summer) 49—54. Hemanta (autumn).

24—36. Varṣā (rains) 55—59. Śiśira (winter).

60. A general description of the seasons.

IX. 40. The description of the amusements of the king's attendants who are gathering flowers in the forest.

- X. 33. The description of their enjoyment of water sports.
- XI. 37. A description of the sunset.
- XII. 1—21. A description of the rising of the moon.
- 22—47. The women make their toilet.
- XIII. 40. A description of drinking parties.
- XIV. 40. A description of amorous sports according to the Kāmaśāstra.
- XV. 1—34. The dawn is described.
35. King Kapphiṇa awakened by the sweet eulogies of the minstrels leaves the abode of his friend Vicitrabāhu and returns to his capital.
- XVI. 1. Draśaka reaches śrāvasti.
- 2—10. Description of śrāvasti.
- 11—12. Darśaka received by King Prasenajit.
- 13—23. Prasenajit enquires contemptuously the purpose of his visit.
- 24—39. Darśaka delivers his message.
- 40—53. Prasenajit becomes angry and declares that he would rather go to war than submit to Kapphiṇa.
- 54—63. Darśaka very much enraged urges Prasenajit to reconsider his decision.
64. He returns to his country.
65. The effect of the reply from Prasenajit on the camp of King Kapphiṇa is described again and the following kings are cited:—
- |             |                   |
|-------------|-------------------|
| 66. Raghu.  | 76. Bala.         |
| 67. Aśmaka. | 77. Sura.         |
| 68. Kukura. | 78. Sauvīramalla. |

- |     |            |     |            |
|-----|------------|-----|------------|
| 69. | Niśāda.    | 79. | Kadambaka. |
| 70. | Mueukunda. | 80. | Aja.       |
| 71. | Sahadeva.  | 81. | Manu.      |
| 72. | Prasāda.   | 82. | Śruta.     |
| 73. | Surandhra. | 83. | Dhundhu.   |
| 74. | Indu.      | 84. | Ruru.      |
| 75. | Madraka.   | 85. | Añu.       |
- 86—92. A description of the dejection of the warriors, wives as they contemplate the separation from their husbands who must go to war.
- 93—95. The army sets out for war.

#### XVII. 1. Kapphiṇa gets enraged.

- 2—46. Paraphernalia of battle are described, including the infantry, the cavalry, the chariots and the elephants.
- 1—10. The army of King Kapphiṇa attacks Prasenajit's forces. King Kapphiṇa's warrior's are distinguished by name:—Yavana(2), Surandhra (4), Raghu (6), Protha (7), Gada (9), Kukura (10).
11. King Kapphiṇa watches the progress of his army in battle. The heroes of the battle are again mentioned:—
- Indu (13), Bala (14), Pāṇḍya (16),  
Yugandhara (18), Babhru (19), Bhūri-dhaman (21), Karandhama (23).
- 29—34. King Kapphiṇa encourages his army.
- 35—42. Prasenajit becomes furious and attacks the army of King Kapphiṇa.
43. Kapphiṇa is dismayed to see his army thus harrassed by Prasenajit.

- 44—70. Kapphīna routes the forces of Prasenajit.
- 71—75. Prasenajit is unable to withstand the attacks of Kapphīna's forces. He prays to the Buddha for help.
- 76—80. The Buddha appears and subdues Kapphīna, who is rendered helpless on account of the miracles worked by the Master. King Kapphīna acknowledges his need for the help of the Master and entreats him.

XIX. 40. King Kapphīna receives the instruction of the Buddha.

XX. 1—19 ab. The teaching of the Buddha continues.

19 cd—22. King Kapphīna requests the Buddha to initiate him as a monk.

23—32. The Buddha advises that King Kapphīna should wait until the time for him to renounce the world has come, and that he should, till then, continue to rule his kingdom for the benefit only of the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha.

33. The Buddha vanishes.

34. King Kapphīna retires to his capital and continues to rule there according to the advice of the Buddha.

35—38. The Praśasti.

### **ABSTRACT OF THE POEM.**

#### I.

Sivasvāmin, the author, opens his poem invoking the blessings of the Buddha, possessed of the ten powers, with the description of a town Līlāvatī by name, situated on the banks of the Narmadā in the Vindhya. The prosperity of this town was

obvious from its many beautiful buildings whose silken banners kissed the sky. From the grandeur of its crystal palaces with golden domes and jewelled windows one could imagine that it was either the goddess Kāli or the royal Goddess of Glory incarnate. Sublimity, grace and strength were combined in its architecture.

Its ruler, King Kapphīṇa, was tall, brave and adventurous, and had a large following of vassal chieftains. He was Siva personified, who by the mere sound of his voice could put his enemies to flight and whose fame had spread in all directions. His skill in wielding his sword was known to his enemies whose cities lay in ruins. He governed his kingdom according to the rules laid down in the books of Politics and employed spies to enquire into the state of affairs both at home and abroad.

## II.

Once a spy, who had been sent to the North, returned to the Royal Assembly of King Kapphīṇa reporting that there was a king by name Prasenajit, who ruled over the thriving kingdom of Kosala. "Prasenajit" he said, "is loved by his subjects as he possesses all the virtues of a noble ruler, glories in his powers, and entertains a feeling of enmity towards you."

The poet gives an impressive description of Prasenajit, a contemporary of the Buddha, and his capital Srāvasti, a favourite resort of the Buddha. When the messenger reaches Srāvasti (XVI Canto) the poet's description of the town and of the King bears witness to his love for both.

## III.

On hearing from the messenger of the hostile attitude of Prasenajit the whole assembly becomes greatly enraged. Thirty-eight Chieftains are mentioned, all exhibiting their fury—tearing off their bracelets, wringing their hands, perspiring, and uttering menacing words. Of these Subāhu, Darsaka and Bhīṣmaka are of importance for their part in the later story, while the names of

Pāṇḍya, Surāṣṭra, Āndhra, and Utkala refer to the territories over which they ruled.

#### IV.

The poet describes the great tumult in the assembly hall. In this atmosphere of great tension Subāhu begins a fiery speech which shows that he was well versed in the science of politics, as he points out with sound arguments that the only course of action left for King Kapphiṇa is to wage war at once against the enemy. To add weight to his arguments, he points to the members giving an epithet to each. He says that formidable Suśarman, furious Dṛḍhadhanus, powerful Bala, and others can brook no further humiliation. Finally he taunts them by saying 'Do you stay here. I will fight the enemy alone.' This rouses their enthusiasm. At the close of his speech he is loudly applauded.

#### V.

Before the Council of War adjourns another Chieftain, Bhīṣmaka, stands up and supporting the motion proposed by Subāhu suggests sending a messenger to Prasenajit, the hostile King, as a necessary measure before actually going to war. The anger of King Kapphiṇa, who was very much enraged, is assuaged and he gives his approval to the idea. Darśaka, another member of the audience, is selected as messenger to Prasenajit. The import of the message is not given, but it is implied that the hostile king must either pay homage to King Kapphiṇa or suffer an invasion. It is an ultimatum. The King by a gesture orders the messenger to proceed on his errand and he at once sets out on his journey to the North.

So far the poet has been following the traditional Avadāna of Kapphiṇa current in his time. At the same time, since he claims to be a writer of a Mahākāvya, he must describe mountains, seasons, etc. He, therefore, introduces a demigod, or a Vidyādhara, Vicitrabahu by name, a friend of King Kapphiṇa, who invites the latter to his abode in the Malaya mountains. The

king agrees to the proposal and follows his friend with all the paraphernalia of a King of India of the 9th century, including the harem and the army.

## VI.

The description of the mountain Candanācala in this canto is consistent with the vast grandeur and the majestic scenery of the Himalayas which this poet knew very well. The poet's imagination nurtured in that abundant luxuriance of nature takes in long vistas and covers vast regions. Each stanza has one theme to describe and the poet each time excrcises his imagination to such an extent that the description to the Western mind appears exaggerated and too artificial. The poet focuses his attention on one subject which he is going to describe and tries to see it from different angles of vision.

This scheme runs throughout the Canto and the metre changes with the shifting of the scene and the its dignity (of the metre) varies according to the loftiness of the subject.

The glowing mountain appears to the poet as a huge mass of fire fanned by fierce winds. It has ravines and precipices where the trees are alive with the warbling of delighted birds. The lofty snow-clad peaks remind the poet of the ocean rising to clasp the moon. The arbours and the elephants, the gold coloured peaks at sunset, the verdant plateaux attract his attention. He fancies that the sun seems to rest there for a while to cool itself.

Then the King's friend, Vicitrabāhu, who is more familiar with the place begins to describe its particular features. Here we are told of its richness in flowers and the brilliance of its outcropping minerals. Then follows a description of the wild animals roaming about the penance groves, of ascetics, of cowherds and their huts, of lotus ponds, and of chirping birds. In Stanza 23, the Vidyādhara compares the mountain to the sublime and calm image of the Buddha with the right shoulder covered.

The king's friend then proceeds to describe the crystalline walls used as mirrors by celestial ladies, the sweet smelling grass, fragrant flowers, sandal-woods, music of Kinnara Ladies, and the calls of cuckoos. A reference is made to the Buddha; and the mountain is compared to the Indra and the Bodhisattva (Stanzas 46, 57, 59.) The heaps of bones of Nāgas are pointed out in Stanza 61. The Ideal of an Arhat with the several methods of attaining it form the subject of the 65th verse while Bodhi is mentioned in verse 69.

## VII.

The king with an army consisting of elephants, horses, chariots and soldiers, and accompanied by the ladies of the harem, wishes to pass some time on the Mountain Candanācala. All preparations for laying out the camp are made with the help of the Vidyādharas. Tents are pitched, huts are built, arrangements for the kitchen are made, and the ladies of the harem are well housed.

The elephants and horses are taken to ponds to bathe and the camp looks delightful.

## VIII.

The six seasons simultaneously appear on the mountain to honour King Kapphiṇa. There is spring, when mango groves, Vakula trees, saffron plants, and Navamālikā creepers put forth sweet fragrant flowers. There is summer when peacocks hide themselves under their plumage, and when the men in the camp enjoy the breeze of fans in pleasure huts. There is the rainy season which depresses the ladies whose husbands are abroad as the sweet but melancholy notes of peacocks reach their ears and the rumbling noise of the clouds rends their hearts. There is autumn when the water in the ponds becomes limpid and lilies smile brightly. There is dewy autumn when the nights are clear and the moon shines pleasantly. That is the time when Ketaka plants blossom and paddy fields ripen. There is the winter season when snow

destroys the charm of lotus ponds. Everywhere it is desolate and dreary, and the Nameru trees with leaves yellow and sere are seen here and there.

### IX—XV.

Men and women in the King's camp on the mountain are tempted by the abundance of flowers and the charm of the seasons to pluck flowers and enjoy the company of their beloved in that pastime. When they are tired and overcome by the heat they bathe in the cool ponds and streams which are full of lilies and lotuses. They frolick about in the water. The waters of these streams are tinted with the toilet powders of these ladies. People say their evening prayers as the lotuses close. The parties of men and women retire to their rest-houses as the moon rises. Preparations are made by the ladies for the drinking parties which are attended with great mirth. The ladies wear ornaments to add beauty to their lovely limbs. Messengers move about carrying news from the lover to the beloved. Then begin the amusing scenes of enjoyment as the goblet passes from one to another, each vying with the other to excel in coquettish behaviour. When drunk they retire to rest. The poet here indulges in amorous and erotic descriptions. When it is morning and the sun begins to chase the gloom of darkness, when stars begin to disappear, and lotuses begin to bloom, when the bees again buzz about in the lotus ponds, when Brahmans begin to perform their morning ritual, and the sacrificial fires rise up to the sky, the bards sing the praises of King Kapphīṇa to awaken him.

King Kapphīṇa wakes up and having fully enjoyed the hospitality of his friend, Vicitrabāhu, retires to his capital, Lilāvati, where he has been long expected.

### XVI and XVII.

Here the poet takes up the story which he had left unfinished at the end of the Fifth Canto.

Darśaka, who had been sent as an envoy to Prasenajit, reaches Śrāvasti, where he sees that the houses are made of precious stones, that the people practise righteousness and that Māra has no influence over them, and that the evil influences of the Kali age are no longer to be felt, and that there are many Buddhist monasteries, Vihāras and Caityas. The city indeed looks as if it were presided over by the Buddha himself.

He is received by the Chamberlain as he enters the Palace, and is introduced to Prasenajit who in a scornful tone enquires the object of his visit. Darśaka delivers the message of King Kapphīna which provokes Prasenajit very much. Prasenajit is furious and declares that he will not submit to Kapphīna and that the proper reply to his message would be an army ready for battle. Darśaka gives his parting advice to Prasenajit and withdraws to his own city. When he conveys the reply from Prasenajit to the allies of Kapphīna their anger is unbounded. Great confusion and a spirit of high tension are evident as was the case when Darśaka was sent to Prasenajit. Preparations for war are soon undertaken and the warriors arm themselves and march against Prasenajit. The chariots, the cavalry, and the elephants are at once arrayed to march against the enemy.

### XVIII.

A dreadful battle ensues in which the army of Pāasenajit is put to flight. He finds himself helpless and prays to the Buddha for help. He appears and by means of a miracle changes the mind of Kapphīna.

### XIX—XX.

King Kapphīna hears a sermon of the Buddha and expresses his desire to enter the order of the Buddhist monks. The Buddha advises him not to renounce the world but to practise selflessness in the discharge of his duties as the ruler of his kingdom. The Buddha disappears and King Kapphīna retires to his kingdom.

### THE AUTHOR.

His name : **Kāśmriabhaṭṭa Śivasvāmin.**

Bhaṭṭa<sup>1</sup> in modern Kashmiri is ‘baṭa’, a brahman, a Kashmiri Pandit, all of whom are Brahmins. It is derived from the Sanskrit word ‘bhartṛ’ which in Prakritic form gave Bhaṭṭa. The latter has been retained by the Sanskritists, and appended to the proper names in the beginning or at the end. It was used in the sense of ‘learned’. Some of the important instances are Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, the author of the Veṇīsaṁhāra, Mammata Bhaṭṭa, the author of the Kāvyaprakāśa, Kumārlila Bhaṭṭa, the learned philosopher of Southern India. But mostly it is found affixed or prefixed to the names of writers from Kāśmīra, as a title given to a learned Brahman or a great teacher.

In the Kapphiṇābhuyudaya (XX,36; 37) the author has written Sriśivasvāmin and Śivasvāmin as referring to himself. Both of these names with and without the Sri are found in the Anthologies.

#### The Name of the Poem.

Śivāsavāmin probably chose the name of his poem on the model of his predecessor Saṅkuka’s work the Bhuvanābhuyudaya<sup>2</sup>, now lost to us. The title ‘abhyudaya’ has been often used to name the works which celebrate the deeds of great heroes, viz. Puṣpa sena’s Dharmāśarmābhuyadaya,<sup>3</sup> Jinasena’s Pārvābhuyadaya, and Veṅkaṭeśa’s Rāmābhuyadaya.<sup>4</sup>

#### His date and Contemporaries.

Ancient Kāśmīra was known among the Pandits of Northern India as the abode of śāradā, the goddess of learning and this

1. See Monier Williams’ Dictionary and Grierson’s Kashmiri Dictionary, P. 137.

2. Rajatrangini IV, 703 4. Buhler’s Report 1877, P. 42.

3. Aufrecht’s Catalogus Catalogorum.

4. A descriptive Catalogue of the Sanskrit MSS. in Madras Govt. Oriental MSS. Library, Vol. XX.

5. See 3,

belief was not groundless in that it contributed very much to the mass of Sanskrit learning. Among the outstanding poets and writers on poetics one may refer to Rātnākara, Ānandavardhana, Mammaṭa, Būhaṇa, Kṣemendra, and Kalhaṇa. In the famous Rājatarāṅgini of Kalhaṇa, edited and translated by Stein, one finds the names of other writers whose works are lost, such as Śaṅkuka.

Ratnākara lived under two kings, Jayāpiḍa and Avantivarman. Avantivarman (855-83 A. D.) was a great patron of learning. In the Rājatarāṅgini<sup>1</sup> Chap. V we have:—

“The Minister Śūra by honouring learned men with a seat in the King’s Sabhā, caused learning, whose flow had been interrupted, to descend again upon this land (32)”.

“The Scholars who were granted great fortunes and high honours proceeded to the Sabhā in vehicles (litters) worthy of Kings” (33).

“Muktākāṇa, Śivasvāmin, the poet Ānandavardhana, and Ratnākara obtained fame during the reign of Avantivarman” (39).

“In the time of Avantivarman the illustrious Bhaṭṭa Kallata and other holy men (siddhas) descended to the earth for the benefit of the people” (66).

Ratnākara wrote his voluminous Mahākāvya, the Haravijaya, in fifty Cantos. In that work, his exquisite language, his command of style in all its varieties, his ability to use various metres, his art of making the sound correspond with the sense, his full knowledge of Śaivā philosophy, and his mastery of Nītiśāstra, Kāmasūtras, Epics, and the Purāṇas, make him stand unique among the writers of Kāvya and testify to his being a true successor of Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha, and Bāṇa.

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<sup>1</sup> See Stein’s Translation of the Rajatarāṅgini.

Ānandavardhana belonged to that school of poetics which held that suggestion was the soul of poetry. As a matter of fact by writing the Dhvanyāloka he put that theory on a firm footing.

Kallata<sup>1</sup> wrote commentaries on Spanda and Śaiva-sūtras.

To this galaxy of writers in the times of Avantivarman belonged Śivasvāmin, the writer of the Kapphiṇābhyudaya.

To write a Mahākāvya, by Śivasvāmin's time, had become the indispensable condition of greatness of a poet and that Śivasvāmin, from all evidence a Śaiva, should have delved deep into Buddhist tradition and thought and should have celebrated a Buddhist Legend in a work of such a major importance is evidence not only of the influence exerted over him by his preceptor Candramitra, nor only of the tendency to incorporate the Buddha in the hierarchy of 'avatāras', but also of the receptive nature of the poet's mind which refused to be hide-bound by narrow orthodox Brahmanism but thirsted to explore fresh fields and pastures new.

Ratnākara, a 'Śaiva' to the core, had celebrated the exploits of Śiva, Śivasvāmin's own ideal; Māgha a Vaiṣṇava in thought and spirit had sung the overmastering triumph of Lord Kṛṣṇa over his arch-enemy, Siśupāla; but Śivasvāmin, with a boldness characteristic of him, hit upon a theme entirely new in thought and spirit, and surpassed them by celebrating not so much the heroism of the victor or the degeneration of the vanquished as the triumph of the very soul over life's ambitions. And to do this he turned for inspiration, light and guidance to the core of a religion where reason and devotion are mingled in such a pleasing and appealing combination.

**Sivasvāmin, Ratnākara and their predecessors.**

Sivasvāmin, as he was a successor of the great writers of artificial Sanskrit poetry, has combined in him all the merits and demerits of such writers, chiefly Bhāravi, Bhaṭṭi, Māgha, and especially Ratnākara. The opening of his poem is after Haravijaya, the introduction of a spy from the north follows that in Bhāravi, the description of the mountain is common to them all, the appearance of a Vidyādhara resembles that of a Yakṣa in Bhāravi and Dāruka in Māgha. In the Sixth Canto he very closely imitates Māgha even in the scheme of metres. Māgha has in the beginning of the Fourth Canto, eighteen upajāti verses. These are followed by verses every third of which is a Yamaka; while Sivasvāmin has the first twelve verses of the Sixth Canto in Upajāti metre, these being followed by other in which every second verse is a Yamaka. In the nineteenth Canto, which can be read as Sanskrit as well as Prakrit, he has followed Bhatti.

Bhāravi employed the word Lakṣmī, Māgha used the word Śrī, Ratnākara has Ratna and Sivasvāmin Śiva in the last verse of every Canto. The Praśasti is found at the end of the works of Māgha, Ratnākara, and Sivasvāmin.

Comparative analysis of the important epic poems which were  
imitated by Sivasvāmin.

| Bhāravi.                       | Māgha.                  | Haravijaya.  | Kapphinābhyyudaya.   |
|--------------------------------|-------------------------|--|--|
| I—I.<br>V. The Hima-<br>layas. | I—II.<br>IV. Raivataka. | I, VII—XVI.<br>IV. The Mandara.                                  | I—V. The assembly.<br>VI. The Malāya.  |
| X.                             | V.                      | III, V.<br>XVII.   | VII. The Camp.<br>VIII. The Seasons.   |
| VIII.                          | VI.<br>VII.<br>VIII.    | XVIII.   | IX. The plucking of<br>flowers.<br>X. The water-sports.  |
| IX.                            | IX.<br>X.<br>XI.        | XIX.<br>XX—XXV.<br>XXVI.<br>XXVII.<br>XXVIII—<br>XXIX.<br>XXX—L. | XI. The sunset.<br>XII. The rise of the<br>moon.<br>XIII. The drinking par-<br>ties.<br>XIV. The amorous<br>sport.<br>XV. The Dawn.<br>XVI—The message.<br>XX. Battle, |
| XIV—XVIII.                     |                         |  |  |

**A Comparative Analysis of the Scheme of the Haravijaya and  
the Kapphiṇābhuyudaya.**

**Haravijaya.**

I. 1—3. Invocation to Śiva.  
4—33. Description of Jyot-  
snāvatī.

33—64. Description of Śiva,

Lord of Jyotsnāvatī.

23—44. Description of Kap-  
phiṇa, master of  
Lilāvatī.

VII. Description of the agita-  
tion in the Assembly  
of Śiva on hearing that  
Andhaka had harassed  
the Gods and driven them  
out of heaven. Several  
attendants of Śiva are  
individually referred to,  
*viz.*, Virabhadra, Kāla-  
musala, Meghanīla, Vaj-  
ramuṣṭi, Jīṣṇu, Sunan-  
daka, Ketu, Āmardaka,  
Jyotiṣmat, Agnimukha,  
Candānana, Nīlavajra,  
Nandi, and others.

**Kapphiṇābhya.**

I. 1. Invocation to the Bud-  
dha.

2—22. Description of Līlāvatī  
on the Vindhyaśala.

II. A spy from the north  
comes to the Court of  
Kapphiṇa. In this  
Canto the narrative  
resembles the opening  
of the Kirāta.

III. Description of the agi-  
tation in the Assem-  
bly on hearing from the  
spy that Prasenajit  
was hostile towards  
Kapphiṇa. The  
latter's vassal kings  
are named, *viz.*, Sub-  
āhu, Darśaka, Sub-  
andhu, Jīṣṇu, Bala,  
Pāṇḍya, Suketu, Sur-  
āṣṭra, Āndhra, Am-  
barīṣa, Indu, Nala,  
Sālva, Pradyota, and  
others.

VIII—Kālamusala, who advises IV—V. Subāhu advises that XVI. that Andhaka should be attacked at once, is followed by Prabhāmaya (IX), Vahnigarbha (X), Agnidamṣṭra, (XI), Atṭahāsa (XII) Candeśvara, (XIII), Puṣpahāsa (XIV) and Nandiṣena (XV) who express their opinions on the matter and it is finally decided (XVI) that Kālamusala should be sent as an ambassador to Andhaka to persuade him to give up the Svarga.

Prasenajit should be attacked without losing any more time, but Bhīṣmaka advises that an ambassador should be sent to Prasenajit to ask him to submit to the sovereignty of Kapaphīṇa. Darśaka is sent on that errand.

- XXX—Kālamusala's journey from XVI. 1. Darśaka's journey to XXXI. Jyotsnāvatī to Svarga and  
 the description of Andh- 2—10. Description of the  
 aka (XXXI). town.  
 XXXII. Kālamusala's reception. Kāl- 12. Darśaka's reception.  
 amusala delivers his mes- 24—39. Darśaka delivers his  
 sage, 69—118, XXXII. message.  
 The reply of Uśanas 43—53. Prasenajit's reply.  
 (XXXIII). Kālamusala's 53—63, Darśaka's reply.  
 angry retort (XXXIV).  
 Speech of Andhaka (XXXV). Speech of Kana-  
 kākṣa (XXXVI). Speech  
 of Vajrabhānu (XXXVII).  
 Kālamusala's angry part-  
 ing words (XXXVIII).

**XXXIX.** Return of Kālamusa-

sala.

64. Darśaka returns and delivers the scornful reply of Parasenajit to Kapphiṇa's command.

**XXXIV-XXXVII**

Bear close resemblance to :—

65—85. Description of the effect which the reply of Parasenajit produces on the vassal kings of Kapphiṇa. Several of them are again named individually.

**XL.** 57—64.

86—92. The wives of these princes are introduced in a very dismal mood because they feel the separation from their lords who prepare to go to war.

65. Army marches. 93—95. Army marches.

**XLI** Isqq.

XVII—XVIII.

#### Author's Motive in writing the poem.

Sīvasvāmin wanted to write a Mahākāvya, and in doing so he has very closely followed the instructions of Dandīn, the writer of the Kāvyādarśa<sup>1</sup> who probably wrote in the 6th century.

The subject of the poem is taken from an old narrative. The hero is noble and adventurous. Ministers assemble and spies take part in discussions on state affairs. Descriptions of mountains, of the seasons, of the sunset and of the rising of the moon, of drinking and amorous dalliance, have their due place. The hero's campaign, his war with the enemy, and his final triumph bring us to the end of the poem which is full of sentiments, emotions and effective transitions. In the use of metres the poet follows the rules. Each Canto is written in a single metre with a change of metre in the last one or two Stanzas.

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(1) See Kāvyādarśa 1, 14—49.

As a matter of fact our poet has taken the word **Abhyudayam** from the text of the **Kāvyādarśa**,<sup>1</sup> which he very closely follows in his illustration of the “citra kāvya” in VI and XVIII Cantos.

It also seems that the poet meant to narrate allegorically the story of the human soul which has been slumbering and has been allured by the temptations of the world and which is at last awakened by a sudden shock or some outstanding event, as it was in the case of **Aśoka** and the **Buddha** himself.

We might say that the conversion of **Kapphiṇa** represents the enlightenment of such a soul. Here this **Mahākāvya** may be compared with the **Buddhacarita** and the **Śaundarānand** of **Aśvaghoṣa**.

#### The poet's account of himself.

From the “prāśasti” which comes at the end of the **Kap**’ **phīṇābhuyudaya** we gather the following information:—

- i. **Sivasvāmin** was the son of **Bhṛṭācāryasvāmin** and he wrote this poem, the **Kapphiṇābhuyudaya**, which he calls ‘Sūktāsūktih’ at the instance and encouragement of the Buddhist preceptor, **Candramitra**. He talks of him in the past tense (aorist past “abhūt”). He might have come in contact with this religious teacher who asked him to show his talents as a poet in writing the poetic version of the **Avadāna** of **Kapphiṇa** (XX. 35, 36.)
- ii. The poet dedicates the whole poem to **Siva** (XX. 37) which fact shows that he was not a Buddhist by faith, but that he was well versed in that Religion and could write on that subject. At the same time, from a religious point of view, he presents a state of affairs which is a compromise. His poem serves to show the process of absorption of later Buddhism by Śaivism and **Vaiṣṇavism**.

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1. See **Kāvyādarśa**, I, 14—19.

iii. In the last verse (XX. 38) he glories in his work which he says is a lamp lit to remove the darkness of ignorance and which is also meant to stop the prattling of the poetasters.

“Śivasvāmin of noble deeds, the mere hearing of whose muse produced wonder in the hearts of the wise and stopped his opponents' eagerness to speak, lit the lamp of this poem for the benefit of the righteous to remove the darkness of ignorance”. (XX, 38).

He does not mention that he flourished at the Court of King Avantivarman, like his contemporary Ratnākara, but this much is certain that he does allude to his contemporaries when he mentions ‘Virodhinām’—opponents in the field of poetry.

### Śivasvāmin and Buddhism.

In the Kapphiṇābhuyuda (XX, 15) the Buddha preaches a sermon on the Hetumālā or <sup>(1)</sup> the chain of twelve links which ties a person to bondage, and lays stress upon the achievement of salvation by detachment from the things of this world (XX, 18 cd.) (rāgatyāgānmuktirahñayakāryā). Here the author has followed the Avadānaśataka and at the same time tried to harmonise the spirit of Buddha with the Hindu view.

King Kapphiṇa having heard the sermon of the Buddha at once exclaims :—

प्रोचे राजा जातचित्तप्रसादो  
दीक्षादद्वौदक्षिणोदाक्षिणात्यः  
अत्रोदीर्णं दीर्णमान्धं ममाक्षणोः  
अप्याकस्मादसि सुप्तप्रबुद्धः  
आभिर्भुवरतीभिस्तवाहं  
मग्नोन्मग्नः सम्यग्म्युद्गतोऽसि २०, १९, २०.

(1) cf. Ye dharmāḥ hetuprabhavaḥ hetum teṣāṁ tathāgato hyavadaḥ, teṣāṁ ca yo nirodha evaṁ vādī mahāśramaṇaḥ.

The courteous Southern King whose mind was calmed, spoke, 'With this speech of yours the blindness of my eyes is gone. I am awakened suddenly from sleep. By these words of the Master I who was deep drowned am absolutely saved.'

If we compare these words of King Kapphīṇa to those of Arjuna in the Bhagavadītā (18.73), we find a very close resemblance.

Arjuna says—

नष्टो मोहः सृतिर्लब्धा  
त्वप्रसादान्मयाच्युत  
स्थितोऽस्मि गतसंदेहः  
करिष्ये वचनं तव

"Delusion is destroyed. I have obtained Memory by thy grace, O Imperishable. I am firm and all my doubts have passed. I will do your word."

King Kapphīṇa expresses his desire to adopt the life of a monk, but the Buddha says—

सत्यं सत्यासत्यदृष्टौ सुदृष्टिः  
पात्रं पुत्रं त्वादशः भिक्षुवृत्तेः  
कालस्त्वस्पासते प्रतीक्ष्यः किया-  
नायातीह प्राप्तकाला हि सिद्धिः

"It is true, my son, that you should desire to be a Baikṣu having realised what is true and what is false. But you should wait for that stage of life. That accomplishment comes at its proper time".

Does not the poet refer to the four stages in a man's life according to Manu? He does not want the King to enter a monastery but makes the Buddha ask him to wait for some time.

But great emphasis is laid upon leading a life of selflessness as we find in the Gītā. The Buddha asks him to rule his

kingdom for the three Jewels, the Buddha, the Dharma, and the Saṅgha.

मा भोगेभ्यो भद्रुरेभ्यः प्रकृत्या  
 मा प्राशेभ्यो मा श्रियै मा यशोभ्यः  
 श्राद्धः शुद्धः श्रद्धया शाश्वि साधो  
 पृथ्वीरत्नं प्राज्यस्तन्त्रयार्थे ॥ २०,२६  
 धर्मे श्रद्धा समातिः सत्यसारे  
 दानं चीर्यं समधानं दयायां  
 क्षान्तौ क्षोभः प्रेमं पुण्ये च येषां  
 तूतं मुक्तास्ते गृहस्याश्रेम इपि २०—३२

'Neither for enjoyment which is transitory by nature, nor for your own life, nor for glory, nor for fame, must you govern the Jewel of the Earth, but with faith, purity, and devotion for the benefit of the three Jewels—the Buddha, the Dharma and the Saṅgha.'

'Those who have faith in the Law, who follow truth, who have courage in generosity, who have eagerness for compassion, who desire to be patient, and have love for Righteousness, achieve Salvation even though they are householders.'

These verses point towards the doctrine of Anāsaktiyoga of the Bhagavadgītā where the belief in leading a selfless life is preached.

This shows how much the later Buddhism was influenced by the rise of the Orthodox Hindu faith and shows the reason for the Kashmir compromise between Hinduism and Buddhism.<sup>1</sup>

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(1) See Stein, Rājatarāṅgini I, 9, 76, 92; II, 355.

Did Sivasvāmin write any other work besides the  
Kapphiṇābhhyudaya ?

As referred to in the Kavīndravacanasamuccaya, Bhandārkar's Report, (1897) on p. xi, has the following anonymous verse in praise of Śivasvāmin:—

वाक्यानि द्विपदीयुतान्यथ महाकाव्यानि सप्त क्रमात्  
 न्यक्षप्रत्यहनिर्मितस्तुतिकथालक्षणिं चैकादश  
 कृत्वा नाटकनाटिकाप्रकरणप्रायान् प्रबन्धान् बहुन्  
 विश्रामत्यधुनापि नतिशयिता वार्णी शिवस्त्रामेनः

"Not even now does Śivasvāmin's unsurpassed Muse find rest though he has composed seven Mahākavyas which have dvipadīs; has written eleven lacs of hymns to Siva every day, and several other works, Nāṭakas, Nāṭikas and Prakarnas.

This verse is also found quoted in a footnote on p. 132 of the kavikanṭhābharaṇa (Kāvyamālā, 4).

In view of this eulogy Śivasvāmin seems to have written many works. But the ravages of time have left to us only the Kapphiṇābhhyudaya and the verses in the Anthologies, which are attributed to Śivasvāmin. Let us hope that further search for manuscripts in India may bring to light some more of his works.

But on p. XXIX of Bühler's Report 1877 we have a reference to Śivasvāmin who enlarged kalādikṣā, a treatise on Saiva philosophy. On p. 620 of J. R. A. S. for 1912 the authorship of the Ms. No. 67 of Stein's Collection deposited at the Indian Institute, Oxford, has been ascribed to Śriśivasvāmin. On examination of this Ms. with the kind permission of Sir Aurel Stein it was discovered that the compiler of the Catalogue had misunderstood the statement in the colophon of that Ms. which runs:

iti Śrinandīśvarāvatāre śriśivasvāminoktam Sandhyāmāhat-

myam iti bhadram (in Śāradā characters). The book is in the form of a dialogue between Devī and Bhūravī, which words are synonymous with Pārvatī and Śiva. In the colophon the writer means 'here ends the Sandhyāmāhātmya as told by Śri Śivasvāmin (i. e., by Lord Śiva) to Devī. This Śivasvāmin has, therefore, nothing to do with the author of the Kapphiṇābhuyudaya.'

### THE SOURCES OF THE POEM.

The story of Kapphiṇā, or Mahākapphiṇā, or Kapphiṇā the Great, or Kapphiṇā the Elder, is found in the Avadānaśataka<sup>1</sup> in the Manorathapūraṇī,<sup>2</sup> which is a commentary on the Ānguttara Nikāya, and in the commentary on the Dhammapada<sup>3</sup>

#### Synopsis of the Three Stories.

(1)

#### The Avadānaśataka.<sup>4</sup>

Kapphiṇā in one of his previous births was contemporary with Vipaśyī and built a Vihāra. He was, then, known as Brahmadatta, King of Benares, when he served a Prateyaka Buddha, and, in the time of Kuśyapa, he achieved complete control of his senses. In the time of Sākyamuni he was known as the son of Kalpa, a King in Southern India. When he was in power he sent an insolent message to the rulers of six cities, Śrāvasti and others, in Northern India, that they must submit to his rule. The rulers of those cities took refuge under the Buddha who appeared on the scene and converted King Kapphiṇā who had come there under the command of the Buddha. He was then raised to the status of an Arhat.

(1) Bibliotheca Buddhica III.

(2) P. T. S. Manorathapūraṇī Vol. I.

(3) P. T. S. The Commentary on the Dhammapada, Vol. II.

(4) Les Annales du Musée Guimet, Tome 18, pp. 336f and 459.

### The Manorathapūrāṇī.

In the days of the Padamuttarabuddha, Kappiṇa, in a previous birth lived at Hamsavatī, and in the time of the Kassapasammāsambuddha was born at Bārānasi.

In the time of the Buddha he was born at Kukkuṭavatīnagara as King Kappiṇa and his wife Anojā who had desired earnestly in her previous birth when she was the wife of King Kappiṇa, (who was then the chief householder in Bārānasi), to be so named.

King Kappiṇa heard of the Law, the Buddha, and the Saṅgha from merchants who visited his country. He renounced his kingdom and went forth to meet the Buddha, who foreseeing Kappiṇa's attitude had stationed himself on the bank of the Candabhāgā. King Kappiṇa with his followers crossed the Gaṅgā and another river before he came to the Candabhāgā, where he met the Buddha, who converted him to Buddhism. His queen, Anojā, when she heard of her husband's renunciation followed in his footsteps and came to the Buddha who converted her as well. One day Mahākappiṇi was heard saying, 'Oh happiness! Oh happiness!' The monks concluded that he was thinking of the happiness of his kingdom, but the Buddha told the monks that it was the happiness of drinking of the Law and he recited the 79th verse of the Dhammapada.

'He who drinks of the Law lives happily with a serene mind  
In the Law preached by the noble, the sage ever finds his joy'.

### The Dhammapada Commentary (¹).

Kappina, in his previous birth, was a contemporary of the Buddha Padmuttara. In another birth, as a head weaver

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(1) See 'Buddhist Legends' by E. W. Burlingame (H. O. S.), Vol. 28, P. 101, Vol. 29, P. 167.

he served a thousand Pacceka-buddhas. In the time of the Buddha Kassapa he was the senior householder at Benares where he and his community presented a monastery to the monks. His wife presented Anojā flowers to the Buddha.

This Community of householders is born in Kukkuṭavati and their senior is King Kappina whose wife is Anojā. King Kappina and the courtiers, Queen Anojā and her ladies-in-waiting, hear of the Buddha, the Law, and the Order, and they set out to visit the Buddha. They cross three rivers the Aravacchā, the Nilavāhanā, and the Candabhāgā before they meet the Buddha who expounds to them the Law and they retire from the world.

The elder Kappina is found rejoicing and saying ‘Oh happiness?’ The monks think that he is reminded of his former happiness as King. The Buddha tells them that it is the happiness of the Nibbāna and recites the 79th Stanza of the Dhammapada.

The same story with very minor differences from the one given above is translated by T. Rogers in his Buddhaghoṣa’s Parables, pp. 78—85. Its summary may be given as follows:—

There lived near Benares a thousand weavers who served a thousand Pacceka-buddhas with food and drink and built monasteries for them. They were reborn in Benares in families of wealthy men and pleased Kassapa who was then preaching the Law. Afterwards they appeared in the Nat country, and in the time of the Gotama they were born in the country of Kukkuvatī. The head weaver’s wife was the daughter of the great king of the Sāketa country. Five hundred merchants came from the country of Sāvatthī and informed the King of the ‘Three Jewels’, the Buddha, the Dharma, the Saṅgha. The King was filled with devotion and joy when he heard of the ‘Three Jewels’. He renounced his kingdom and set off on his journey to the place where ‘The Jewels’ were found. He crossed the Avarakka, the Nilavāha

and the Kandāpa rivers. On the other side of the Kandāpa river he met the Buddha who expounded the Law to him and made him a Sotāpanna. The Queen also, with her attendants, was admitted into the Order.

Thus we possess two versions of the legend of Kapphīṇa as preserved in the Sanskrit Avadānaśataka and the Pāli commentaries. In the former King Kapphīṇa is said to have ruled in the Dakṣināpūrītha and in the latter at Kukkuṭavatī, whose geographical position has not yet been ascertained. In the Avadānaśataka Kapphīṇa invades Śrāvastī, when he is converted to Buddhism by a miracle; while in the Pāli versions he voluntarily renounces his kingdom.

Sivāśvamin following the version of the Avadānaśataka in writing his Kapphīṇābhyyudāya has introduced many changes and that with evident reason. The deviations from the legend in the Avadānaśataka are:

- (i) King Kapphīṇa is informed by a spy that Prasenjit, ruler of Śrāvastī is hostile towards him. He holds a Council of his allies who decide that an embassy should be despatched to Prasenajit asking him to make submission to him. Otherwise war will be declared. (Kapphīṇā. 1-V).
- (ii) The digression which follows is introduced to conform to the rules of writing a Mahākāvya.
- (iii) The envoy goes to Prasenajit who refuses to submit.
- (iv) War is declared and the two opposing armies engage in a fierce battle.
- (v) The Buddha appears on the scene as the result of the prayers of Prasenajit who is unable to withstand the advance of the enemy. The Buddha changes the mind of King Kapphīṇa with a miracle. He preaches to

him the Law, but when requested by King Kapphiṇa to initiate him into the order, he refuses to do so but admonishes him to practise selflessness in the discharge of his duties as the ruler of his kingdom.

(vi) Queen Anoja is not mentioned by Śivasvāmin.

The first four of these departures from the original are due to the regulations for writing artificial Sanskrit poetry of high standard, while the fifth one shows the influence of the Hindu ideal of life as found in the Laws of Manu. The doctrine of 'Non-attachment' in the pursuit of one's duties finds full adherence by Śivasvāmin. The Buddhist ideal of monkhood is replaced by that of a householder, who seeks salvation by doing his duties in a spirit of self-renunciation. Silence about Anoja also shows the tendencies of the time which preferred a householder's life to that of a monk.

### The Name Kapphiṇa.

M. Burnouf in the Lotus<sup>(1)</sup> suggested Kāmpilya as the locality which gave rise to the name. He gives various readings of the name as found in the Buddhist Sanskrit works.

(1) Le Lotus de la Bonne Loi. pp. 1, 294.

The readings are "kapphilla", "kaphina", "kaphin". "kamphilla", "kaphina", and "kachphila".

A bibliography for the name and Story of King Kapphiṇa.

(1) The Avadānaśataka, Bib. Buddhica III.

(2) Saddharma-puṇḍarīka ed. H. Kern and Bunyiu Nanjio, 1912, pp. 2, 207.

(3) The Saundarānanda ed E. H. Johnston, 1928, (XVI.90).

(4) The Lalitavistara—Bibliotheca Indica 1877, p. 1.

(5) S. B. E. Vol. XXI, 2, 2 n, 198; vol. XLIX (ii) 2, 90.

(6) Rgya Tchér Raṇ Pa-tr. par Ph. Ed. Fouceaux 1848.

(7) J. R. A. S. 1880, p. 25.

The Pāli Text Society Publications, 8—25.

(8) The Apadāna II, p. 468.

(continued.)

In Chinese Kapphiṇa or Kamphilla has come to be associated with the Constellation Scorpio and is suggested that Kapphiṇa was so called because he was born in answer to prayer address-

- (9) Manorathapūraṇi Vol. I. p. 318.
- (10) Saṃyutta Nikāya I, pp. 145, 146; II, pp. 284–5; V, p. 315.
- (11) Aṅguttara Nikāya I, p 25; III, p. 299.
- (12) The Therā and Therigāthā (1883) I. p. 61.
- (13) Udāna I, p. 5.
- (14) Sumaṅgalavilāsini p. 240.
- (15) Parimatthadīpani Part III, pp. 78, 81.
- (16) Mahābodhivamśa p. 83
- (17) Nettiprakarana p. 151.
- (18) The Comentary on Dhammapada Vol. II. pp. 112—127.
- (19) Paramatthajhotikā I, 1333; II, 440.
- (20) The Visuddhimagga of Buddhaghosa p. 393.
- (21) Gradual Sayings, Vol. I. p. 20.
- (22) Psalms of the Brethren pp. 254, 366.
- (23) The Path of Purity, p. 455.
- (24) Kindred Sayings, Vol. I. pp. 183, 194; Vol. II, pp. 193—94; Vol. V, p. 279.
- (25) J. P. T. S. 1888, p. 66.
- (26) The Jātaka, Vol. IV. p. 112.
- (27) Further Dialogues of the Buddha (S. B. B.) Vol. V, ii, 199.
- (28) H. Kern, Manual of Indian Buddhism, p. 82.
- (29) Nariman, Literary History of Sanskrit Buddhism, pp. 45, 164.
- (30) Rajendra Lal Mitra—Napalese Buddhist Literature, p. 38.

ed to the Regent of Scorpio. (2) M. Sylvain Lévi (3) has given Kosala and Kipin under the Nakṣatra Rohini.

With regard to the association of the word Kapphina with Kipin or Kapin or Kophene I have to make one suggestion :

i. In the Pāli texts (4) the King is said to have crossed the Candrabhāgā before he met the Buddha. This shows that he must have came from the North if the Candrabhāgā is the modern Chenab of the Punjab. His personal features, especially the Aryan nose, also resemble that of a man from the North. (5)

cf. 'Do you see that monk coming to us, pale, thin, with prominent nose.'—Kindred saying II. pp. 193–4.

ii. Kipin or kapin may denote the kingdom of Kāśmīra (6) and the poet Sivasyāmin may have chosen a theme by which he could sing the glories of Kāśmīra as well as that of Kapphina, one of the twelve great disciples of the Buddha.

#### Derivation of the word Kapphina.

Akamuna, a dictionary of Buddhist names, gives Mahākappina (Skt. Mahākalpina). In the Avadānaśataka he is said to be the son of King Kalpa (lit. a cycle of time). Kalpa will therefore mean 'one lasting an aeon.' Kalpa also means 'competent'. It is befitting that one of the foremost disciples of the Buddha should be so named, unless we take the name to refer to his kingdom Kophene or Kipin or Kapin. (7) The Lalitavistara has Kaphila and Kashphila. (8)

(2) Handbook of Chinese Buddhism by Eitel (1904).

(3) The Bulletin de l'École Francaise d' Extreme Orient, Tome V, 1905, pp. 263, 271.

(4) See the Commentary of the Dhammapada in P. T. S.

(5) See Mrs. Rhys David's 'Sākyā or Buddhist origins' p.

39. 14 f.

P. T. S. Gradual Sayings I. 20.

Psalms of the Early Buddhists, p. 256 n.

(6) See Max Müller, S. B. E., XXI 2 n.

Stein—Rājatarāṅgiṇī II, 354.

Lévi—Journal Asiatique 1895, vi. p. 371.

Przyluski—La Légende de l' Empereur Aśoka under Kipin'.

Watters—On Yuan-Chwang i, 259, 278 289 290.

(7) See V. A. Smith, Early History of India (3rd edition) pp. 266 n, 374 n.

(8) See The Lalitavistara ed. Lefmann (1902) p. 1.  
Mitra (1877) p. 1.

In later Sanskrit Literature when the Kapphiṇābhuyudaya was referred to we find many variants for the name Kapphiṇa.

- i. In the footnotes on page 202 of the Vyākhyāsudhā, a commentary on the Amarrkoṣa, we have ‘Kathitābhuyudaye’, due to the ignorance of the exact word.
- ii. In the Tīkāsarvasva we have ‘Karpi’, ‘Kacchi’ and ‘Kalpi’ on pages 18, 132, 132 respectively.
- iii. In one of the India Officie Manuscripts, No. 541, p. 118, of the Padcandrikā of Rāyamukuta it is written as Kaśphina.
- iv. In the Manoramā of Ramānātharai we have Kaphila.

If we derive it from klṛp, the aspirate in ‘Kapphiṇa’ is inexplicable, unless there were such a word as ‘kaśpiṇa’, which would give Kapphiṇa like ‘puppha’ ‘nippala’ from ‘puṣpa’ and ‘niṣphala.’

### King Kapphiṇa and Barabudur.

In Professor Krom’s ‘Barabudur’ one finds that the reliefs on the second main wall of the Barabudur temple in Java follow the text of the Gaṇḍavyūha, a Buddhist Sanskrit work. Mr. B.C. Shastri, M. A., M. O. L., in his article in Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land—en Volkenkunde Van Nederlandsch—Indie, Deel, 19, Afl. 1, pp. 173-81, has tried to supplement Professor Krom’s identification of this text. According to him the following text of the Gaṇḍavyūha is carved on the Second relief:—

न च ते महाश्रावकाः शारिपुत्रमौद्गल्यायनमहाकाशयप-  
रैवतसुभूत्यनिरुद्धनन्दिकपिण्डणकात्यायनपूर्ण-  
मैत्रायणीपुत्रप्रसुखा जेतवने तथागतविकुर्वितमद्राङ्गुः

The Śrāvkas headed by Śāriputra, Maudgalāyana, Mahākāśyapa, Raivata, Subhūti, Anirudha, Nandika, Kapphiṇa, Kāt-

yāyaṇa, Pūrṇa, and Maitrāyanīputra did not see the miracles of Tathāgata.

### The Haravijaya, Magha, and the Kapphiṇābhuyudaya.

In the following pages a comparison of the poem with Māgha and the Haravijaya has been made and it will be noticed how common stray phrases and even single lines in stanzas in the three Kavyas so closely resemble. These twenty-four groups of stanzas will give the reader an idea of the influence exerted by Māgha and Ratnākara (<sup>1</sup>) on Śivasvāmin in the choice of language, thoughts and feelings.

But the similarities which exist in thought or in language in certain cases do not necessarily mean that there was actual plagiarism practised by Śivasvāmin. In the works of two inspired poets especially where they (the works) belong to the same class of poetry, following the same set of rules, descriptions of the similar objects may correspond and the language they choose to express their common ideas may turn out to be more or less similar.

Moreover, in the training of a Sanskrit poet it was essential that he should set up a model for the exercise of his poetic talent and then attempt to equal and excel it. Śivasvāmin sometime does not merely borrow phrases or poetic expressions from Māgha and Ratnākara, but improves upon their ideas and expressions.

1. See i. For Māgha and Ratnākara see Jacobi W. Z. K. M. IV, p. 236 ff.

ii. Kāvyamīmāsā of Rājaśekhara, Chap. XI.

iii. Thomas in Bhandārkar Commemoration Volume.

## I.

**Haravijaya**

अस्युन्नते सुरसरिज्जलधाव्यमान-  
भागे नवार्करुचिमन्दरैश्चलशृङ्खः ।  
ज्योत्स्नावतीति नगरी भुवनत्रैयैक-  
भूषा शशाङ्कशिरसीव शशाङ्कलेखा ॥ १,४

'There is on the lofty peak of the Mandara Mountain, whose region is washed by the celestial Ganges and which has the glow of the morning sun, a town, Jyotsnāvati by name, an ornament of the three worlds, like the digit of the moon on the head of the bull-marked God.' I. 4

**Kapphinābhhyudaya**

अस्ति प्रथा परमदैत्यसुखायनीभि-  
स्यूता गजाननगुहावसिताधिविन्ध्यम् ।  
लीलावतीति नगरी कलितापदाना  
दुर्गेव भावितरणा हरिणाङ्कनेन ॥ १,२

'There is on the top of the Mountain Vindhya near Ganesh caves a town, the happy abode of gods, shedding lustre, Līlāvatī by name, well known in the Apadānas, like Durgā—born on the mount Vindhya, source of trouble to the great demon, unaccompanied by Ganesha and Skanda, taking delight in battle and followed by Śiva. I. 2

## II.

शश्यागृहं सुरतकेलिविमर्दशीर्ण-  
कर्णावतंसविकच्चोत्पलपत्रखण्डैः ।  
यत्राङ्गना दलयतः कुसुमायुधस्य  
भग्नैः कृपाणशक्लैखिकोर्णमासीत् ॥ १,१६

शश्यालयेष्वसितपद्मवतंसराजिः  
यस्यां राज रमणैरूपभुक्तमुक्ता ।  
उद्दाममन्मथमहेभविकीर्णशीर्ण-  
खेलस्खलत्स्फुटविश्वङ्गलशृङ्खलश्रीः ॥ १,१४

‘Where the bed chamber was scattered over with bits of the petals of blossomed lotus flowers used as ear ornaments which were broken in the amorous sports and which looked like pieces of the broken daggers of the flower-weaponed god who had been molesting women.’ I, 16.

‘Where in bed chambers shone a line of blue lotuses used as ear ornaments thrown away by the gallant after enjoying them, closely resembling a loose chain of the untamed elephant, Kāma, which (the chain) was broken and loosened in his sport.’ I. 14

## III.

रोषारुणीकृतदशो नडकूबरस्य  
हुङ्कारधूमपटलीं मुखरन्धभागात् ।  
दैत्याधिराजकवलीकरणादेरणा  
कृत्यमिवैक्षत जनः सहस्रेत्पतन्तीम् ॥ ७, १३

तत्रैश्वकिततरं निरीक्षमाणा  
सम्भाव्यत्रिभुवनवस्मरोप्रशक्तिः ।  
कृत्येवभ्रकुटिरतिस्कुटा ललाटे  
शाल्वस्य प्रसरदमर्षमुहुलास ॥ ३, २८

‘The people saw the mass of smoke of ‘humkāra,’ coming out of the cavity-like mouth of Naḍakūbara, whose eyes were red with anger, as if it were the goddess Kṛtyā springing up suddenly to swallow the lord of demons.’ VII. 13

‘Observed with great surprise by those who were present there a distinct frown appeared on the forehead of Śālva as his anger increased, which (frown) was like Kṛtyā of terrible power, eager to devour the three worlds.’ III. 28

प्लोषावलग्रस्य वपुष्युदग्र-  
ज्ञालाजटालस्य विलोचनाग्रः ।  
प्रशान्तिहेतोरिव सम्भ्रमेण  
निर्यान्ति घर्मैदकशीकरौघाः ॥ ९,६३

अन्तःस्थस्फुरदुरुमन्युवहिसुष्ट-  
स्पष्टौञ्ज्यं कथनविशेषशङ्कन्येव ।  
भीमस्य द्रुततरविद्रुतं निलीय  
स्वेदाम्भो बहु बहिरानशे शरीरम् ३,१९

'The drops of perspiration came fast out of the body in order to extinguish the fire of intense flames issuing from the eyes and burning the whole body.' IX. 63

'Profuse water of perspiration immidiately covered the exterior of Bhīma's body which was extremely heated by the huge fire of anger blazing within as if it were afraid lest the latter should burn it more.' III. 13

निरूपयामो नयवर्त्म केवलं  
यथाभिलाषास्तु परस्य वृत्तयः ॥ १२,१९

वचो हि वाच्यं हितमायतौ चैरः  
स्वतः प्रमाणं परतस्तु भूपतेः  
स्वतन्त्रवृत्ता विघ्यो विघेरिव ॥ २,२४

'We shall only deliberate upon the policy; beyond that your own sweet will shall be the guide in the course of action.' XII. 19

'The spies have to tell what will be beneficial in the future. After that, the King's ordinances proceeding independently like those of fate are authority in themselves.' II. 24

## VI.

**Haravijaya**

विभर्ति पारिष्वतामुदन्वतः  
तदूर्मिंसंसर्गकृतमिवेत्यता ।  
अत्रैमि लक्ष्मीर्नयवर्भनागता  
स्थिरं निवध्नाति नृपे पदं पुनः ॥ १२, ३३

'Lakṣmī arising out of the ocean carries with her the fickleness due to her association with the waves, but I know, when she is acquired by a King through policy, she fixes her abode.'

XII. 33

**Kapphinā blegudaya.**

गुरुतरगिरिमन्यक्षोभितक्षोभ्यसिन्धु-  
व्यतिकरसभोग्या वासनावासितेव ।  
समभिमतविमर्दा रौद्रकर्मप्रियेषु  
प्रसरति रममाणा तादृशष्वेव लक्ष्मीः ॥ ४, ३१

'The Goddess of Fortune (Lakṣmī), as if permeated with a liking for enjoying the play of the waters of the restless sea which is disturbed by churning with the lofty mountain, is fond of strife and delights in moving among such people as like violence.'

IV. 31

## VII.

अभ्येषुषां विरचिताञ्जलिबन्धमुर्वी-  
तृष्णा दर्याद्र्द्वमनसा परिरक्षतासून् ।  
येनपैता पश्चमनैकरसेनखड्ह-  
धाराजलैः शममनीयत शात्रवाणम् ॥ १६, ३९

फूत्कारपात्रकशिखानिकरो दिघच्छु  
राक्रान्तकालियफणानिकुरुम्बमुक्तः ।  
निर्वापितः सपदि यस्य शिखराङ्गमूल-  
निष्यन्दमानयमुनाजलनिर्मरौघैः ॥ १६, ७४

'Who, with a compassionate heart and with the one aim of alleviating suffering, spared the lives of his enemies, who approached with folded hands, and quenched their thirst for territory with the water of the edge of his sword.'

XVI. 39

'The mass of flames, blown out by the numerous hoods of Kāliyanāga who was subdued, was at once extinguished, the moment it was ready to burn, by the current of the water of the Yamunā flowing below his crest.'

XVI. 74

उल्लास्य कालकरवालनवाम्बुवाहं  
देवेन येन जरठोर्जितगर्जितेन ।  
निर्वापितः सकल एव रणे रिपूणां  
धाराजन्नैविजगति ज्वलितः प्रतापः ॥ १,१४

This verse combines XVI, 39  
and 74 of the Haravijaya.

'Raising the fresh clouds of swords dreadful like death, this King, with his terrible thunder has totally extinguished the blazing prowess of his enemies in the three worlds with the waters of the flashes( of his swords), just as raging heat is brought to an end by showers of rain poured by God Indra amid thunder.' I. 24

### VIII.

तत्स्य कथिदुपयातु समीपमाशु  
सदैशदानचतुरो दितिजस्य दूतः ।  
भिन्नेतरप्रकृतिमण्डलकार्यतत्त्व-  
बोधे यतः प्रशिखिरेव रिपोस्तमाहुः ॥ १६,७९

तदुपान्तमियातु कश्चन  
द्विषदोकस्तवशासनात्पुरः ।  
रिपुसंप्लवजिष्णुभूमुजां  
परमात्मं खलु दूतभारती ॥ ९,३९

'Then let some spy clever in conveying messages at once go to him, the descendant of Diti; for the emissary is said to be the only means of knowing the truth about the affairs of an enemy's kingdom, his allies and his foes.' XVI, 79

'Let some one by your command first go to him in the country of the enemy. In deed' the words of a messenger serve as a weapon for Kings who desire to conquer a host of enemies.' V. 39

## IX

विभ्राणरविकरुणैत्वमङ्गनाना॑  
हस्ताग्रैः प्रसभमकारि पल्लवानाम् ।  
प्रत्यग्रोज्जलनिजशोभया सरागैः  
भग्नानामपि पुनरुक्त एव भङ्गः ॥ १७,९२

त्विपानया करकमलस्य खरिडते  
दधासि किं मयि पुनरुक्तखरडनाम् ।  
समालपन् मधुरमधुव्रतारचै-  
मृगेच्छणामिदमिव वालपल्लवः ॥ २,९६

'The fingers of ladies, which were possessed of greater excellence and which were red, rendered the impetuous plucking of petals superfluous, for they (the petals) had already been vanquished by their fresh brilliant lustre.' XVII. 52

'Why do you cause (by plucking) an unnecessary wound to me who have already been hurt by the lustre of your lotus-like hands'—thus did the young sprout seem to address the fawn-eyed one through the sweet hum of the bees.' IX. 16

## X.

वीचिच्छोभाविभवत्सम्भ्रमवात्  
कान्तं काचित् सस्वजे जातसौख्या ।  
प्रायेणोत्थं श्रेयसे विक्रियापि  
प्रार्द्धभूता कल्पते कोमलानाम् ॥ १८,४१

'Another (lady) embraced her beloved when she became restless on account of the disturbance caused by the waves; and she was delighted. It often happens that even an apparent calamity turns out to be a source of happiness for the delicate ones.' XVIII. 41

प्रतिनववनितानितान्ततान्ता  
जलममतीर्य ततस्तरङ्गभीरुः ।  
अगलितमलगद् गले स्वभर्तु-  
र्विपदपि कुत्रचिदावहेत् फलाश्यम् ॥ १०,२१

'The young lady who was much vexed by her new rival entered the water and, when afraid of the waves, clung close to the neck of her husband. Even calamity at certain times may bring about the best of results.' X. 21

## XI.

व्यक्तोपकारमधुना स्थगितासु दिक्षु  
 प्रेयोगृहं सुखमलदित्येमव यामः ।  
 धम्मिलबन्धसुचरैरभिसारिकाभिः  
 त्रेणा तमश्चिरमितीव शिरोभिरुह १९,४३

'Now that the quarters have become obscure, we shall easily go unnoticed to the dwellings of our lovers. The ladies going to their lovers seemed for a long time to bear lovingly on their heads the darkness as a benefactor in the form of beautifully braided tresses.' XIX. 43

प्रियवसातिप्रयाणसमये पिदधत्पदवी-  
 मिदमुपकारि न स्तम इतीव विनम्रगमाः ।  
 अलिमलिनस्य वेणिवलयस्य स्त्रां निचयै-  
 रभिसरणोत्सुकाः प्रियतमाः पुपुषुः सुदृशः ॥  
 ११,३९

'This darkness is our well-wisher for it conceals our path at the time of our going to the dwellings of our lovers,' so the loving ladies of beautiful eyes walking softly fostered it by the 'masses of gleam' of their braids, blackened by bees, when they were eager to set out to their rendezvous.' XI. 35

## XII.

स्तस्तान्धकारवसनां रजनीपुरन्धी—  
 मालिङ्गाति प्रियसुधासुति दिक्सखीभिः ।  
 दूरं मृणालशक्लामलतन्मयूख-  
 हासच्छटाज्ज्वितमुखीभिरिकापसस्ते ॥ २०,४७

'When the moon (emitter of delightful ambrosia) had embraced the damsel of the night who had thrown off her garment of darkness, then withdrew her friends, the quarters, whose

श्यामां समाश्लिष्य सरागमिन्दौ  
 नभः स्थलं तत्पमिवाधिरुद्दे ।  
 तमोमुचः सख्य इवोल्लसन्त्यो  
 दिशः शनै दूरमिवापसस्तुः ॥ १२,१९

'When the moon who embraced the night out of love ascended the terrace-like sky, the quarters which were delighted, moved gradually away as if

faces were brightened with they were the friends (of smiles denoted by the rays, Night).’ XII. 15  
white like bits of lotus-stalks.’

XX. 47

## XIII.

आहलादेहतुनिरवद्यशरीरयष्टि-  
लावण्यकान्तिकलुषीकरणेन तासाम् ।  
आसीत् कुशशयद्वशामयथार्थतैव  
पर्पस्तभास्त्ररुचामपि भूषणानाम् ॥ २३,४६

‘The ornaments, which scattered brilliancy all round, did not serve their purpose in the case of the lotus-eyed ones for they defiled the beauty of the slender limbs which were spotless and a source of delight.’ XXIII. 46

मृगीटशामङ्गलतानुपङ्गि-  
लावण्यलक्ष्मीपिहितप्रभेण ।  
यथावदप्याकलितेन तासां  
स्फुटा न लेभे प्रनिक्षमेणा श्रीः ॥ १२,३६

‘The toilet of the fawn-eye ladies, even though carefully done, did not attain any grace, for its beauty was overshadowed by the natural loveliness of their tender, creeper-like bodies.’ XII. 36

## XIV.

उदयशिखरिशृङ्खलेदिकायां  
नवरघिरारुणकान्ते भानुविम्बय् ।  
अनुकृतदिवसप्रवेशलक्ष्मी-  
प्रसवविशङ्कटगर्भशय्यमासीत् ॥ २८,४०

‘The orb of the sun, whose brightness was like the redness of fresh blood, appearing on the altar of the top of Udayācala, was like the embryo from which was to emerge the glory of the day.’ XXVIII. 80

प्राचीश्वासोपममरुदधिप्राच्यशैलाशमशय्यं  
संप्रप्तायां दिनि नवनवां वासरस्य प्रसूतिम्  
आविर्भावो भवति रुधिरावारमिश्रस्य सद्यः  
साङ्क्रदन्यां ककुमि कलभस्येव सन्ध्यातपस्य  
॥ १९,१८

‘At the time of the birth of the day on the bed of Udayācala, the breeze seeming to be the sigh of the Eastern quarter, there appears in the Eastern direction the twilight sun as if it were the young one of an elephant besmeared with blood.’

XV. 18

## XV.

इतिगिरमुपकरये प्रेयसीबाहुबन्ध-  
व्यतिकरकृतरनावापकव्यक्तचिह्नम् ॥ २९,६३

'Having heard these voices (Siva), showing (on his neck) the marks of golden bracelets which were tied to the arms of his beloved (left his bed).' XIX. 63

इति गिरमुपकरये मागधीयां

श्लथशयनः सुहृदोपृहेऽभिरत्य ॥ १६,३९

'Having thus heard the panegyrics of the bards, (the King), after enjoying himself at the house of his friend, left his bed.'

## XVI.

स शृणवन्नात्मनोऽभिख्यां  
राजमार्गानलहृयत् ॥ ३२,३१

'He hearing his own praise passed along the main road.' XXXII. 31

जगाहेऽविरलां राजद्वारं दूतोनितद्विषः ॥ १६,११

'The messenger of him who had conquered his enemies entered the gate of the palace which was thronged with people.'

## XVII.

कूरेऽपि मार्दवोपेता वामाचोरेऽपि दक्षिणाः । वैभवे ऽप्यनहङ्काराः शक्तावपि मृदुक्रियाः ।  
पापेऽपि शुद्धमतयस्वादशा भुविदुर्लभाः ॥ ३२,७२ सौम्यास्तेजस्यपि स्युः के द्वित्रा अपि भवादशाः ॥  
१६,२८

'People like you who are soft-hearted towards the harsh, straightforward towards the crooked, and pure-minded towards the sinful are scarce in the world.' XXXII. 79

'There are but two or three persons like you, who are humble even in wealth, gentle in deeds even in power, and modest even in authority.' XVI. 28

## XVIII.

शौर्यद्वूमो भुवनकाननसीम्न्यराति-  
सीमन्तिनीजनजटादृढमूलबन्धः ३३,६

शौर्यद्वूमः समधित द्विषदां गृहेषु  
शाखाशिफानिवडतीव्रमयीमवस्थाम् १,३१

'The tree of valour, in the border forests of whose kingdom, had its roots firm in the matted hair of the matrons of the enemy.' XXXIII. 6

'The tree of valour grew stronger in the dwellings of his enemy taking a firm hold with thick fibrous roots and branches.' I. 31

## XIX

## Māgha

प्राग्भारतः पतादेहदमुपत्यकासु  
शृङ्गारितायतमहेभकराभमम्भः ।  
संलक्षते विविधरत्नकरानुविद्ध-  
मूर्छप्रसारितसुराधिपचापचारु ॥४,४९

## Kapphiṇābhuyada

प्राग्भारदीर्घदृष्टितनिर्भराम्बु-  
लाम्बिप्रवाहविकरालकरः करोति ।  
सिन्दूरसुन्दरपरागपिशङ्गमूर्धा  
रम्भाविजृम्भतरदेशमिभानुकारम् ॥६,९९

'Here on the foot of the hills comes down from the top the water-fall, resembling the long and decorated tusk of an elephant; and as it is pierced by the rays (of colour) from the jewels it looks like a rainbow shooting upwards., IV. 49

This mountain looks like an elephant, who has a prominent trunk in the form of a long torrent of water which pours out from underneath the big rock on its top, who has its head made yellow by the pollen of the Sindūra flowers, and who has the plantain trees for its long tusks. VI. 55

## XX.

अवजितमधुना तवाहमक्षणो-  
साचिरतेयत्यवनस्य लज्जयेव ।  
श्रवणकुवलयं विलासवत्याः  
भ्रमररूपकर्णमाचचक्षे ॥७,६०

तनुत्विषो गुणगणशालिनःपुरः  
क्षमा स्थितिर्न सुतनुलोचनस्य ते ।  
श्रुतिस्पृशोऽसितनलिनस्य षट्पदः  
क्वणन्ति व्याधित विगर्हणामिव ॥९,३५

'Now I am vanquished by the lustre of your eyes', thus the lotus as if drooping in shame, whispered into the ears of the playful one by means of the humming of the bees'. VII. 60

'It does not become you of feeble lustre to enter into rivalry with the splendid eyes of the fair-limbed one: thus the bee by its humming seemed to reproach the ear-lotus which touched her eyes.' IX. 35

## XXI.

आत्राय श्रमजमनिन्द्यगन्धन्वं  
निश्वासश्वसनमसक्त मङ्ग्नानाम् ।  
आरण्याः सुमनस ईषिर न भृङ्गे-  
रैचित्यं गणपति को विशेषकामः ॥८,३०

मुखपतितपुरन्ध्रिमौरभोत्कैः  
नलिनकुलेष्वलिमिः कुञ्जायलीलाम् ।  
कलयितुमलसत्वमाललम्बे  
मगति दृढा मवुपायिनां क वृत्तिः ॥ १०,१४

'Having freely smelt the sighing breath of the ladies, which was pure and fragrant and which arose from weariness,) the bees (no longer) had (any desire for the wild flowers. Who having an intense passion cares for propriety'? VIII. 10

'The bees eager for the fragrance emitted by the mouths of the married women became indifferent to the art of making their abode in beds of lotuses. Those who drink wine have no strength of purpose.' X, 14

## XXII.

व्यसरन्तु भूधरगुहान्तरतः  
पटलं बहिर्बहलपद्मरुचि  
दिवसावसानपटुनस्तमसो  
बहिरत्य चाधिकममक्तुगुहाः ॥ ९,१९

किमलम्बताम्बरविलग्नमधः  
किमवर्धतोर्चमवनीतिलतः ।  
विससार तिर्यगथ दिग्भ्य इति  
प्रचुरीमवन्न निरधारि तमः । ९, २०

'Did the mass of darkness, thick like mud, issue, at the close of day, out of the mouths of the mountain caves, or did it, arriving from the outer regions, establish itself there; did it suspend itself from the sky or shoot up from the surface of the earth; or did it proceed sideways from the quarters? Thus as the darkness gathered in, it became difficult to ascertain (where it came from).' IX. 19-20

दिव इव निस्सृतै गिरिनदीभ्य इवोच्छसितै-  
भुव इव सम्प्लुतैः न्तीततलादिव चोल्लसितैः  
जलधितलोक्यैविव ककुम इवोक्तालितैः  
तिमिरकुलेरनीषदुदमेषि मसामीलनैः॥ ११,३०

'Masses of darkness, black as ink, appeared in great abundance, and it seemed as if they had issued forth from the sky or heaved up from the mountains and rivers or sprung up from the ground or shot up from the nether regions or burst forth from the surface of the ocean or had been wafted from the directions.' XI. 30

### XXIII.

रजनीमवाप्य रुचमाप शशी  
सपदि व्यभूषयदसाक्षिपताम् ।  
अविलम्बितक्रममहो महता-  
मितरेतरोपकारकृतिमच्चरितम् ९, ३३

कृतोपकरे हि निवेशयन्ति  
प्राणैरपि प्रल्युपकारमार्याः  
तथा हि लब्ध्वा उभ्युदयं समुद्रा-  
दवीवृधत्तं शशमृत् स्वधान्ना॥ १२, १८

### Kapphiṇābhuyudaya XII, 18.

The moon, coming in contact with the Night, attained brightness and instantly adorned her (the night) as well. Oh, it is the demeanour of the great that they look to mutual good without any delay. IX. 33

'The noble return the good done to them even at the cost of their lives; therefore, the moon having got her glory from the ocean swelled it by her own lustre.' XII, 18

## XXIV.

अकृत्वा हेतया पादमुच्चैर्मूर्धसु विद्विषाम् पलायमानं पुरुषं रक्तपङ्क्लुते पर्थि  
कथङ्कारमनालम्ब्रा कीर्तिर्द्युमिविरोहति ।२,९२ अतिकोमलया गत्या कथं श्रीरनुयास्याति ।७,३

'How can glory ascend the sky unsupported without stepping sportively on the lofty heads of the enemies?' II, 52. How can the Goddess of Fortune, treading with soft step in the road flooded with the mire of blood, follow a person who is taking to flight (from the battlefield).' XVIII.

## Style of Sivasvāmin and his thought.

Sivasvāmin has shown his skill in his choice of language, in his use of poetic imagery, in his mastery in using *double entendre* and in his effective employment of word-figures. At times he improves upon the idea expressed by his predecessors, especially Māgha and Ratnākara (see the comparison), and in some cases he brings into play his powers of concise expression and charming style to such an advantage that he even excels Ratnākara:

शोकं कोकाः कुमुदमलयः सान्द्रवाता दिगन्तान्

दीपावर्तीरभिमतभुजाभ्यन्तरं चाभिसर्यः ।

ज्योत्स्नाः काष्ठा निषदनमिना वर्हिणो वासयष्टि

वर्णोमोपान्तास्तिमिरपटलीस्तुल्यमेव त्यजान्ति ॥ १९,२१

'The ruddy geese give up their sorrow, the bees the lotus flowers, the moist breeze the ends of quarters, the lamps their flames, the ladies the clasp of their lover's arms, the moonlight the

directions, the lords their homes, the peacocks their roosts, and the darkness the remote parts of the sky—all simultaneously (with the rising of the Sun)’.

The same idea is expressed by Ratnākara in ten stanzas in the Haravijaya, XXVIII, 108-118.

For conciseness we may quote :

दशनवसने लौहित्येन स्तने च तथोष्मगणा  
मधुपपटलीभूते धूमश्रिया कबरीमरे ।  
सरुषि हृदये तासां ज्वालाकुलैर्द्विषि कञ्जलै-  
रिति परिणमनु कन्दर्पाग्निर्विभक्त इवाभवत् ॥ १४,२३

‘The fire of love was, as it were, apportioned while being transformed—its redness was in the lip, its warmth in the breast, its smoke in the braid which was covered by bees, its flame in the heart, and its soot (in the form of collyrium) in the eye.’

समजानि न तत्प्रेम त्यक्तं यदीपदपीर्ष्यया  
स्मरसुखसखी नासावीर्ष्या चिना कलहेन या ।  
न खलु कलहः सोऽन्योन्यं यः प्रसादनवर्जितः  
प्रसदनविधिर्नासौ यूनो नै येन विलित्ये ॥ १४,७

‘There was no love engendered by young people which was untainted with jealousy howsoever small, and jealousy a friend of Kāma’s mirth unaccompanied by bickerings was not genuine. These bickerings which lacked mutual conciliation did not serve their proper purpose, and that conciliation was useless which did not melt (the hearts of) young people.’

How close is the sequence of emotions in :

समधित न या रागिद्वन्द्वं बभूव न सा सखी  
न मदनवशे यावस्थातां न तावपि रागिणौ ।  
मिथुनमिषुभिर्विव्याध क्रमेण न स स्मरो  
न्यविशत न यन्मांसग्रन्थीर्निवद्वमभूच्च तत् ॥ १४,४

‘She who did not bring about the meeting of loving couples was not a true friend, and they were not true lovers who were not swayed by Kāma. He was not Kāma who did not pierce the couples with arrows and that was no piercing which did not enter into the vitals.’

The use of the word ‘muhuh’ in the following stanza adds force and beauty to the expression:—

मुहुरविशदा विश्रम्भाद्रीं मुहुः स्मृतमन्यवो  
 मुहुरसरलाः प्रेमप्रहा मुहुर्मुहुरीस्थरा  
 वितथशपथोपालभाज्ञा मुहुर्मधुरा मुहुः ।  
 परिवृष्टिरे निष्पर्यन्ता मिथो मधुरोक्तयः ॥ १४, १२

‘Now indistinct, now moistened with confidence, now reminding of past bickerings, now cunning, now full of affection, now unsteady, now full of false oaths, promises, taunts and commands and again sweet—thus did the mutual pleasant talk prolong endlessly.’

His play of fancy (‘atpreksā’) is clear from the following:—

चषकामिसुखं यदा ननाम  
 प्रमदा भर्तरि भापितान्यगत्रे ।  
 प्रतिब्रिम्बपदेन जातलज्जा  
 मधुनीव प्रविवेश तेन नूनम् ॥ १३, ३६

‘When the young lady leaned on the goblet as her husband called out her rival’s name, she was ashamed and seemed to enter the wine, indeed, by means of her reflection.’

रुचे चषकापिताननाया  
 युवतेरुत्पलषट्पदोऽग्रवर्ती ।  
 समदादिव निर्गतस्तदानीं  
 मनसो मानमयो महान्वकारः ॥ १३, २४

'The lotus-bee in front of the lady's face which was reflected, was like the darkness of pride which had come out of her heart that was full of exhilaration.'

The sunset causes a dismay in the heart of Cakravāka birds and the lotus ponds that were so gay and charming look dreary and desolate. Mark the pathos in the following:—

श्लथजलवेण्यः पतति वारिणि तिग्मकरे  
वपुरवनम्रपद्मवदनाः शतपत्रभुवः ।  
वियुतरथाङ्गनामपृथुपक्षतिनिधूतिभिः  
करतलपीडनाभिरेव जन्मुरथ व्यथिताः ॥ १?, २९

'The afflicted lotus ponds, with their listless watery braids and drooping lotus faces, smote their body with the palms of their hands as if with the flutterings of the separated 'Cakravāka' birds, when the Sun plunged into the water.'

स्फुरित तदेव मरणनविधौ मधुपायिकुलं  
विकसति सैव सान्द्रमकरन्दरसोज्ज्वलता ।  
अथ च गतेऽस्तमंशुमति नैव वभौ नलिनी  
ध्रुवमसुपात एव दयितच्युतिरेतादशाम् ॥ ११, २४

'The same swarm of bees hovers round to decorate it and the transparent flower juice glitters as before, but lotus never did bloom when the Sun had set. For such persons separation from their beloved means death.'

हसितेन जितेव तर्जितेन  
क्षायितेवोन्मथितेव निर्धुतेन ।  
मधुपानमदेन मानिनीनां  
मनसः क्वापि जगाम मानवृत्तिः ॥ १३, १४

'As if vanquished by jokes, weakened by taunts, shaken off by frolics, the pride of high-minded ladies disappeared somewhere from their heart.'

प्रतिमाहिमराश्मिरासवस्थः  
 परिपीतो हिमशीतलस्वभावः ।  
 कुरुते मम कम्पमेष शैत्या  
 दिवि सुग्धा मदघूर्णनं विवेद ॥ १३,८

‘The bashful lady thought that the shiver of intoxication was the result of the drinking in of the moon reflected in the wine, who, being naturally cool like snow, causes trembling on account of her coldness.’

Simple language combined with clearness of thought is seen in the use of *yad*:

यदनिष्ठितवस्तु यत्सहासं  
 यदकारण्डोद्भृति यत्स्वभावमुग्धम् ।  
 यदसाधुपदं सखलत्पदं यत्  
 तदुदैत क्षीवधियां नवं कथासु ॥ १३,१७

‘Whatever was of unsteady purpose, ridiculous, irrelevant, naturally absurd, and out of etiquette, was found afresh in thealks of drunken ones.’

अलसं वचनं दशो विलोलाः  
 स्थिरविश्रम्भरसानि चेष्टितानि ।  
 कलहे इपि रत्ति व्यतन्वतासां  
 मधुना सूपकृतं मनोभवस्य ॥ १३,२०

‘Lazy talk, tremulous eyes, and a behaviour full of confidence, were a source of pleasure even when they quarrelled. Wine rendered a great service to Kāma.’

The description of the rising of the moon is full of fine ideas put in graceful language (it will be found in the comparison with Ratnākara given elsewhere). At the same place will be found the description of the appearance of the masses of darkness which, when compared with the two verses from Māgha is more concise and effective.

चित्रैर्यस्य पतत्रिभिर्दशदिशोभ्रान्त्वा समेतैः मुखं  
विश्रान्तं शयितं प्रभुक्तमुषितं स्कन्धे फलैः प्राप्तिते ।  
तस्यैवोन्मथितस्य दुष्टकरिणा मार्गद्रुमस्याधुना  
कारीषाय कषन्ति शोषपस्थां गोपालवालास्त्वचम् ॥ सुभा. ८१०

‘The dried hard bark of the wayside tree which has now been uprooted by a wretched elephant, (but formerly) on whose trunk laden with fruits various birds having roamed in ten quarters happily used to rest, sleep, eat and dwell together, is being peeled by the cowherd-maids to be used as fuel.’

गतो इतं घर्मशुर्वजसहचरीनोडमधुना  
मुखं भ्रातः सुप्याः सुजनचारितं वायस कृतम् ।  
मधि स्नेहाद्वाष्पस्थगितनयनायामपघृणो  
रुदत्यां यो यानस्त्वयि स विलपत्येष्यति कथम् ॥ सुभा. ११४०

‘The Sun has set. Now go to the nest of your mate, brother, sleep well. Crow, enough of the conduct of that good fellow. How can that pitiless creature, who went away even when my eyes were obstructed by tears, which came out of affection, come at your bewailing?’

मधुलिहः प्रविलोक्य हिमाहतां  
परिचितामपि पङ्कजिनीं जहुः ।  
क सुचिरं क्रियते मलिनात्ममिः  
धृवतरा बत रागमयी मतिः ॥ ८, ९२

‘The bees when they saw the lotus pond made desolate with snow forsook it even though (they were) so familiar (with it). Alas, where can the foul-minded people have a steady and enduring affectionate attitude?’ Kapphinābhuyada VIII, 52

Alliteration, when it adds force to expression and avoids the intricacies of meaning is very carefully employed in the eighth canto, where the last part of every verse is a ‘yamaka:’

सुसुदिते सुरमौ पथिकाः पथि  
स्थिरधृतिक्षति चुक्षुभिरेक्षणात् ।  
शशभृतीव समीयुषि सिन्धवो  
वितिमिरे तिमिरेचितवीचयः ॥ ८,९

‘When the spring season set in, the travellers on their way losing their courage for a moment, were disturbed, just as at the rise of the bright moon the oceans become agitated with their waves disturbed by fish.’ Kapphinābhuyada VIII, 9

Some of the verses attributed to Śivāsvāmin in the Anthologies are written in the style of the Kapphinābhuyadayam, viz.

भोक्तं भड्कत्वा न भुड्क्ते कुटिलविसलताकोटिमिन्दोर्वितकर्त्  
ताराकारांस्तुषातेऽन धिवति पयसः स्थूलबिन्दून्दलस्थान् ।  
छायां सध्वान्तसन्ध्येतलिकुलशबलां वेत्ति चाम्बोरुहाणां  
कान्ताविश्लेषमोरुदेनमपि रजनी मन्यते चक्रवाकः ॥ सुभा० १८२६

‘The ‘cakravāka’ bird having broken it to eat, does not eat the crooked bit of lotus-stalk, thinking it to be the moon. It does not drink, even though thirsty, the big drops of water looking like stars on the lotus leaves. It takes the lustre of the lotuses dappled by bees to be the twilight accompanied by darkness,

(Thus) overtaken by the cowardice of separation from its beloved  
it thinks even the day to be night.'

या विम्बौषुरुचिन विद्रुममणि : स्वप्नेऽपि तां दृष्टवान्  
हासश्रीः मुदृशस्तपोभिरपि किं मुक्ताफलैः प्राप्यते ।  
तत्कान्तिः शतशोऽपि वाहिपतनैर्हेम्नः कुतः सेत्यति  
त्यत्का रत्नमर्यो प्रयासि दयितां कस्मै धनायाव्वग ॥ सुभा० १०३१

'That gleam of lips was never even dreamt of by the 'vidruma' jewel. Can that lustre of laughter of the beautiful-eyed one be obtained by pearls even by penances? Whence can that loveliness be achieved by gold even by falling into fire a hundred times? Leaving your beloved who is so rich in jewels, for what riches, O traveller, are you journeying?'

His fondness for using terms from dramaturgy in *double entendre* is clear from several stanzas (See the list of allusions) in the poem and the verse in Kṣemendrā's *Kavikāṇṭhābharaṇam* which he attributes to Śivāsvāmin is a proof of the same tendency. For example, KKBH V, 1.

आतन्वन् सरसां स्वरूपरचनामानन्दिविन्दुदयं  
भावग्राहि शुभप्रवेशकगुणं गम्भीरगर्गभस्थिति ।  
उच्चैर्वृत्तिसपुष्करव्यातिकरं संसारविष्कर्मकं  
भिन्द्यान्वो भरतस्य भाषितमिव ध्वन्तं पयोयासुन्तम् ॥

'May the waters of the Yamunā displaying a delightful appearance, being a collection of pleasant drops, captivating the feelings, possessing the virtue of auspiciousness for those who bathe in it, having a deep solemn flow and a strong current, having clusters of lotuses, and being a means of putting a stop to the cycle of rebirths, destroy the darkness of your ignorance, like the words of Bharata which manifest their form full of Rasas (sentiments), show the development of Bindu (germ),

are possessed of **Bhāva** (emotion), have the merit of a good **Praveśaka** (Interlude), contain a profound **garbhasandhi** (middle juncture), have a lofty **vṛtti** (style), are pervaded by **Puṣkara** (the art of dancing), and abound in **Viṣkambhakas** (a variety of interludes)’.

Compare *Kapphiṇābhy*, XIII, 40:—

अग्रे विकीर्णनिभृतप्रणायाद्रिवाक्य-  
पुष्पाज्ञालिः सरसविभ्रमसूत्रधारः ।  
प्रस्तावना ददितसन्धिरसैः शिवस्य  
बृद्धि व्यधत्त न्मणीरत्नाटकस्य ॥

‘The stage manager in the guise of delightful amorous sport, scattering in the beginning, the handful of flowers in the form of quiet loveful conversation and with the Emotion caused by the union of the lovers, accomplished his prologue to the auspicious drama of erotic pleasures of the young ladies’.

It is sometimes suggested that *double entendre* and word play in Sanskrit poetry takes away much of the charm in *kāvya*-style. No doubt it is by no means easy to understand such pieces. But they bring out the richness of the language and the skill of the poet to mould the material in different metres. The *citra kāvya* was developed with the art of arraying the armies in different forms in the battlefield. Moreover, high class of sanskrit poetry, which is often called ‘artificial’ was written for the Society who could appreciate such niceties and had the time to indulge in such intellectual pleasures. Sanskrit poets gave the word puzzles a poetic garb which made them more interesting and charming.

Four examples of *double entendre* are given below:—

द्विपदी पदतालयोगभाजः  
सहसारंगवराहरासभाजः ।  
दधते भसा विलासशेभां  
सममैषोऽद्विरिमा नटस्त्रियश्च ॥ ६, १९

'This mountain and the actresses distinctly look graceful—this mountain rich in animals such as antelopes, boars, and asses and goats; and the actresses, who are smiling, are captivating, are skilled in providing amusement, and are adept in singing 'dvīpadīs' to the accompaniment of their dance.'

अचल एष चक्रास्ति सुरश्रिया

कुररकीसाकराततयानया

जगति कुञ्जभुवास्य विराजितं

कुररकीसाकिराततयानया

'This mountain shines with the glory of gods, it is rich in ospreys, apes and hogs, and its grove shines with its path covered with the 'kurara', 'kisa', and 'kirāta' plants'.

The stanza I, 23 (Kapphiṇābhy) can be taken to mean the epithets of Kapphiṇa, Siva and a mountain, viz.

तस्यामहनिकटकस्फुटघीरभद्र-

समृद्धशक्तिमहिमामितभूतिशोभी

भूभृद्भूव बहुदर्शनमोग्यमृतिः

श्रीकाञ्जिगप्रभुस्विनेन्दुकलावचूडः ॥

'In that city reigned king Kapphiṇa who had (an emblem like) the digit of the moon on his crest, who was of immeasurable glory on account of the unrivalled superiority of the united valour of the distinguished heroes of his famous metropolis, whose presence was worthy of enjoyment (even) in (spite of) repeated visits; who resembled a mountain of enjoyable form, which is crested with Indukalā plants, which is possessed of abundant lustre that springs from the luxuriant 'vīrabhadra' grass growing on its formidable ridges; and who was like Siva who has the lord of serpents for his bracelet, who has the digit of the moon for his crest, who has an efficient array of 'ganas', and whose form is worthy of enjoyment even in many visits, and who is possessed of unlimited glory on account of the valour of Vīrabhadra.'

प्रकृतिविकृतिभाजो भंगुरांगम्य भूयः  
 छलगातिपु सहिष्ठोर्वर्वगाकुलस्य  
 स्ततामिति शरीरस्येव राज्यस्य राजन्  
 क्फलमिह परलोकोद्धारशुद्धेः किमन्यत् । ४ । २४ ।

'O king, what can be the perpetual reward of a kingdom, whose constituents are subject to change and alterations of the 'prakृtis', which suffers from movements of conspiracies and which is disturbed by enemies, other than the glory which comes from the capture of an enemy's country; just as in the case of the body whose limbs are perishable, which is subject to the alterations of elements, which is disturbed by passions and which endures all the trickeries of delusion, there can be no better reward than its purification and betterment for life in the next world.'

The poem abounds in *double entendre* and magnificent descriptions. A list of stanzas containing play on words will show its richness in that branch. The figure of corroboration is illustrated by the list of maxims and sayings.

Thus, Śiva-svāmin has tried to give expression to his feelings regarding the life at court of the time he lived in. Saturated with the traditional ideals of writing a 'mahākāvya,' he has described all that was required in such a poem. But the didactic character of his 'mahākāvya' is evident from the finish of his poem.

In his conception of kingly duties, and in his description of a kingdom's prosperity, he conforms merely to the classic ideals laid down by the long line of Hindu law-givers. But singularly enough in the final message to the world, which he puts in the mouth of the Buddha, he reflects, as though in a mirror, the developing tendency of the period to attempt a compromise between Buddhism and orthodox Hinduism. To a Buddhist, the ideal existence is that of a monk who by following the eightfold path is qualifying for the final struggle to break the bonds of the birth-cycle. According to this conception of monastic life, therefore, nothing could have been more calculated to bring eternal glory and 'nirvāna' to king

Kapphiṇa than the change of kingly attire for the mean garb of a Bhikṣu. But the Poet's Buddha is the final link in the chain of Avatars and what could have been more appropriate for him than to end with the message of his predecessor Śrī Kṛṣṇa, and to exhort King Kapphiṇa to serve the Buddha, the Dharmia and the Sangha best by discharging his own regal duties according to the law of Dharma ? We, therefore, find in this poem the treatment of a tendency which found its final expression in another fellow-Kāshmīri Kṣemendra in his Daśāvatāracarita.

### His Language And Metre.

In the use of language Śivasvāmin is by no means less important than Māgha and Ratnākara. His fondness to coin new words such as 'āśāvalli' and 'digvallī' for 'kalpalatā', 'harigopikā' for 'indragopikā'; his use of rare feminine words like 'svādanā', 'sambhāṣanā', 'iṣu', 'sarasi', 'śatpadi', 'kadyā', 'prasannā', 'paṭali', 'kalaśi', 'kalasī', garjā', 'rujā', 'murajā', his employment of rare words like 'akathamkatha', 'ahamahamikā', 'ārālīka', 'ukhā', 'rama', all these are evidence of the richness of his vocabulary and mark him out to be a literary artist of great eminence who experimented with new material and made use of the choicest and rarest forms of expression. He has made a profuse use of Aorists in the Ninth Canto, of Past Perfect forms in the Fourteenth, and of desideratives and denominatives like his fellow writers of Mahākāvyas. The shortening of the long vowel in 'prasūkā' to 'prasukā' (VII,10), and the lengthening of the initial' in 'akasmāt' to 'ākasmāt' (XX,20) are departures from the strict rules of Sanskrit Vyākaranā and are introduced to comply with the adjustment of metre.

In his Mahākāvya, Śivasvāmin has throughout, made a very apt choice of the style (*rīti*) to confirm to the sentiment (*rasa*), and by that harmony imbues the reader with an appeal and charm of his own. In the first five cantos wherein he describes

the scenes in the court of a king attended by chieftains whose enthusiasm is at its height in anticipation of a war, he employs 'ojoguna' in the service of 'vīrarasa'. In the descriptive portion of the poem (VI—XV) he takes us away from the main theme of the poem and uses the 'vaidarbhirīti', whose chief qualities, perspicuity, grace, and elevation are best noticeable in his description of the seasons, the rising of the moon, and the Dawn.

Again in the description of the battle scenes he employs long compounds, hyperbolic expressions, and words which lack sweetness, all these being the qualities of 'gaudi ītti'.

In the closing canto of his poem he has 'mādhurya' (sweetness), 'kānti' (grace) and 'prasāda' (vivacity), which agree with the sublime and tranquillizing influence of the Buddha who is introduced there.

Taking the poem as a whole if we could ignore the 'citra-kāvya', which according to Mammata does not constitute poetry of the highest order, Śivasvāmin's achievement as a Mahākavi does in no way fall short of the ideals of a true Sanskrit poet.

Śivasvāmin has used thirty-eight metres in his poem, but he surpasses Bhāravi and Māgha in employing thirty-four metres where they could only use sixteen and twenty-two in the corresponding cantos of their poems.

#### Metres <sup>(1)</sup> used by Śivasvāmin.

|                 |   |     |
|-----------------|---|-----|
| 1. Anuṣṭubh.    | — | 160 |
| 2. Upendravajrā | — | 9   |
| 3. Indravajrā   | — | 6   |
| 4. Upajāti      | — | 46  |

(1) See on Metre the following books:—

1. H. T. Colebrooke, *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol II, p, 62 ff.
2. A. Borooah, *Sanskrit Prosody* (especially for the use of metre in *Sanskrit Epic Poems*).

|       |                  |   |     |
|-------|------------------|---|-----|
| 5.    | Svāgatā          | — | 46  |
| 6.    | Śālinī           | — | 40  |
| 7.    | Rathoddhatā      | — | 1   |
| 8.    | Vamśastha        | — | 55  |
| 9.    | Indravaimśā.     | — | 1   |
| 10.   | Drutavilambita   | — | 61  |
| 11.   | Pramitākṣara     | — | 2   |
| 12.   | Cancalākṣikā     | — | 1   |
| 13.   | Sragvinī         | — | 1   |
| 14.   | Toṭaka           | — | 1   |
| 15.   | Praharsiṇī       | — | 43  |
| 16.   | Mattamayūri      | — | 41  |
| 17.   | Rucirā           | — | 40  |
| 18.   | Mañjubhāsiṇī     | — | I   |
| 19.   | Vasantatilakam   | — | 65  |
| 20.   | Kurariṛutā       | — | 1   |
| 21.   | Pathyā           | — | 2   |
| 22.   | Malini           | — | 49  |
| 23.   | Śaśikalā         | — | 1   |
| 24.   | Tūṇaka           | — | 1   |
| 25.   | Vāṇīni           | — | 1   |
| 26.   | Nardatākam       | — | 37  |
| 27.   | Hāriṇī           | — | 40  |
| 28.   | Mandākrāntā      | — | 34  |
| 29.   | Sikharinī        | — | 1   |
| 30.   | Vamśapatrapatita | — | 1   |
| 31.   | Sārdūlavikridita | — | 8   |
| 32.   | Sragdharā        | — | 11  |
| 33.   | Aśvalaḥita       | — | 1   |
| 34.   | Viyoginī         | — | 50  |
| 35.   | Puṣpitāgrā       | — | 39  |
| 36.   | Mālabhāriṇī      | — | 41  |
| 37.   | Sikhā            | — | 2   |
| 38.   | Āryā             | — | 42  |
| 39.   | Doubtful         | — | 11  |
| Total |                  |   | 933 |

Pratikas (1) of quotations from the Kapphinabhyudaya and of  
Stanzas Attributed to Śivasvamin.

1. अत्यायतैनियमकारिभिस्तद्वतानाम्  
Kapphinābhya. I, 24. Kāvya IV, 38. S. R. B. p. 110.
2. आतन्वन् सरसां स्वरूपरचनाम्  
KKbh. V, 1.
3. अद्यत्वावधि शिगिदं शिगिदं  
KKbh. IV, 1.
4. आविभ्रती बन्धु बमै नतन्धः  
Kapphinābhya. XII, 29; Tikā. II, 381.
5. उत्खातप्रखरां सुखासुखसखी  
KKbh. IV, 1.
6. उत्खापयन्त्या दयितस्य दूतीम्  
Kapphinābhya. XII, 27; Sbhv. 1416.
7. उत्खास्य कालकरवालनवाम्बुद्वाहं  
Kapphinābhya. I, 24; Kāvya. X, 39. S. R. B. p. 139.
8. किमुपरिगता भर्ता तप्तद्विलोहवदकेता  
Kapphinābhya. XIV, 29; Sbhv. 2099.
9. गतोऽस्तं घर्मीशुः  
Sbhv. 1140.
10. गुणमयोऽपि सदोष इव काचित्  
Kapphinābhya. VII, 30; Sbhv. 1756.
11. चित्रैर्यस्य पतत्रिभिर्दशदिशो  
Sbhv. 810.
12. जवनिकावनिकान्तकृता तदा  
Kapphinābhya. VII, 26. Pada, ii, 6, 3, 32.  
तेजोराशौ भुवनजलये:  
Skm. ii, 713.
14. दृशा सपदि मीलितम्  
Sbhv. 2097.
15. दर्शकाश्यकभूपालौ  
Tikā I, 19 where its sourcee is given as the Kapphinābhya.  
(Not yet identified).

16. दर्पान्वगन्वगजकुम्भकवाटकूट  
*Kapphiṇābhya.* I, 37. *Kāvya* IV, 39. S. R. B. p. 129.
17. नवनमेरुफलावलिरावमौ  
*Kapphiṇābhya.* VIII, 53; *Tīkā* II, 257.
18. नवकदम्बकदम्बकसन्तति  
*Kapphiṇābhya.* VIII, 36. *Tīkā*, IV, 29.
19. निर्मार्श्यसौ नीतिमयेन हेतिना  
*Kapphiṇābhya.* II, 38. *Tīkā* IV, 98.
20. नेषा वेगं मुडुतनुः  
*Sbhv.* 2107.
21. पित्रापि त्रायते या न खलु  
*Kkbh.* IV, 1.
22. प्रसभमिवाङ्गदविह्लामहेला  
*Kapphiṇābhya.* X, 11; *Pada* ii, 6, 1, 2; footnote in *Vyākh-yāsudhā*, under 'mahelā'.
23. प्रेर्यत्तेऽमी परमरयो हर्म्यवातायनानाम्  
*Kapphiṇābhya.* XV, 13; *Tīkā*, II, 39; *Pada* ii, 2, 17.  
 Footnote in *Vyākhyāsudhā* under 'arari'.
24. फलमलघु किं लीलावल्ल्या:  
*Kapphiṇābhya.* XIV, 37. *Skm.* ii, 628.
25. भद्रात्मनो दुरधिरोहतनुर्विशाल  
*Kapphiṇā* I, 38. *Kāvya* II, 29. S. R. B. p. 109.
26. भोक्तुं भङ्गक्त्वा न मुड्क्ते  
*Sbhv.* 1826.
27. मानिनः कुलवधूरिव रगात्  
*Kapphiṇābhya.* XVII, 26. *Tīkā* I, 39; *Subhūti*.
28. मायातश्च्युतिमायातः  
*Kapphiṇābhya.* XVIII, 58; *Tīkā* I, 51.
29. मुक्ताभानि पर्यासि  
*Sbhv.* 710.

(1) See also *KavIndravacanasamuccaya* pp. 111—113 for further details regarding other anthologies.

30. यत्रालसप्रकमसारसाला  
Kapphinābhya. VI, 6; Tīkā IV, 176; where it is read  
prabhārasa.
31. खवावद्वा  
Kapphinābhya. XIX, 14; Tīkā IV, 163; Pada, iii, 4, 12;  
footnote to Vyākhasudhā under addhā.
32. रुद्धं विरोति परिकृष्टपति  
Sbhv. 438.
33. वदननिहिते ताम्बूलांशे  
Kapphinābhya. XIV, 14; Bhv. 2098.
34. व्यसनमचलं यत्राचार्यो  
Kapphinābhya. XIV, 15; Bhv. 15.
35. वदनशशिनः स्पर्शे  
Kapphinābhya. XLV, 33; Bhv. 2101.
36. समजानि न तत्प्रेम  
Kapphinābhya. XIV, 7; Bhv. 2062.
37. स धूर्जटिजटाजूटो  
Subhāśita Harāvalī\*. The authorship is disputed. See  
the Kavīndravacanasamuccaya.
38. सेत्रावाशिश्वावोस  
Kapphinābhya. XVIII, 38; Tīkā I, 132; Manōramā of  
Rāmānathrai p. 176.

Among the above quotations those in Kāvya Prakāsh viz.

- (1) अत्यायतैर्नियमकारिभेद्वनान् (7) ख्लास्यकालकरवालनवाम्बुद्वाहं  
(16) दपान्वगन्वगजकुभकवाट्कूटउ (25) भद्रात्मना दुरधिरोहतनुर्विशाल

have been first traced by me. In सदुक्तिकरणमृत  
ii, 628, is found in Kapphinābhodaya XIV, 37.

#### Buddhist Names And Terms Occurring in The Text.

1. Avadāna I, 2. A legend of glorious achievement,
2. Anātmanavattā XX, 17. The theory that 'ātman' does not exist separately.

3. Āryasatyam VI, 65; XX, The four truths.  
27.
4. Āsrava VI, 69. ‘Subtle defiling matter’.
5. Arhatva VI, 65, The State of being an Arhat.
6. Buddha VI, 46; XVIII, 80; The Enlightened.  
XX, 27.
7. Bodhi I, 1; VI, 69; Wisdom, perfect knowledge.
8. Bhartr, XX, 20; The Buddha.
9. Bhūmi XX, 16; The ten stages of attaining  
'nirvāṇa'.
10. Bhikṣubhāva XX, 23. The state of being a  
Buddhist Monk.
11. Caitya XVI, 10; A Buddhist Sanctuary.
12. Daśabala I, 1; The ten powers possessed by  
the Buddha. (See Acta  
Orientalia Vol. IX, p. 260.)
13. Dharma XVI, 2; XX,  
15, 27 Doctrine.
14. Dr̥ṣṭi XX, 18. Intuition.
15. Duḥkha XX, 14, 15. Suffering.
16. Dhyāna VI, 65. Concentrated Comtemplation.
17. Dhātu VI, 65. Elements.
18. Hetumālā XX, 15. The Chain of causal Laws  
also known 'pratītyasamut-  
pāda'.
19. Jina VI, 23; XVIII, 76. The Buddha.
20. Māra XVI, 7. Temptation.
21. Mukti XX, 18. Salvation.
22. Maitrī XX, 29. Friendliness, one of the  
Pāramitās, 'Perfections'.
23. Mokṣa XVI, 4, 10. Emancipation.
24. Nirvāṇa XVIII, 76;  
XX, 13. Extinction of all suffering.

|     |                                 |  |
|-----|---------------------------------|--|
| 25. | Nirodha XX, 15.                 | Extinction; one of the four noble truths.            |
| 26. | Prātihāri, XVIII, 79;           | One who performs miracles.                           |
| 27. | Prātihārya XVIII, 80;<br>XX, 3. | A miracle.   |
| 28. | Prātisāmīhārya XVIII, 77.       | One who performs miracles.                           |
| 29. | Ratnatraya XX, 26.              | The three jewels—The Buddha, the Dharma, the Sangha. |
| 30. | Rāga XX, 18.                    | Attachment.  |
| 31. | Saṃskāra XX, 25.                | One of the five 'skandhas'.                          |
| 32. | Svāmī XX, 23 <sub>1</sub> .     | The Buddha.  |
| 33. | Sāstṛ XX, 19; XX, 33.           | The Buddha   |
| 34. | Sugata XVI, 10; XX, 3.          | The Buddha.  |
| 35. | Saṃgha VI, 46; XX, 27.          | The Order.   |
| 36. | Sparṣa XX, 14.                  | Sensation.   |
| 37. | Saṃvid VI, 65.                  | Knowledge.   |
| 38. | Ṣadabhijñā VI, 65.              | The one possessed of six psychic powers.             |
| 39. | Upádāna XX, 14.                 | Substratum.  |
| 40. | Vedanā XX, 14.                  | One of the Skandhas.                                 |
| 41. | Vihāra XVI, 10.                 | A Monastery.   |

*Note.*—Śivasvāmin has not used any special terms which could distinctly relate him to any school of Buddhism in Kaśmīra, but has shown his knowledge of the Bauddha philosophy. For full discussion on these terms see—

- i. The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāna by Stcherbatsky 1927.
- ii. The Bodhisattva doctrine by Haradaya, 1932.
- iii. Outlines of Mahāyāna Buddhism by Suzuki, 1907.

#### Important Paurānic Epic, Tāntric, and other allusions in the poem.

1. Astronomical terms, VIII, 55; XII, 14; XIV, 2.
2. Agastya drinking the ocean, XVIII, 50.
3. Balarāma and Yamunā, I, 27.

4. The Churning of the ocean, IV, 19.
5. Dramaturgy, III, 5; IV, 42; VI, 10, 15, 20, 21, 29, 71; XIII, 1, 46; XVIII, 22.
6. Hiranyaagarbha, XI, 2, 34.
7. Indra, VI, 57; XII, 6; XVI, 71; his elephant, XII, 5; XV, 15; his capital, XVI, 5.
8. Janmejaya's serpent sacrifice, III, 18.
9. Kāli or Durgā, I, 10, 37; III, 9; IV, 4; XVI, 7; XVII, 5; XVIII, 10.
10. Kālarātri II, 6; IV, 1; XI, 37.
11. Kāma, I, 21.
12. Kṛṣṇa, III, 4; VI, 18; XI, 33; his mission of peace to the Kauravas, III, 4.
13. Kṛtyā, III, 24, 28; XV, 33.
14. Khāndavadāha, XVII, 12.
15. Lakṣmī, I, 18; X, 19.
16. Musical terms, II, 16.
27. Nala and Damayanti, XVIII, 4.
18. Nāgānanda, VI, 61.
19. Paraśurāma and the Kṣatriyas, IV, 38.
20. Pāṇini, XVIII, 23.
21. Rāhu, I, 13, 27.
22. Siva, III, 13; his dance, V, 43; XI, 2; his laughter, I, 11, 23; his burning of Kāma, II', 13; VI, 73; his burning of Tripura, XVII, 46.
23. The Sun depositing its lustre in the fire at sunset, XV, 25; XVI, 19.
24. Tantric rites, I, 25, 29; V, 44; XV, 33.
25. Tripundraka, I, 30.
26. Viṣṇu, 39; XI, 8; as Vāmana, XI, 9; as the Boar in carnation, III, 37; XVII, 113.
27. Yama, III, 3,

## SOME OF THE MAXIMS AND SAYINGS IN THE POEM.

1. प्रभुविन्यं सानृणतानुजीविना भवन्ति यदस्तुषु तत्त्वेवेदिनः २,२

'This is the return of servants' indebtedness to their masters that they ascertain the essence of things that concern them.'

2. भवन्ति ते भाजनमर्थसंपदां

विदन्ति ये भृत्यजनानुरज्जनम् ॥ २,२०

'They become the recipients of wealth and fortune who know how to please their servants.'

3. रहोहि तद्यत्र न सन्त्यसंस्तुताः २,५४

'That is a place for privacy where there are no strangers.'

4. विपत्तयो ह्युत्तरपरिडतं नरं

त्यजन्ति सिंहं हरिणाङ्गना इव ॥ २,३४

'Miseries leave alone a man who has foresight just as female deer keep away from the lion.'

5. असहनसहवृद्धोत्साहसैकान्तकान्ता

त्रजति नहि नृपश्रीर्दर्घता दर्घसुत्रे ॥ ४,२३

'Glory of a king fostered in the company of intolerance and cherished solely by courage does not last long when he procrastinates.'

6. द्रष्टिममयमयोहि प्राय्यतेजोऽभिषङ्गात्

विघटितकठिनत्वं याति कर्मगयमावम् ॥ ४,२८

'A piece of iron when its hardness has been overcome by the appliance of intense heat becomes serviceable.'

7. किमपि बलमलंघ्यं पश्य तेजास्वितायाः ॥ ४,३३

'Behold what an unsurpassable power glory has.'

8. उपधित्रयशुद्धितोऽस्य किं

कनकस्येव परं परीच्छणम् ९,१६

'What further testing of gold is required when it has been thrice purified.'

9. न हि जातु भवन्ति भद्रगुरा

मतिभूयस्त्वविवेकिताश्रियः ॥ ९,१९

'The glory of prudence and wisdom never perishes.'

10. न हि नैति विपक्षिबन्धुतां

निपुणामात्य परिष्कृतो नृपः । ९,२०

'A king who is surrounded by clever Ministers never courts disaster.'

11. स सखा सुखदुःखयोः समः । ९,२१

'He is the friend who remains the same in grief and happiness.'

12. विजयस्य परं पदं नयः । ९,२४

'Policy is an excellent means of victory.'

13. वहनाय मनो महीयसां

युगपत् क्रोधातितिक्ष्ययोः क्षमम् । ९,३७

'Only the mind of the great is able to contain simultaneously both anger and forbearance.'

14. इयमुज्ज्वलतानुजीविनः

समये संसूतिमेति यत्प्रयोः । ९,४८

'It is the glory of the servant to be remembered by his master at the proper time.'

15. प्रेमाणं फलं खलु परस्परस्यगोष्ठी । ९,९०

'The fruit of affection, indeed, is mutual delightful talk.'

16. तत्सौन्दर्यं साधुगुणाकृष्टमतीना

तृप्यत्युच्चर्येन रुचिः रंसेजनानाम् ७,१८

'That is beauty which can satisfy the taste of worthy people whose minds are attracted by good qualities.'

17. सारः सतां सततमेष सुजन्मलाभो

यत्सत्तुकियां प्रकटयन्ति गृहागतानाम् ७,३८

- ‘The real object and the benefit of the birth of good people is that they always show hospitality to those who come to their houses’.
18. गुणमयोऽपि सदोष इव  
काचित् । ८,३०
- ‘Even the meritorious become ignoble in certain cases’.
19. क्व सुचिरं क्रियते मालिनात्मभिः  
ध्रुवतरा बत रागमयी मतिः ८,९२
- ‘Alas, where can foul-minded people have constant affection for a long time’.
20. सतां मनस्तु परसुखोपकारकृत्, ९,१२
- ‘The mind of the great always looks to the happiness and welfare of others’.
21. स्वशान्ति के कृशाविभवं कर्मर्थिनः ९,३६
- ‘What supplicants approach a person whose glory is gone’.
22. भवति दृढा मधुपायिनां क्व वृत्तिः १०,१४
- ‘Those who drink wine have no strength of purpose’.
23. किमिव हि दुष्करमस्ति रागवृत्तेः । १०,१८
- ‘What is there which is beyond the achievement of the passionate’.
24. द्विपदपिकुत्रचिदावहेत् फलाश्रयम् । १०,२१
- ‘Even calamity at certain times may bring about the best of results’.
25. तनुरपि विषमं तनोति तार्प  
समुपचितप्रग्राह्यस्य खण्डनांशः । १०,२२
- ‘Even the slightest breach of a long-standing affection causes acute affliction’.
26. जनयति हि किमप्यनल्पमोजः  
दृढतरभावकृतः प्रियप्रसादः, १०,२४
- ‘A present from one’s lover offered with great affection produces intense enthusiasm’.

27. फलमभिवाञ्छितनुगदभावि हि भव्यधियाम् ॥ ११.१  
 ‘The good-intentioned have their aspiration closely followed by its achievement’.
28. बत दुरातिकमा कृतविद्यामपि कालगतिः ॥ ११.९  
 ‘Oh, even for those who have mastered themselves it is difficult to transgress the course of time’.
29. न हि महतां चयेऽपि गुणगरैवमेति हतिम् ॥ ११.१८  
 ‘The grandeur of merits does not decrease even when the great people suffer decline’.
30. समागमः कस्य सतां न भूत्ये ॥ १२.४  
 ‘To whom does the company of the noble not bring prosperity’.
31. कृतोपकारे हि निवेशयन्ति,  
 प्राणैरपि प्रत्युपकारमार्यः ॥ १२.१८  
 ‘The noble return their obligations even at the expense of their lives’.
32. सह्यान्तराया न हि रागवृत्तिः ॥ १२.३७  
 ‘Affection does not tolerate any impediment’.
33. तदेव हि प्रेम से एव रागो  
 न स्थायितां यत्र विभर्ति कोपः ॥ १२.४१  
 ‘That is true love, that is real affection, where anger does not last long’.
34. दंधते के न गुणेषु पक्षपातम् ॥ १३.३०  
 ‘Who do not side with virtue’.
35. कालति सुधियां प्रात्रन्यस्तः सहवः गुणं विधिः ॥ १४.२१  
 ‘Instruction imparted by the wise to a deserving person produces thousandfold results’.
36. अन्तःशून्यादपि हि सुमुखे वेधसि स्यात् फलश्रीः ॥ १९.७

'When fortune is favourable one may get good results even from one who is hollow (meritless) within'.

37. दारितादि सृणस्तमे दन्तं न्यस्यति न द्विपः॥ १३,२१

'An elephant who has uprooted mountains will not lower his tusk for a blade of grass'.

38. न बलीयोऽभिभूतस्य त्राणायाम्भुवोऽप्यलम् ॥ १६,३६

'One vanquished by the stronger cannot be saved even by his own kinsmen'.

39. अहो विवृतसाङ्कर्या दुर्मेया शिच्चत्वत्तयः ॥ १६,४१

'Oh, the tendencies of one's mind, the complications of which are concealed, cannot be fathomed'.

40. अपि यत्नप्रमृष्टस्य मलमन्तरमनुज्भतः ।

ताप्रस्यैव खलोक्तस्य श्यामिका लक्षते पुरा । १६,४२

'The vile speech of a wicked person shows its foulness without yielding its inherent impurity though polished with effort, just as copper even though brushed shows black stains'.

41. ईर्ष्यामिलं खलेष्वास्ते विषमाशीविषेष्वैव ॥ १६,४४

'The wicked have foulness of envy just as serpents have venom'.

42. विडम्बनैव पुंसि श्रीः परप्रणातिपांसुले

कार्पित कामपि कुर्वति कूणोः कटककल्पना । १६,५०

'The glory of a person who is soiled with dust by paying homage to others is a mockery. Bracelets do not adorn a person who is armless'.

43. किमोजः सत्यभाषित्वं कःस्वर्थो धर्मसंग्रहः

किं शाठ्यं हतज्ञत्वं का श्रीदोनोन्नातिर्नृणाम् ॥ १६,५१

'What is magnanimity but telling the truth;  
What is selfishness but amassing virtue;  
What is wickedness but ingratitude;  
And what is (true) renown but the uplift of the poor'.

४४. पलायमान पुरुषं रक्तपङ्कमुते पथि ।

अतिकोमलया गत्या कथं श्रीरनुयास्याति ॥ १८,३७

'How can the goddess of glory follow a person who is running away (from the battlefield) as she walks with soft steps on the road covered with the mire of blood'.

४५. स जीवति रुषा यस्य द्विषन्दग्धो न जीवति ।

पलायते यस्तद्वीतो लक्ष्मीस्तस्मात् पलायते ॥ १८,३२

'He alone lives whose enemy cannot survive when burnt with his anger and he who runs away in dread of him (the enemy) is forsaken by the Goddess of Glory'.

४६. आयातोह प्राप्तकाला हि सिद्धिः ॥ २०,२४

'Even Success comes as the proper time for it arrives'.

An alphabetical list of proper names<sup>1</sup> mentioned in the poem.

1. Aja, XVI, 80.
2. Anu, XVI, 85; XVIII, 5.
3. Ambarīṣa, III, 22; IV, 43.
4. Aśmaka, V, 33; XVI, 67.
5. Ākṛti, V, 4.
6. Andhra, III, 17; IV, 22.
7. Babhru, III, 32; IV, 43; XVIII, 19.
8. Bala, III, 8; IV, 22; V, 2, 35; XVI, 76.
9. Bhaṭṭācārya, XX, 36; Father of Śivasvāmin.
10. Bhīma, III, 19; V, 12; XVIII, 25.
11. Bhīṣma, III, 15.

1. Most of the names of the Kings occurring in this poem can be traced in the Mahābhārata and other Purāṇas.

See (i) Ancient Indian Historical Tradition by Pargiter.

(ii) Index to the Names in the Mahābhārata by Sörenson.

12. *Bhiṣmaka*, III, 14; V, 8; XVIII, 21.  
 13. *Bhūridhāman*, III, 10; V, 8; XVIII, 21.  
 14. *Candramitra* XX, 35, The Buddhist preceptor of  
*Śivāsvāmin*.  
 15. *Danta-cakra-or-vaktra*, III, 37.  
 16. *Darśaka*, III, 3; V, 46; XVI, 1, 40, 54, 64; XVII, 1.  
 17. *Dākṣinātya*, XVIII, 43; XX, 19. *Kapphiṇa*.  
 18. *Druma*, V, 35.  
 19. *Dṛḍhadhanus*, III, 21; IV, 21. Cf. *dṛḍharatha*,  
*daśaratha*.  
 20. *Duhṣeṇa*, III, 42, cf. *Pr̥thuṣeṇa*.  
 21. *Dhuhdhu*, XVI, 83.  
 22. *Gada*, III, 33; IV, 22; V, 7.  
 23. *Indu*, III, 25; IV, 22; YVI, 74.  
 24. *Jiṣṇu*, II, 7, 30; IV, 43.  
 25. *Kapphiṇa*, I, 23; II, 18; XVI, 60; XVII, 1, 13; XVIII,  
 80.  
 26. *Karandhama*, III, 36; V, 9; XVIII, 23.  
 27. *Kadambaka*, XVI, 79.  
 28. *Kandu*, XVII, 7.  
 29. *Kirmīra*, III, 16; IV, 22.  
 30. *Kukura*, XVI, 68; XVIII, 10.  
 31. *Kaṅka*, IV, 22.  
 32. *Kauravya*, III, 40.  
 33. *Kośala*, XVIII, 39.  
 34. *Kośaleśvara*, XVIII, 39.  
*Kauśala*, II, 31.  
*Kosalādhipa*, XVIII, 71. } Prasenajit.  
 35. *Kṛpa*, IV, 22.  
 36. *Mada*, XVII, 9.

37. Madraka, V, 35; XVI, 75; XVIII, 19.
38. Manu, XVI, 81.
39. Mucukunda, XVI, 70.
40. Nala, III, 26; IV, 202; V, 10.
41. Narmadā, I, 22.
42. Niśāda, V, 34; XVI, 69.
43. Pavana or Yavana, IV, 22, 43; V, 5.
44. Pāṇḍya, III, 11; IV, 22, 43; XVIII, 16.
45. Pāṇḍu, XVIII, 16.
46. Prasāda, XVI, 72.
47. Pradyota, III, 31; IV, 43.
48. Protha, III, 34; IV, 22, 43; XVIII, 7.
49. Prasenajit, II, 32; V, 31; XVI, 1, 14. 40; XVIII,  
    35, 79.
50. Pr̥thudhvaja, III, 29.
51. Raghu, XVI, 66; XVIII, 6.
52. Rukmin, III, 38; V, 11.
53. Ruru, XVI, 84; XVIII, 6.
54. Revā, I, 42.
55. Sahadeva, XVI, 71.
56. Samudra, III, 20.
57. Subandhu, III, 6.
58. Subāhu, III, 2; IV, 6, 41.
59. Suketu, III, 13.
60. Sura, XVI, 77.
61. Surandhra, V, 35; XVI, 73; XVIII, 4.
62. Surāṣṭr, III, 12; IV, 22.
63. Suśarman, III, 9; IV, 20; V, 3.
64. Sauvīra, V, 35.
65. Sauvīramalla, XVI, 78.
66. Sauvalka, III, 39.
67. Satadhanus, IV, 43.

68. *Satadhvaja*, III, 24; V, 6.
69. *Śrāvasti*, II, 32, 52.
70. *Śruta*, V, 35; XVI, 82.
71. *Śiva*, XVI, 76.
72. *Śivasvāmin*, XX, 38.
73. *Sri Śivasvāmin*, XX, 36.
74. *Śālva*, III, 28.
75. *Śabara*, XVI, 47. *Kapphiṇa*.
76. *Utkala*. III, 18.
77. *Ugrasena*, III, 25.
78. *Vindhya*, I, 2.
79. *Vyādha*, XVIII, 42, *Kapphiṇa*.
80. *Vasudeva*, V, 35.
81. *Yugandhara*, XVIII, 18.

The *Śabdālaṅkāras*<sup>1</sup> used in the *Kapphiṇābhuyadayadam*.

1. Yamakas.

(i) *Vyapeta* and *avyapeta*.

|        |   |     |
|--------|---|-----|
| VI.    | 2, 4, 6, 8, 10, 12, 14, 20, 38,<br>38, 42, 44, 50, 58, 64, 74, 78,<br>84. | =20 |
| VIII.  | 1—59.   | =59 |
| XVIII. | 1, 5, 7, 10, 14, 15, 18, 21 24,<br>29, 65, 72, 75, 77.                    | =14 |

|               |     |  |     |
|---------------|-----|--|-----|
| (ii) Samudga. | VI. | 16, 18, 22, 24, 26, 28, 30, 32,<br>34, 36, 40, 46, 48, 52, 54, 56,<br>60, 62, 66, 68—73. | =25 |
|---------------|-----|--|-----|

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1. See *Kāvyādarśa*, Chapter III.

|                          |   |     |
|--------------------------|---|-----|
| VIII.                    | 60  | -1  |
| XVIII.                   | 60, 74.   | -2  |
| (iii) Sandaṣṭa.          | XVIII. 70.  | -1  |
| (iv) Mahāyamaka.         | XVIII. 64.  | -1  |
| (v) Pratipādapratiſtoma, | XI. 80.   | -1  |
|                          | XVIII, 26,  | -1  |
| 2. Sarvatobhadra         | XVIII, 34.  | -1  |
| 3. Ekākṣara              | XVIII, 56.  | -1  |
| 4. Dvyakṣara             | XVIII 6, 12, 17, 22, 36, 38, 40, 44,<br>46, 48, 49, 52, 55. | =13 |
| 5. Tryakṣara             | XVIII, 51.  | -1  |
| 6. Caturakṣara           | XVIII, 3.   | -1  |
| 7. Niroṣṭhya             | XVIII, 8.   | -1  |
| 8. Atālavya              | XVIII, 20.  | -1  |
| 9. Gomtūrikābandha       | XVIII, 25.  | -1  |
| 10. Murajabandha         | XVIII, 27.  | -1  |
| 11. Kāñcībandha          | XVIII, 63.  | -1  |
| 12. Padmabandha          | XVIII, 31.  | -1  |
| 13. Kriyāguptih          | XVIII. 33.  | -1  |
| <hr/>                    |   |     |
| Total                    | 149   |     |

### CONCLUSION.

The reconstructed Text is based mainly on the readings of M, but where P<sub>2</sub>, p<sub>2</sub>, and P, have furnished better readings a full consideration is given to them. Very few occasions have arisen where emendations were felt a necessity, but every attempt has been made as far as possible to avoid them.

Having gathered together all this information about this Mahākāvya and pursued all this study into the salient points regarding its language, thought, theme, and style, it seems strange that such a poem should have remained comparatively obscure. Although it had the distinction of being quoted and referred to in anthologies and other works it has not, so far, been commented upon. The plausible reason for this seems to be that the Brahmanic Literary Society ignored its importance under the mistaken belief that it celebrated the triumph of a non-Brahmanic faith. It has already been shown that what appears to be a triumph on the surface is in reality an attempt to reflect the growing tendency of the time to absorb Buddhism in the fold of Vaiṣṇavism.

In conclusion, I welcome this opportunity to express my deep sense of gratitude to Professor F. W. Thomas, who initiated me during my studies at Oxford into this field of Research in Kāvya Literature. But for his kind and generous help it would have been impossible to bring to light this literary production of Sivasvāmin, which has remained in the dark for the last millenium. I should also like to express my obligations to the Librarian, India Office Library, who kindly undertook to supply me with transcripts of the poem from the Libraries at Puri and in Kashmir. To Sir Aurel Stein I am grateful for his permission to use one of the MSS. in his Kashmir Collection deposited in the Indian Institute Library, Oxford.

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GAURI SHANKAR.

## A MARATHI IDIOM.

*Sten Konow.*

When I was preparing the Marathi Volume of the Linguistic Survey of India I became interested in an idiom which I thought had an exact parallel in my own language, while it did not seem to me to be in accord with the general structure of Marathi: a person or thing which is going to be spoken of is first, so to say, introduced through a noun in the nominative case, and then incorporated into the context by means of a pronoun.

The idiom has been mentioned *e.g.* in Rev. Ganpatrao R. Navalkar's The Student's Marathi Grammar (3rd edition, Bombay 1894, paras. 566 ff.):

"The demonstratives *hā* and *asā* are often used appositionally, and serve the following uses:—

1. *hā* is often used in apposition to the subject, when the nominal predicate defines or explains the latter: *Rāmā hā Gopālrāwātsā mulgā hotā*, Rāmā was the son of Gopālrāo; *Mumbaī hē śahar āhe*, Bombay is a city.

3. The appositional *hā* is inflected instead of the nouns for which it stands: *hattī ghōde āṇi bail hyās tsārā ghālā*, give grass to the elephants, horses and oxen; *Rāmā Hari āṇi Gopāl hyā-peksā Sakhī huṣār āhe*, Sakhī is cleverer than Rāmā, Hari, and Gopāl".

Every Marathi book contains examples of this idiom. The following are taken from the Śukasaptati (ed. Schmidt, Leipzig 1897) :—

1. *Dewśarmā brāhmaṇ yācī awasthā kaśī ghaḍī*, the brāhmaṇ Dewśarmā, his state how became (p. 1);

2. *Tyātsā mitr Trivikram yāṇē Vīdagdhacūḍāmanī yā-nāmē suk va Mālatī nāmē mainā yā-pramāṇē don paksī Madnās āṇūn dile*, his friend Trivikram,—by him, Vīdagdhacūḍāmanī,—by this name a parrot, and a mainā by name Mālatī, — so much,

two birds were brought and given to Madan i.e. his friend Trivikram gave Madan two birds, viz. the parrot Vidagdhacūḍāmaṇi and the mainā Mālatī (p. 1): 3. **Guncandr** nāmē rājā yāce putrā sahawartmān ramāvē yā-staw nānā prakārē śringār karūn tsālili, she used to put on various decoration for this purpose: it should be sported together with the son of him, viz. the rājā Guncandr (p. 4); 4. tō dwārpāl yās dhūrt-Vimal yānē sāmgitiē hotē, then it had been said by him, viz. the false Vimal, to them, viz. the door-keepers (p. 13): 5. **Bhimak** nāmē rājā hotā tyātsā putr Mohan to Haridatt nāmē sāwkār yāci stri Lakṣmī tij barobor sambhog karāvyās icchit hotā, there was a rājā named Bhimak, his son Mohan,—he was wishing to enjoy himself with her, viz. Lakṣmī, the wife of him, viz. the banker named Haridatt.

Such sentences do not only belong to the literary language, but are, as may be seen from Mr. Navalkar's remarks, used in daily speech.

In the Marathi volume of the Linguistic Survey we read on p. 255: Pāṭgowāṛītsā Cindhu Lodhī yācyā kaḍe tū tsākṛī hotās kā, Cindhu Lodhī of Pāṭgowāṛī,—were you in his service? Here it is quite clear that the purpose is to draw attention to Cindhu Lodhī, to introduce him as the chief person concerned with the matter in question, and such is evidently the case in most instances.

It will be seen that the proleptic noun is usually without any syntactical connexion with the ensuing sentence. In the opening of the fifth Śukasaptati example, however, we find a whole sentence used instead of a proleptic noun, the predicate hotā being, it is true, originally a participle, and often the resuming word is not an ordinary pronoun, but an adverb. Thus in the Linguistic Survey, p. 256: to nidzā hotā tewhā tyācyā aṅgā warats hote, he sleeping was,—then, were they on his body? and, similarly in the Śukasaptati, p. 1: pūrvī Candrakalā nagrice ṭhāyī Vikramsen rājā rājya karjt astā tethē konjek Haridatt nāmē

sāwkār rāhat hotā, formerly when King Vikramsen was reigning in Candrakala town,—there a banker named Haridatt was staying.

The same idiom is also known in Hindi. Thus S. H. Kellogg in his Grammar of the Hindi language (2nd edition, London 1893, para 675 c.) says that the nominative case ‘sometimes stands independently by *anakolouthon*: as *Mahārāj we baiṭhe hāi*, the great king,—he is seated; *Sāstravīc्यā au ūṣṭravidyā ye dōū uñc padvī dainewārī hāi*, sacred science and military science,—these two confer high rank’.

Professor Turner has been good enough to give me the following, similar, sentences from Nepali: *Rāma bhane āyo*, Rāma,—he came; *Bujhasatva bhane le mahākaṣṭa pāyo*, as for Bujhasatva,—he fell into misfortune; *timi bhane cardo umer-ki rabi chen*, *swāmi bhane buṛā rahi chan*, as for you,—you are in the presence of life: your husband,—he is old.

Similar turns of expression will probably also be found in other Indo-Aryan vernaculars, and they are also to be met with, outside India, e. g. in Germanic languages. The following are taken from Falk og Torp, Dansk-norskens syntax [Kristiania 1900, p. 276]: *Eirikr hinn sigrsæli konungr i Svíujóð*, hann hafði fengit, Eirik the Victorious, king of Sweden,—he had got; *inn gamli hrímmururs*, hann kollum ver Ymir, the old ogre,—him we call Ymer; men *Thor han haver sin hammer mist*, but Thor,—he has lost his hammer; ja, ein derber and trockener Spass, nichts geht uns darueber. yes, a saucy and dry fun,—nothing surpasses that.

It is not necessary to look out for further non-Indian parallels. The idiom is evidently spread over a wide area, and we have every reason for thinking that it is fairly old.

In India it can be traced back to an early period. In his paper on the Manikiala inscription (Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society 1909, p. 650). Professor Lueders mentions “those parenthetical sentences that are found in Pali prose texts,” and gives as an example Jātaka I, 278: *bodhisatto nāgabalo*

thāmasampanno nadiyā orimatirato uppatitvā dīpakassa orato nadimajjhe eko piṭhipasāṇo atthi tasmin nipatati, the Bodhiastva, having the vigour of an elephant and full of strength, having jumped from this side of the river,—on this side of the island, in the midst of the river, is a projecting rock,—on that he jumps down.

Another example of the same kind (l. c. IV, p. 290) may follow: tadā te ubho samvāsam kappetvā tasmim yeva sare ekasmim dīpake kalamarukkho atthi samantā udakena parikhitto tasmim kulāvakam katvā paṭivasiṃsu, then those two, having set up a joint household, in that very lake, on an island, is a kalamba-tree,—there they built their nest and lived.

In both these instances we seem to be justified in speaking of parenthetical sentences. What we have before us is, first a nominative, accompanied by a gerund, and introducing us to the real subject; then a complete sentence indicating a locality, and, finally, a clause, giving the relationship between both.

The contents of the “parenthetical” sentence can, however, also be given as an independent nominative. I take the following examples from the Dīghanikāya, Vol. III; so sattamadivasam alasakena kālam karissati, kālakato ca Kalakañjā nāma asurā sabbanihino asurakāyo tatra uppajjissati (p. 1), in seven days he will die, and having died—the Asuras called Kalakañja, the lowest Asura host,—there he will be born; puratthimena Vesāliyam Udenam nāma cetiyam tam nātikkameyyam (p. 7), to the east of Vaiśālī the caitya called Udayana,—that I may not go beyond.

We may call such sentences parenthetical, but we might also speak of proleptic nominatives, and at all events there is a striking similarity with the Marathi idiom, even more, perhaps, than seems to be the case at first sight.

From Pāli I turn to the north-western Prakrit of the Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions.

In the Patika copper-plate we read after the date: *etaye purvaye* *kṣaharatasa Cukhsasa ca kṣatrapasa Liako Kusuluko nama tasā putro Patiko Takhaśilaye nagare utareṇa pracu deśo Kṣema nama atra [\*de]śe Patiko apratiḥavita bhagavita Śakamunīsa śariram [\*pra]tithaveti, on this day,<sup>1</sup> of the kṣaharāta and kṣatrapa of Cukhsa,—Liaka Kusulaka by name, his son Patika,—in the town of Takhaśilā, the north-eastern region, Kṣema by name—there Patika establishes a non-established relic of Bhagavat Śākyamuni. Here we can be in doubt about the words *kṣaharatasa Cukhsasa ca kṣatrapasa*. They may be connected with the preceding *etaye purvaye*, or else the sentence starts with the case required by the context, but then runs on through unconnected, proleptic, nominatives.*

The inscription on the Mathura Lion Capital begins: *mahaśa-[tra]vasa Rajulasa agramaheś(r)i Ayasia Kumuia dhit(r)a Kharaostasa yuvaraṇa mat(r)a Nadadiakasa [taye] . . . Śarira prat(r)itihavit(r)o*, the mahākṣatrapa Rājula's queen, Ayasia Kamuia, daughter of the crown-prince Kharaosta, mother of Nadadiaka, by her a reliquary was established.

In the Wardak inscription we have, after the date: *imeṇa ga-d(r)ig(r)eṇa Kamagulyaputra Vagramareg(r)a s(r)a iśi Khav-adam(r)i kadalaig(r)a Vagramarig(r)a viharam(r)i thu-[ba]m(r)i bhag(r)avada Śākyamunī śarira parīthaveti*, at that instant the Kamagulya-scion Vagramarega,—he being settled here in Khawat, in the Vagrmaregavihāra, in a stūpa establishes Bhagavat Śākyamuni's reliquary.

1. I take *pūrvā* to mean tithi. Since there may be two tithis ending on the same civil day, in which case the first gives the number of the day, and since *pūrvā* especially means “the first of two” (cf. Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik III, para 203d), I think that *pūrvā* in such dates means “deciding tithi” and then tithi generally. If I am right, this detail is of importance for the question about the Indian calendar.

It will be seen that we have everywhere to do with proleptic nominatives, or with parenthetical sentences.

But we can go still further back. In *The Syntax of cases in the narrative and descriptive prose of the Brāhmaṇas*, Vol. I. (Heidelberg 1926), p 1ff., Professor Oertel says; "In a normal Indo-European sentence a given case-form is chiefly related to some other element of the sentence; in fact, the expression of such relation of one member of a clause to another is the main function,—and from the point of view of strict syntax the only function—, of the Indo-European declensional endings" . . . . "But there are instances in which the close knitting of a clause is loosened and a certain disintegration, the degree of which may vary, sets in. When such a loosening of the syntactical joints, in whatever degree, has taken place we may speak of the **disjunct use of case-forms.**"

"A noun may retain the case-form which is required by the syntactical setting but be lifted out of its proper place and placed usually at the head of the clause, and be then resumed in its proper place by a demonstrative pronoun."

"Instead of the resumption of the proleptic case by a demonstrative pronoun the incipient disintegration may be outwardly marked by the intrusion of a particle separating the proleptic case from the main verb . . . This kind of prolepsis is confined to the nominative. It contains the germ of an absolute case. The verb is always accompanied by an infinite verb-form, either a participle or a gerund.'

"A noun may be lifted out of the sentence, but instead of showing the proper case-form required by the syntactical setting it is put in the nominative case and later resumed by a demonstrative pronoun in the proper oblique case. The nominative which thus anticipates an oblique case is, from the syntactical point of view, wholly severed from the rest of the clause and hangs, so to speak, in the air.'

It would be difficult to give a better commentary on the various sentences discussed above. I shall add some of Professor Oertel's examples of this progressive "disintegration":—

**Samvatsaro** *vaiv-aitān so'ntarātiṣṭhat*, the year indeed.—  
*that stood between them; devāḥ pitaro manusyāḥ te'anyata āsan*, the gods, fathers, men, they were on one side; *tat puruṣo 'mānavah sa enān brahma gamayati*, then a non-human man,—he makes them go to the Brahma; *'prāṇo 'pānas cakṣuḥ śrotram ity etāni vai puruṣam akaran*, out-breathing, in-breathing, sight, hearing,—these have made man; *prāṇam vyānam apānam tān eva yajamāne dadhāti*, out-breathing, through-breathing, in-breathing—these he places into the sacrificer; *yājñāya yajamānāya ātmane tebhya ev-āśisam āśāste*, for the sacrifice, for the sacrificer, for himself,—for them he makes a blessing; *paśavo vāg indriyam prāṇapānau tair vā Indro 'kāmayata sāyujyam gaccheyam iti*, cattle, vigour, out-and in-breathing,—with them Indra wished: may I be united; *devā ha vai yajñam tanvānāś te 'surarakṣebhya āsaṅgad bibhayām cakruḥ*, the gods being engaged in performing the sacrifice,—they were afraid of the Asuras and Rakṣasas lest they should cling to them; *Kaṇvo vai Nārṣado jyog apratisthaś caran so 'kāmayata*, Kanva Nārṣada, wandering for a long time without support—he desired; *Indro vai vṛtrām hatvā sa imāml lokān abhyajayat*, Indra having slain vṛtra—he won these worlds;

*ātithyena* *vai devā iṣṭvā tānt samad avindat*, the gods having sacrificed with the great-offering, them discord befell;

*sa vai catur upahvayamāno 'tha nān-ev-opahvayate*, verily he calling four times upon (her),—yet he calls upon (her) in different ways, as it were;

*devāś cā va asurāś c-āditye vyāyacchantas tam devā abhyajayan*, the gods and the Asuras contending about āditya,—him the gods won.

It will be seen that we have exactly the same turn of expression as in the modern idiom. I have arranged the sentences in accordance with Professor Oertel's view, and they apparently allow us to follow the development from the strictly syntactical sequence through prolepsis to something which we may call an absolute nominative.

"The psychological process", says Professor Oertel, "which gives rise to the Pendent Nominative appears to be as follows: The speaker begins to utter his statement before the syntactical mould into which his thought is to be cast is fully matured, *i. e.* before the syntactical integration of its parts has fully taken place. As he starts speaking, his attention is fixed upon a single item of the thought-complex irrespective of the relation which it will ultimately bear to the other elements of the clause. The remainder of the thought-complex takes its syntactical shape after the pendent nominative has been uttered and thus the proper syntactical relation of the nominative to the rest of the sentence must be afterwards indicated by a resumptive pronoun. The nominative is chosen as pendent case because it is the only case which not only expresses (as subject case) syntactical relation but also implies the absence of all syntactical relation (as in titles, headings lists). Conversely the attention of the hearer is more strongly directed to such an abnormal nominative, so that the emphatic attention of the speaker is communicated to the hearer."

The process described by Professor Oertel is psychologically quite intelligible, and, if his view is right, we should have to assume that it had taken place independently in several Indo-European languages. And in India it must have begun at a very early date. For a good example is *e. g.* found in the very first hymn of the Rgveda, *v. 2*. **Agnih pürvebhīr ṛṣibhir īdyo nūtanair uta, sa devā eha vakṣati,** Agni, worthy of praise by old ṛṣis and by new ones,—he will bring the gods hither.

I have already mentioned some European parallels. And in Iranian we have quite similar idioms.

In the Behistun inscriptions of Darius we read: *pasāva I martiya maguš āha Gaumāta nāma hauv udapatatā hacā Paiši yāuvādāyā arakadriš nāma kaufa hacā avadaša* (I, II), then there was a Magus, Gaumāta by name,—he started from Paišiyāuvādā, the hill called Arakadri,—from that avam *Gaumātam tyam magum avājanam utā tyai-šaiy fratamā martiyā anušiyā āhantā Sikayauvatiš nāmā didā Nisāya nāma dahyauš Mādaiy avadašim avājanam.* that Magus Gaumāta I slew and the foremost men who followed him,—the fastness called Sikayauvati, the province called Nisāya, in Media,—there I slew him; *pasāva adam kāram frāišayam Vidarna nāma Pārsa manā bandaka avamšām mavištam akunavam—yavā Mādam parārasa Maruš nāma vardanam Mādaiy avadā hamaranam akunaus* (II 6), afterwards I sent an army,—the Persian named Vidarna., my subject,—him I made their chief; when he came to Media,—the town called Maru, there he made battle.

Here it does not seem to be the case that the speaker was not, to begin with, conscious of the syntactical connexion. It is evident that the use of the pendent nominative is due to his desire to be precise, to draw attention to the person or locality mentioned in the pendent nominative. And this consideration, and the wide distribution of the idiom, lead me to the conclusion that here we have the explanation of the phenomenon. It is not due to a loosening of the syntactical joints, but takes us back to a pre-syntactical stage of the language, which has left its traces, as *samskāras*, in various Indo-European languages.

Professor Oertel rightly remarks that the Indo-European nominative is not only the case form of the subject, but is also used when there is no syntactical relation, where the purpose is only to mention, to single out some person or thing to which attention is drawn. And this is probably the oldest function of the nominative, and we may be justified in raising the question whether the common *s-* suffix is not, in its origin, identical with the demonstrative pronoun *sa*, used to resume the word just as in our idiom. It might even, with some plausibility, be contended that the case in-

flexion generally has taken its origin from pronominal additions, and this view could be strengthened through parallels e. g. from Munda and Tibeto-Burman languages.

At all events, the non-syntactical use of the nominative dates back to the Indo-European period, and the wide-spread use of the pendent nominative in many Indo-European languages is an old inheritance, which has held its own in spite of the development of a connected syntax.

We are sometimes reminded of the well-known arrangement of some Gandhāra sculptures.

If we look at Fig. 254 in M. Foucher's standard work, *L'art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*, we have, to the left, a monkey carrying an alms-bowl, in the centre the Buddha seated with the bowl in his hands, and, to the right, the monkey going away empty handed: *vānaraḥ kaścit pātram gṛhitvā—Buddho Bhagavān padmāsana āśinas,—taśmai dattvā so 'pākrāmat*, would be an adequate description of the scene. The artist visualizes the various stages, one after the other, without melting them together into one picture.

The narrative style represented by our idiom proceeds in the same way. The speaker has the occurrence before his mind's eye, and visualizes detail after detail. We are reminded of the frequent, and no doubt very old, use of parataxis instead of hypotaxis, a state of things, which has never been quite discarded in Sanskrit, especially when some person's words are rendered.

We are fully justified in speaking of an ancient visualistic style, and it would not be difficult to point at its traces in several features of Sanskrit syntax. The clearest ones are perhaps found in the idiom dealt within the preceding pages.

## MAN AND HIS BECOMING IN THE UPANIṢADS.

*Mrs. Rhys Davids, D. Litt., M.A.*

I am here suggesting, that this is a needed study. It would surely be a good thing, if of those who are competent, some man would undertake it in some detail. Without such guidance, we others, the incompetent, walk stumblingly; first because of the language, secondly because of the translators, and the commentators, of later dates, on whom they too largely depend. There is first the Vedic double verb to express existence, past, present, future: **as** and **bhū** (**bhav-**), paralleled by the German **sein** and **werden**, but for which we English, to our much loss, have not kept alive a second verb as strong as the first. Now it needs first-hand acquaintance with texts and with historic changes in **their** idiom to pronounce, with a flair born of long experience, whether in a given passage the word **bhū**, as **bhavati** or otherwise inflected, means a more than does **asti**, or a less, or the same or not the same.

I wrote on this matter to my friend and fellow-worker, Mr. Helmer Smith, asking too about the parallel Swedish terms, which are of much interest. In his kind, informative reply, which I am permitted to quote, he concludes by seeing danger in German treatment of the Vedic in this connexion, their language being too supple, too rich, their "marvellous philosophical vocabulary being borrowed from Romanticism." and that when, e. g., the Upaniṣads give us the time-triad in terms of **bhū**: **yad bhūtac ca bhavac ca bhaviṣyac ca**,<sup>1</sup> or again **anyatra bhūtāc ca bhavyāc ca**,<sup>2</sup> "this **bhavat** is not necessarily **das Werdende**."

As to that I would reply: Gently, my friend, it is not a constant rendering of **bhavat** by **werden** in the German (Deussen) and

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1. Br̥h 3, 8, 3.

2. Kath. 2, 14. So in many other passages.

German-born (Max Müller) translators' works that has led me to put forward this inquiry. It is rather their frequent evasion of **werden** or become; their recourse not only to **asti**, but to other and makeshift terms which has helped to force the inquiry from me; forced me to ask here (a) Is **bhava**— sometimes either just **asti**, or one of those makeshifts? (b) Has a commentator been seducing? (c) Has there been a wish, conscious or unconscious, to belittle the significance in '**werden**', '**becoming**', either in the translator's own mind, or as not to be made much of in the utterances of the older Upaniṣads?

Let me first dwell on that wish as indicative of a present day attitude. Our literature has rung with the word evolution for some time, but so much have we been concerned with its application to things material, that we have never fitly linked it up with the idea of becoming as of the nature of the very man. And by man, I do not mean mind, or a complex or product of mind and body; I mean the mind-er, he whose ways in using body are mind.<sup>1</sup> But then we think about this as we do, as M. Bergson reminded us some years ago in London<sup>2</sup>—just because our science happened to begin with the material and not with the immaterial. We shall one day be as alive and alert about the unseen very man, the **puruṣa**, as essentially in process of becoming, as we are now about evolutionary processes in matter.

I say this, as in the second place true of modern treatises on the Upaniṣads, so far as I have had access to them. These works have rung with the phrase **Tat tvam asi** for some time, yet so much have they been concerned with identity as being, that the tremen-

1. Presidential Address, Soc. for Psychical Research.

2. "Not the bundle\_\_\_\_called the "me", but the I\_\_\_\_who inspects it." G. Radha Krishnan, Philosophy of the Upaniṣads.

dous problem of identity through becoming has, so I have found, been relatively neglected. I have consulted several such works, also indexes and tables of contents. But either the word Becoming is omitted (*e. g.* the Index volume on S. B. E.), or it is barely mentioned (*e. g.* Dr. Hume's translation, on which more presently), or it is only mentioned as being "contested" (*e. g.* Deussen's translation, on which more presently).

Now in that the word has been practically passed over, this can only mean one of the three things : either (*a*) the writer, or (*b*) the indexer, or both were not interested in the word becoming, or (*c*) the Upaniṣads do not show such interest in it as to merit treatment, or index-place. As to the last instance in indexes, given above, surely, if a term be so significant, that the "contesting" (*Bekämpfung*) of it is sufficiently prominent in the text to call for a place in the Index, there is good reason, in a great historic succession such as the Upaniṣads admittedly form, to suspect, that the same term has, earlier in that succession, been championed. And I contend<sup>2</sup> that we do find this upholding of 'becoming'. But Deussen happened to be not only a fervent Vedāntist, but a staunch Parmenidean—he admitted as much to me himself—for whom "what is, is", for whom becoming was "illusion." Hence, whereas he is very happy over the **Bestreitung** of *Werden* in *Īśā* & *Māṇḍukya*, & its "glorious continuation in Gaudapāda's *Kārikā*",<sup>1</sup> he tends to belittle the striking and very frequent *bhū*-references in the older Upaniṣads, and often uses a weak substitute for what we should expect to find rendered by *werden*.

To take but one instance out of dozens: in the well known passage on the dissolution of the bodily and mental complex, *Bṛhad.* 3,2,13 : *kvāyam tadā puruṣo bhavati?* "where then does the

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1. Sechzig Upanishad, P. 527. f.

'man' (the soul) come-to-be ?, in other words, "where there-after does the becoming (which is the very life of the soul) go on?" Deussen makes the feeble rendering "Wo bleibt dann der Mensch (remains the man)?" Does the Sanskritist rejoin : But **bhavati** here means just "is," "happens" "finds himself?" He does not convince me. but I bow and give another instance. In Taittiriya 1.4.1, **a nṛtasya Deva dhāraṇī bhūyasam**: "May I, O God, become bearer of the immortal" "Deussen gives us" möge ich . . . sein" What waste of a fine word ready to hand! Surely the act of praying is man's will reaching into the Divine Will willing to become, to **be-a-More** than he **is!** There is not even metrical excuse, for he has anyway, in rendering otherwise faithfully, got too much into the line to scan. Deussen then **didn't want** to find any signs of appreciated becoming ; he was not a sufficiently disinterested historian to seek for such signs ; he even went out of his way to avoid them. He is therefore no safe guide for those who depend on translations.

Nor for that matter are Röer and Max-Müller, or in the one, the greatest Upaniṣad- Brhadāraṇyaka—Herold.<sup>1</sup> Far better in this one subject do I find Dr. R. E. Hume, who renders **bhava-** by 'become' far oftener than any of those four, even though he too here and there lapses. To take an instance out of many : he alone of all the five has, in the following, 'become' and not 'is' :—in the life (in his other body) of the man in the earth-body's sleep, earthly relations become invalid; "mother becomes not mother—śramaṇa not Sramaṇa—Vedas not Vedas"—<sup>2</sup> how

1. Messrs. Mead and Chattopadyaya's translation—alas! unfinished, but breathing more the Indian Spirit than any other—usually has 'become', but there too ~~are~~ a few lapses and makeshift terms.
2. Brḥ. 4, 3, 22.

much better and fitter here is ‘becomes’ than ‘is’! And yet, in the impressive teaching of the homily in the Taittiriya, taken over by the Sakyans:<sup>8</sup> **matrdevo bhava, ‘pitṛdevo bhava’**—become he-who-has-mother-(as)-God, become he-who has-father (as)-God, Dr. Hume with the rest falls back on ‘Be one for whom, etc.’ Just as if the teacher were not trying to make the pupil *come to be better*, more, than he has been! And further, when, in the Maitri Upaniṣad, (6, 8), the teacher urges that the Ātman be sought after under its many attributes (the list is probably later) of Isāna, Śambhu, Bhava—, Dr. Hume has preferred here to render the last as “the Existential”, and not as the Becoming—and leaves us wondering.

This may sound captious, but it will be, I think, conceded, that if we use a static term, (and that the strongest we have—be—) for an idea which is pretty obviously dynamic, progressive, we are **weakening the emphasis on the progress:** we are literally, if not virtually, using the drill-sergeant’s command: “As you were!” We are bidding, if not like the sergeant, to revert, at best to be “marking time”. Now my concern in these suggestions is with his other order: “March!”. I have after years of study been driven to hear **that** in the mandate of Śākyamuni; and in studying him and his day, I am driven to see, that it was also in the mandate of the advanced wing of that day, in teachers of the established religion.

I will try briefly to buttress this assertion. Conceding all the way to the Vedic expert, that **bhū** may not always mean as strong a “More” over **as**— as becoming is over being, I would at least remind him of this: In the Rik and Sama Vedas I find the verb **bhū-**, **bhava-**, finite tenses only, used some 40 times. In the 9 Upaniṣads, generally ranked as the oldest, I find the same finite verb used some 300 times. Bulk for bulk I believe this

represents a great proportional increase, in the use of the **bhū** by the latter over the use in the former stratum of Vedic literature. The old Upaniṣads are mainly in prose as the Vedas are not; but, in the few metrical portions also use is made of **bhū**; it is not a word confined to prose. The **bhū** contexts in these Upaniṣads are as follows (approximately) :

|          |      |            |      |               |      |
|----------|------|------------|------|---------------|------|
| Aitareya | — 4  | Kauśitaki  | — 18 | Bṛhadāranyaka | — 86 |
| Kaṭha    | — 18 | Chhāndogya | — 60 | Maitri        | — 16 |
| Kena     | — 2  | Taittirīya | — 10 | Śvetāśvatara  | — 6  |

If to these we add the number of times the verb is used within many of the contexts, we get at least 300. It will be said, that from these we must deduct the cases of the verb used in the future, where **as** becomes **bhū**. I on the contrary would suggest, that the preoccupation with the future, worded necessarily as "will become" weakens the case for "being". It is a good point for the metaphysician who has seen that he must broaden his outlook by including history: Does Being, as that which will be, remain Being?

Other cases for which deduction may be claimed are matters of material change or happening: as in Bṛh. 6, 3, 13: "fourfold becomes the wood of the figtree," or whereas in German, one would say **es wurde Nacht** for night fell. And there is the (apparent) idiomatic expression: **tad api eṣo śloko bhavati**, rendered "as to that there is this verse." Translators have apparently thought that the speaker is quoting a mantra. I would suggest, that save where, if at all, the passage is recognized as of a Veda, or of an Upaniṣad deemed older, it may be that a coming to pass of a creative effort is meant: the teacher suspends his prose; improvising afflatus has arisen: "there becomes (in me) this verse....". In Pali the expression is common in the Aorist: **evam assa ahosi**: "thus it occurred to him". But I deduct and pass.

There still remains, as I rightly or wrongly see it, a preoccupation with the word 'become', which in its frequency is I believe

new, and as new, significant of something new in teaching. I must here be content with the numerical statement. Were I to give the full analysis I have made, this sketch would grow too long. Our translators, excepting the welcome literalness in this respect in Dr. Hume, show, that either 'to be', or other words *could have been used* by the utterers (and by later editors), where in the text we find 'to become.' But they don't; they choose to use **bhava**—And I am not here including the future tense; I am concerned with the marked frequency of **bhavati**; (as present or 'historic present') and also with this, that in nearly every case it is used of the very man, the self; and also with this, that in most cases we see the man, in becoming, as becoming More, and also, here and there as becoming the Most. In this frequency I see no mere chance, no wording without a cause.

Rightly or wrongly I see in it a pre-occupation with the man, not as being, but as in process of becoming, which is new, and which is or should be felt to be, deeply significant. So deeply or I would say, so highly significant, that it could not be more so. I seem in these Upaniṣads to be in a world of teachers profoundly convinced of the truth of a great and new mandate in religion, *not put forward as new by them*—but by a Helper of man of an earlier, not much earlier date—which they are developing, amplifying, vindicating. That mandate was, that the man has it in his nature, by becoming More to become ultimately. That Most Who he (potentially) is. *They had no word for "potentially". (We owe the wording to Aristotle.)* So they fell back on the word, the great word which they had at hand, the word "become." "Man is Brahman" means: Man is becoming Brahman:—*Tat tvam bhavasi*. Once we substitute this verb for the **asi** which editors have, with a repudiated Becoming, handed down to us, then a gospel which, as stated, is perhaps the height of impiety, becomes a message of light and hope to *every* man, in that it is the *very guarantee* of his personal salvation, in that it makes every stage in life, no matter

how many the lives, supremely worth living.

But with man as linked, in Becoming, with Deity, there would necessarily go a mighty *sublimation of that attribute*. And so we find it raised "to the highest power": we find it as positive attribute of Deity in action in the creation, as conceived in Taittir ya, Brhadāranyaka and elsewhere. Here is no mere uttered fiat: here is the Divine Artist becoming, Itself becoming, *in the desire from being One to become More, Many*; "Let Me bring forth Myself," etc.<sup>1</sup> Becoming is here raised, from a state of progress from the imperfect to the less imperfect, to the glorified level and sphere of the work of one we call a great genius; becoming is now a becoming-other, a becoming a new Manifold, the Divine Play (*Illiā*) of That Who, as Rāmānuji wrote, "creates and reabsorbs the universe."

This was a bold word; it was a conferring "the Immortal" on man as a corollary of his nature, and not, as in earlier mantras, a destiny conditional only on a man performing this and that prescribed act. We see this: "the mortal becoming immortal" lingering on in the Upaniṣads. It was too great a gospel to withstand inevitable reaction. Was not immortality a chief aim of the sacrifice? Was this to be pronounced unnecessary? And so those progressive teachers became as were the prophets beside the priests in Israel: their great mantras survived more or less intact and established, but the ecclesiastical ritual remained also, and with it reaction set in.

1. Not only in the one verb did the early teachers word becoming though they use it where translators do not (cf. e. g. M. M. in Brh. 1, 2, 5); **vibhavati**, develop, is used (Brh. 1, 4, 11), and such a play-in-words as **adhi-ardh** (develop, greatly thrive) and **adhi-ardha** (one and a half Brh. 3, 9, 10). Others might be adduced, such as **mā gamaya** "make me to go" (Brh. 1, 3, 27),

The reaction against the concept that man, in becoming, is but being true to his divine nature, may, I suggest, be seen creeping up in the Maitri, but no more. It is not till the Isā and the Māndūkya, that actual repudiation is worded.<sup>1</sup> The Śvetāśvatara cannot be said to sound this change. Still for it does the man become, namely "on seeing the very Ātman, unitary, endwon, griefless," albeit it speaks of time not wholly in terms of becoming: the present is now not "the become" but "what the Vedas tell"; doubtless metrical exigency drove here. But the Maitri begins to 'hedge' on the matter of creation as a becoming of the Highest. In it the speaker makes the primaeval Mān, when creating, not desire to become, but (a) "brood upon himself" (*abhidhyāyan*), (b) "think (Let me enter\_\_\_\_)", (c) "utter\_\_\_\_". Even here the traditional way lingers, for we read "This One became threefold, eightfold, etc." Yet the three substitutes I give, whereas they may by some be rated as riper thought, reaching out after more fitting terms, may rather indicate a shrinking from the earlier, bigger conception of becoming, and are ushering in a shrinkage in it, a reinstatement of the Highest as Being, and not as Bhavat.

In the later Isā and Māndūkya Upaniṣads, later I deem by several generations, later than the beginnings of Buddhism, we see implicit the confession, that this matter of becoming *versus* being had evolved into a battlecry in religious debate, becoming being now termed *sambhūti*, a term which I do not find in the older Upaniṣads. Becoming is now reduced to mean, not exercise of an ever new Manifold in That who is, but an originating from that which was not—which is a different thing; and as involving a

1. I am aware that the Maitri is *said* to quote the Isā (7. 11), but this is only in the admittedly later Khilas, or 6th and 7th Sections.

complement of decay, which is a different thing. And in the comment of Gaudapāda, which Deussen's biassed zeal forces upon readers of his Upaniṣad translation, we are landed in the view which sees, in the manifold and becoming, illusion, and that what really is cannot become, becoming in truth being only of what is there already. In the Iśā, while there is the seed of decay of faith in becoming, in that it is viewed as *involving passing away*, we yet retain the faith, that the man "in becoming wins the goal." Here then is a becoming which, being of what is by nature divine, does *not involve* decay subsequent to maturity. In the Māndūkya commentary, the halting logic of the Iśā is purged, but at the fearful cost of voting becoming in the very man, the self, to be an illusion. And this coupling decay with becoming appears, a source of bane, in Buddhism.

It is the word of the "after man", reflecting his own age, unable to discern the greatness in the older wordings which were nearer in time to one of the greatest gospels of this world's history. And when I note, in the many translations of this literature, how the afterman in commentary has biassed the modern translator, I yield consent to K. E. Neumann's trenchant remark, that "when ecclesiastical fathers and doctors go to work with the best will to clear up dark mantras, they speak as would the blind of colour....Auf machtigem Glanz folgt naturgemäß Nacht." But with this added reservation:—that I would undertake no translation of scriptures without consulting commentaries, both for what they have said and for just that which they do not say, for herein also is history.

When all is said however, the commentator remains as one who sees worth in the Less and the Worse. For they, that is, their age has no longer understood the real message round which the Sayings on which they comment were uttered. So they fall back on less direct, and weaker meanings of words. Thus through

them the strong causative of **bhū** is veiled under the idea of foster or cherish, as in Aitareyya 4, 2, 3. And elsewhere are such weaker renderings, as "propitiating", "comforting", "pleasing" the devas, of this same causative, with which the strong **bhāvaya** has, in the first instance, nothing to do. Why should we really feel compelled to fall back on such derivative renderings? In the Aitareya, the mother is "making her embryo become"—that is all in order. But why should we not also make devas become, that is, be More, Better than they were, and they make us the same? The Vedic scholar with a pantheon of "gods" filling the picture, may smile. But the passage I have in mind, to which my colleague, Dr. W. Stede has drawn my attention:

devān bhāvayatānena te devā bhāvayantu vah,

Parasparam bhāvayantah śreyah param avāpsyatha,

which my colleague Dr. Barnett has rendered: "With this comfort ye the gods and let the gods comfort you, etc. . . . is from the Gītā (III, 11), in a context reckoned as a later interpellation by Garbe. By that time devas were, as we have them in early Buddhist tradition, virtually the wise and kindly gentlemen who had passed for a while from earth to the next world, and often came back to those who were yet on earth either to give or to receive good counsel and who were very likely, their life-span over, coming back again to earth in the long Marga of each man's becoming. Thus the mutual making-to-become in the More towards the Most is a very reasonable advice.

But a less wholesome expression crept up and is also visible in those passages judged by the same able critic to be later. This is the term **brahmabhūta**: become-the-Most.<sup>1</sup> The term may, like other affixes: —**maya**, —**gata**, have come at some time to express our 'of the nature of', or 'akin to'. But we do not find this compound in earlier Vedic, and in these probably early instances it

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1. Bhagavadgītā 5, 24; 6, 27; 18, 54.

seems highly significant, namely, that the happy state of the Yogi consists, among other features, in his "being **brahmabhūta**." Here we have, as it were, said farewell to the healthy state of willing to become, of living in that willing, and thereby becoming step by step as far Brahma-wards as it is given any man, however saintly, to become on earth. The one-in-nature-with the Most is realized, but to the exclusion of any emphasis on, any joy in, the *becoming More on the Way to the Most*. It is a premature value in the "done"; and again —another later symptom—it is *value in the Idea*, rather than the Thing; and that means that the man is holding himself in worth as mind, rather than as he who is minding. As we should expect, the mind-ridden monasticism of early Buddhism shared in the expression, calling both the recluse and its founder **Brahmabhūta**,

"experiencing happiness dwells with the self become-Brahman."<sup>1</sup>

But whereas the Buddhist came to slur over, and finally lose sight of, this once vital phrase, the Vedāntist saw in it only the idea of identity, losing sight of the needed making-actual the potential oneness. The commentators' tradition no longer values the idea or the word *bhavat*, or its causative, in its earlier meaning, nor for that matter do we either, and so we too, I venture to think, fail either to see, or to value what the original utterers were, it may be, trying to say.

And this was, not the "thou art That" in the preposterous sense of the one term equating the other in any complete sense of the word, but the **Tat tvam asi** only where both **asi** and **bhavasi** coincide, both in the spirit and in the letter: **Tat tvam bhaviṣyati**. Only in becoming the More, with the will ever working, will the man ultimately "be" in and as the Most.<sup>2</sup> In such holy becoming

1. Majjhima, I, 341 f; 412; Anguttara, II, 206, 111; etc.;

2. As G. Radhakrishnan well says: "The God-in-man is a task as well as a fact." **Philosophy of the Upaniṣads**.

there is no complementary decay to follow, as in things material; it is a Becoming-other in the More and the Many, which, in virtue of the man being the Self in-the-Most only potentially, or in the germ, is in his case of necessity a becoming less imperfect. But it is little wonder that we so veil this word of the life-career in, not body or mind, but the very *puruṣa* when that *puruṣa* himself we of to-day keep so in the background. And we had not else so lost sight of the Becoming which was what the Śākyamuni was trying to say in his Way-figure, and for which India's mediaeval manuals blamed his followers, the Buddhas, the Saugatas. For these followers had themselves lost the message of Becoming in the greater sense, just as their critics saw in it only an impossible becoming out of nothing.

C. A. F. Rhys Davids.

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## THE FOURFOLD ASPECT OF THE SUPREME BEING IN MANICHAEISM.

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Some hesitation is felt in offering to a great master like Sir George A. Grierson a small contribution on a subject relating to Manichaeism, but all matters concerning the Middle East come within the field of his profound erudition. Moreover, India (that is, Northern India) is included by Albīrūnī, together with China (or Chinese Turkistan), as among the regions in which Manī preached his gospel while in exile from Persia.<sup>1</sup> The theme chosen here for presentation relates to a tenet in Mānī's religion with regard to the four chief aspects of the Godhead.

We are familiar with an expression in the Greek Formula of Abjuration which accurately refers to the God of Mānī as 'The Father of Greatness with four faces (*i. e.* aspects).'<sup>2</sup> This striking attribute represents the divine figure as fourfold in his majesty.<sup>3</sup>

1. Sachau, **Chronology of Ancient Nations by Albīrūnī**, p. 192. Some scholars are inclined to doubt Albiruni's statement as to India, but I feel no hesitation in accepting it so far as Northern India is concerned.

2. Gk. Formula § 2, see K. Kessler, *Mani*, p. 403 (text), 359 (transl.), cf. also Migne, *Patrologia Graeca*, 1. col. 1461.

3. For the adjective γετραπόσωπος, there are three renderings possible:—(1) 'of four faces', (2) 'of four aspects', (3) '(consisting) of four persons'. Something, perhaps, might be urged in favour of the third (3) meaning, because the noun πρόσωπον (Lat. *persona*), in the sense of 'person, personality,' is a synonym of ὄντες, in which case the four 'persons'

Its connotation agrees exactly with the aspects of the Godhead presented in the Turfan Fragments and in the non-Manichaean sources, as given below.

Thus, for example, in the T u r f a n P a h l a v i Manichaean texts we have at least three (or four) passages which present the Supreme Being in his fourfold aspect of divinity, light, power, and wisdom. The passages are in full accord, the only divergences being slight variations due to the use of the dialect, southwestern or northern, as respectively employed in the two latter cited and in the first.<sup>4</sup> The three passages referred to will be found, with comments, in my forthcoming volume (in the

(three phases of the divine personality being added as parts to the whole) would make up a supreme Tetrad. Compare, somewhat similarly, Legge, *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity*, 2.322. If so, we might compare Augustine, *Contra Faustum*, 20.7, end (cf. 20.6, end), as cited somewhat below. But on the whole it seems preferable to adopt the first (1) meaning, 'four-faced', supplemented by the implied idea (2) of 'aspect'. This interpretation appears to be borne out by a reference to such a conception in TPhl. Frag. M. Pers. 1, 1-3, *cahar qanārag . . . Pīd 'i Vazurgii*, 'Father of Greatness . . . four sides (i. e. in four directions). See Müller, *Handschriftenreste*, 1904, p. 250, in *Sitzb. Akad. Wiss. Berlin*, 1904. Indirectly, and simply as a parallel, we may recall in Hinduism the epithet of Brahma as 'Four-faced' (Skt. *catur-ānana, caturmukha*).

4. Thus in the last two lines below quoted, we have the southwestern dialect, characterized particularly by Zarvān (as Deity, Zōr, Vahīh, in contrast to the northern dialectic equivalents, Bē, zāvar, Zirēft, for God, Power, and Wisdom. Concerning such dialectic variations, especially S. W. dial. Zarvān, consult (quoting the authority of Andreas) Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu* (1926), p. 71 middle, and elsewhere.

press) on *Researches in Manichaeism*, Study IV, note on Frag S. 7 d. 13, published by the Columbia University Press. They are first these, each with a reference to the texts published by F. W. K. Müller, in *Abhandlungen der Preuss. Akad. der Wissenschaft*, Berlin, 1904 ('Handschriften-reste aus Turfan') and ('Eine Hermas-stelle in Manichaëischer Version'), in the same Academy's trans-actions (*SPAW*), Berlin, 1905, to be tabulated as follows:—

|                             | ' God Light Power Wisdom  |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|
| in M. 176 (=Mü. p. 61-62)   | Bag Rōšan zāvar Žirəft    |
| in M. 31 (=Mü. 'Hermas')    | Yazd Rōšan Zōr Vahīh      |
| in M. 324 (=Mü. p. 74 bot.) | Bē Zarvān Rōšan Zōr Vahīh |

Add to these likewise a fourth citation, petitional also in its content, found at the beginning of a Turkish Manichaean Hymn, T II D, 162, lines 1—2, which opens with this fourfold group of aspects of the Supreme Being in Turfan Pahlavi, giving them then in the next line with their Turkish equivalents, before proceeding with the Hymn. 'The two initial, bilingual, lines of its beginning state that it is 'A Hymn to'

B (a)γ, Rōšan, Zaw(a)r, Žirift, nung bašta.  
t(a)ngri y(a)ruq küclüg bilga<sup>5</sup>.

5. For the text see A. V. Le Coq, *Türkische Manichaica ans Chotscho*, 2. p. 10, in *Abh. d. Preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, Berlin, 1919. A reminiscence of this same tetrad is also preserved in a later Turkish (Uigurian) blessing (TM. 417 end) which is invoked upon the new monarch Iduq-qut (see Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3. p. 34, lines 29—24). This invocation closes with the benediction: 'May there come the Four Light Princeely Gods, (manifested through) the Burkhangs (Spiritual Messengers), mighty in prayer in the ten regions (of the heavens).' If I rightly interpret, the divine tetrad is manifested likewise in its inspired Messengers who appear from time to time. We may, therefore, possibly see in this clause an allusion also, as elsewhere in the

Furthermore, in the Turkish Confession-Prayer (Khuastuanift=xvāstavānīt, 'self-confession, lines 177—183)<sup>6</sup>, the fourfold aspect of the Supreme Being is also symbolized in the Four Light (or Bright) Seals 'that are to be kept in the heart of the true believer, namely:

'Four Light Seals (*tört y(a)ruk tamya*) have we sealed in our hearts. (1) One is Love, (and that is) the seal of Azrua the God. (2) The second (is) Faith, the seal of the God of the Sun and the Moon. (3) The third is the Fear of God, (and this is) the seal of the Fivefold God (*i. e.* Primal Man, Ormazd). (4) The fourth is the wise Knowledge, the seal of the Burkhans (or Divine Revealers of Religion)'<sup>7</sup>

It is clear from this passage that the Godhead himself is indicated by the confession of love for Azrua; his Light by an expression of faith in the Sun and Moon; his Power by sealing in the heart a reverence for Primal Man as a celestial force; and his Wisdom, by believing in the existence of Divine Messengers (Burkhans) who from time to time bring inspired knowledge into the world.<sup>8</sup>

Manichaean Fragments, to Zoroaster, Buddha, Jesus, and Mani, as the messengers of divinity, especially because the Burkhans 'change their names and forms.' For the Turkish text of the latter quotation see Le Coq, *Türk. Man.* 3. p. 34, lines 6-7, bottom.

6. An etymological explanation of this designation is already prepared for printing, and it is hoped that it may appear some time later.

7. See Jackson, *Journ. Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, 44. p. 69 ff. with full references.

8. Consult again, with references, *op. cit.* p. 69 etc.

Next, in a Chinese Manichaean Fragment, discovered by Pelliot (see *JA*. 1913, p. 105, 116), the divine personality in his fourfold form is undoubtedly referred to as 'the Four Calm Bodies of the Law, which Four Bodies of the Law are . . . (rest wanting).'<sup>9</sup> It is quite certain moreover, that there is an allusion to the tetrad in the Chinese Manichaean Treatise as well. The passage in question (*JA*. 1911, p. 552) speaks of 'the Three Permanences and the Five Greatnesses (*i.e.* members) of the Great Light.' Here it is evident that these three abiding attributes of the Godhead are Light, Power, and Wisdom, which, combined with himself, make up his fourfold aspect as the Supreme Being.<sup>10</sup> Furthermore, we may similarly interpret a thrice-repeated reference to 'the Four Calm Bodies in the long Chinese hymn in praise of Jesus (H. 27d, 38d, 56b, c).'<sup>11</sup>

We may now turn to a couple of passages in the indirect sources relating to this Manichaean tenet. An Arabic reference in an-Nadim's *Fihrist* is important because it defines each of these divine aspects more fully, quoting from Mānī himself. According to an-Nadim's statement Mani enjoined four spiritual precepts that were to be accepted by all believers, in addition to the three seals of conduct and his ten commandments.<sup>12</sup> These four injunctions are summed up in the following words:

'Belief in the Four Great Majesties (lit. Greatnesses), namely, (1) God, (2) his Light,

9. See Pelliot, *JA*. 1913. p. 105, 116. and consult Jackson, *JAOS*, 44. 70-71.

10. Chavannes and Pelliot, *JA*. 1911, p. 522 n. 1, also interpret the allusion in this manner.

11. See the Chinese text, with translation, in Waldschmidt and Lentz, *Die Stellung Jesu*, p. 102, 104, 107.

12. Cf. Jackson, *JAOS*. 44.70.

(3) his Power, and (4) his Wisdom. Now, (1) God, whose name is glorious, is the King of the Paradises of Light; (2) his Light is the Sun and the Moon; (3) his Power is the Five Angels, namely, the Zephyr (ether), Wind, Light, Water, and Fire; (4) his Wisdom, the Holy Religion.' (This last clause is further explained as referring to the revealers and exemplars of the faith)<sup>13</sup>

Saint Augustine hints at the same idea of the divine tetrad when he represents Faustus as trying to adapt Mani's four-fold notion to that of the Christian Trinity (*Contra Faustum*, 20. 1 seq.). According to the Manichaean spokesman the Father dwells in the 'light inaccessible'; the Son, being twofold, has his station in the sun and the moon; the Holy Spirit (cf. the Living Spirit in Manichaeism) resides in the whole circle of the air. Faustus, in his argument, is made to explain the second member in the following manner; 'Since the Son is himself twofold — just as the Apostle (i. e. Paul) recognized him to be, when he said "Christ is the power of God and the wisdom of God— We (Manichaeans) believe that his Power dwells in the son and his Wisdom in the moon' (*C. F.* 20.2; New Test. and see Cor. 1.24). In refutation the Christian Father argues at length to show the fallacy of this distribution of the divine power and wisdom, and condemns the whole nation as being 'a threefold or rather a fourfold fiction' (*ibid.* 20.6, 7, 8). In any case, Augustine's long argument shows that he recognized this tenet of Deity, Light, Power, and Wisdom as an article of Mani's creed.<sup>14</sup>

Furthermore, we should observe that several times in the

13. See G. Flügel, *Mani*, p. 64 (text, 95 (transl.); *id.* complete edition of the *Fihrist* text, 1. p. 333.

13. See Aug. *Contra Faust.* 1. 1-8, Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 42 Cf. also F. C. Baur, *Das Manichäische Religions system.* p. 206-207.

Turfan Pahlavi texts this fourfold group of divine aspects is referred to under the comprehensive designation **parahān**, 'the Glories', that is, of the Supreme Being, and are associated with 'Angels and Spirits' (**prēstagān** 'ūd vāxšān).<sup>15</sup> Thus, for example, the 'Glories' (**parahān**, etc.) in M. 4 d 11-14 (=Mu. p. 55), 'May new blessing and new triumph come from the divinity Zarvān, above the "Glories", and Angels, (and) Spirits of this Realm,' (**nōg āfrīn nōg pērōzīh āyād az bē Zarvān abar parahān 'ūd prēstagān vāxšān** 'ig 'in šahr'). Similarly, from the same hymn and prayer M. 4 e 22-23 (Mu. p. 57 mid.) may be cited: **āvarēd parahān vāxšān**, 'ūd zōrān; **padirēd dašn**, 'come hither ye Glories, Spirits, and Powers.' Still farther on in this devotional text, M. 4 f. 19-21 (=Mu. p. 57 mid.), directly after invoking a blessing upon Māni and paying homage to Great Shining Glory (*i. e.* Zarvān), the true believer further expresses his faith: 'I believe in Holy Spirit (**vāxš yōzdahr**). together with the Glories (**abāg parahān**) and the powerful Angels (**prēstagān abzārān**.)' In a different text, M. 43 recto, lines 7-8 (=Mu. p. 78 bot), which contains an address made by the Manichaean Community to an Uigurian Khan, we read: 'May the Deed-accomplishing Ones (**qērdagārān**, here=Angels), the Glories (**parahān**), (and) the Spirits (**vāxšān**), bestow blessing upon thee, the ruler.' Lastly, in a prayer, M. 543 verso, lines 6-9 (=Mu. p. 80 top), we find in an ascending order, 'Angels—Spirits—Glories (**prēstagān vāxšān—parihān**)'<sup>16</sup>

For the sake of completeness, or only as an indirect parallel, we may add that two Syriac writers of the fifth century A. D.,

15. See also the observations in my book (in the press) **Researches in Manichaeism, Study IV**, note on **pryh** (**farēh** in Fragment S. 7 a 9 (second paragraph),

16. In (**parihān** (for the more common **parahān**) the vowel **i** is merely an anaptytic vowel, being found also in a number of other words.

namely Ādhurhormīzd and Theodore bar Khoni, allude to a somewhat similar fourfold division as being recognized by Zoroastrians in Sasanian times, the context in each case showing that it is the Zarvanite doctrine to which reference is made. The names in the tetrad mentioned are given as Ashōkar, Frashōkar, Zarōkar, Zarwān. The last one certainly corresponds to Zarvān, which, as we have seen, stands first in Mānī's fourfold group; but it is difficult to equate the other three (despite their evident Iranian character) with corresponding members of his tetrad.<sup>17</sup>

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17. Both Syriac writers give the four nomes in identical forms and in the same order, with Zarwān last. Thus Ādhurhormīzd (d. 447 A. D.), who was a Christian convert from Magism, attacks the Zoroastrians for counting as gods, 'A s h h ū q a r, F r a s h ū q a r, Z a r ū q a r, and Z a r w ā n' (see the German translation by Nöldeke, in *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth*, p. 35, Stuttgart, 1893); compare also the remarks and references by F. Cumont, *Recherches sur le Manichéisme* I, p. 8 n. 2, Brussels, 1903; consult likewise an English translation of the passage by J. F. Blue, 'The Zarvanite System', in *Indo-Iranian Studies In Honour of Dastur D. P. Sanjana*, p. 67-68, London, 1925. In like manner Theodore bar Khoni, ed Pognon, p. 111 (text) 162 (transl.), asserts that 'the Magian Zoroaster . . . set up at the beginning, four principles as the four elements (namely) A s h ū q a r, F r a s h ū q a r, Z a r ū q a r, and Z a r w ā n, and he says that Zrrwān was the father of Ormazd.' See likewise transl. by A. Yohannan, in *Journ. Amer. Or. Soc.* (1923) 43. p. 240, with n. 4. Compare, in general, W. Bousset, *Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, p. 89-90, 236-237, Göttingen, 1907. In both these Syriac allusions, remarked above, the name Zarwān comes last in order, and reference has been made to the difficulty of equating the other three personifications with those in the Manichaean tetrad, as further noted in the next paragraph,

From the material presented above, we may rest assured that Mānī demanded of the faithful a belief in this cardinal tenet of the Godhead as possessing four aspects, Divinity, Light, Power, and Wisdom. (See also appended Table). It was natural, therefore, as already shown by the anathema against it in the Greek Formula of Abjuration, that a recantation of this special dogma was among the very first exacted of those who adopted the Christian religion.

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Etymologically these three terms in Syriac are plainly Iranian names, and a derivation for each of the first two can readily be given. From the language of the Avesta and from Pahlavi we know that **Ašōqar** would signify ‘Making Righteousness’; and **Frašōqar**, ‘Making (the world) advanced to Perfection.’ The derivation of **Zarōqar**, however, has not yet been made clear. Possibly (but only as a guess) we might suggest vocalizing the unpointed Syriac term, since it is Iranian, as **z (i)rōqar**, instead of **z (a) rōqar**, and consider the word to mean ‘Making wise.’ It would then match with the Manichæan epithet **zireft**, ‘wisdom’ which is itself an abstract derivative from Tphl. **zīr** or **zir**, ‘wise’ (dialectic variants), cf. Av. **jīra**, **jīra-** ‘wise, intelligent.’ But the long vowel in Tphl. renders the conjecture somewhat uncertain.

Merely as a corollary in regard to the general subject of tetrads, but **not** for comparison, we may observe that in later times (i. e. first part of the sixth century A. D.) the Persian heretic Mazdak recognized ‘four forces’ (Discrimination, Insight, Memory Joy) as a fundamental part of the divine power. Although Mazdak shows numerous traces of the influence of Mānī (who lived three centuries earlier), the four abstractions just cited bear no special relation to the Manichæan tetrad. For a German translation of this passage in *Shahristānī*, see Haarbrücke  
1.192.

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Columbia University.  
New York City.

## RESUME OF THE : DIVINE MAJESTY IN ITS FOURFOLD ASPECT.

Gk. Formula of Abjuration (on renouncing Manichaeism) —9th cent. A.D.

Τὸν τετραπόσωπον πατέρα τὸν Μεγέθους

Turfan Pahlavi Manichaean Fragments

(1) Bē Zarvān (Bag, Yazd) (2) Rōšan (3) Zōr (4) Vahīl

(Zāvar) (Žirēft)

Divinity (God) Zarvān Light Power Wisdom

Turkish Manichaean Fragments (with Iranian equivalents First)

|     |       |       |        |
|-----|-------|-------|--------|
| Baγ | Rōšan | Zāvar | Žirēft |
|-----|-------|-------|--------|

|          |         |        |       |
|----------|---------|--------|-------|
| t(ä)ngri | y(a)ruq | küclüg | bilgä |
|----------|---------|--------|-------|

|        |          |          |      |
|--------|----------|----------|------|
| Divine | Luminous | Powerful | Wise |
|--------|----------|----------|------|

Chinese Text

Four Calm Bodies of Law (Religion)

An Nādīm's Fihrist — Mānī's first Precept enjoins belief in

|       |          |             |            |
|-------|----------|-------------|------------|
| Allah | Nūr u-hu | Quwwat u-hu | Hikma u-hu |
|-------|----------|-------------|------------|

|     |           |           |            |
|-----|-----------|-----------|------------|
| God | His Light | His Power | His Wisdom |
|-----|-----------|-----------|------------|

(Fihrist further interpretation=)

1. God — King of the Paradise of Light
2. Light—of the Sun and the Moon
3. The Five Angels: Zephyr, Wind, Light, Water, Fire  
(cf. TPhl etc Fragments)
4. Wisdom —the Holy Religion —through inspired Teachers  
(i. e. Burkhans, or Divine Messengers)
  - a. Teachers,—who are Sons of Intellect
  - b. Those who are enlightened by the Sun — Sons of Knowledge.
  - c. Presbyters,— who are Sons of Understanding.
  - d. Elect (Faithful),— who are Sons of Discretion (Mystery)
  - e. Hearers (Auditors),— who are Sons of Insight (Discren-  
ment)

S t . A u g u s t i n e , ‘Against Faustus’

Relating to the Godhead as Light, Power, Wisdom  
(S y r i a c Allusions to)—Ašōqur, Frašōqar, Zarōqar, Zarwān  
(in late Zoroastrianism)

## AFFIRMATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE SENTENCES IN TIBETAN.

*Max Walleser (Heidelberg).*

It is a well known phenomenon of the written Tibetan language that the principal sentences generally terminate with the vowel *o*- and the interrogative ones with *-am*, whilst the subordinate clauses mostly terminate with *-e*, this being the termination of the gerund-participle *-ste*, *-te*, *-de*, with which subordinate sentences of past action are joined in most cases to the following principal ones. Jaeschke, in his Tibetan Grammar (1833). § 34. 1, gives the following rule: “The principal, verb of a sentence, which always closes it (§ 43) receives in written Tibetan in most cases a certain mark, by which the end of a period may be known. This is, in affirmative sentences, the vowel *o* (called by the grammarians:-star *sdu ba*), in interrogative ones, the syllable *am*.<sup>1</sup>”

Before both the closing consonant of the verb is repeated, or, if it ends with a vowel, *ho* and *ham* are written.” There are certain cases - Jaeschke enumerates five of them - where these additional syllables are omitted.

The same thing has been said, after Czoma di Körösi, by I. I. Schmidt in his “Grammatik der tibetischen Sprache” (1839) in this manner:—“Den Schlu der periode bildet die Copula *ho* mit Wiederholung des Schlubkonsonanten der letzten Silbe der periode”. Foucaux, Grammaire de la langue tibetaine (1858) p. 64, gives the same rule with the following words: „Ces mêmes verbes s’emploient souvent en redoublant leur lettre finale avec la particule *ho* . . . La particule *ho*, seule ou ajoutée à la consonne finale répétée du mot qui précède, peut exprimer le verbe être

1. For the rules of native grammarians cf. Schubert, Tibe-tische National grammistik. (Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen, Berlin, vol. XXXII, 1929), p. 53.

avec toutes sortes de noms". We may add at once that this last interpretation of the termination-*ha* by the verb "to be" does not seem to be correct in so far as there is no special meaning contained in the terminating vowel and that thus Foucaux's explanation is not only too wide but totally fails its aim.

How is this rather curious linguistical fact, parallels to which have scarcely ever been stated in any other language, to be explained? The answer to this question can perhaps be given, if we rightly understand the note belonging to § 34 of Jaeschke's Grammar where the author speaks about the modern use as to the formation of affirmative and interrogative sentences. He says: "In conversation the *-o* is generally omitted, and the *m* of the interrogative termination is dropped, so that merely the vowel *a* is heard, e. g. the question *mithon nam*, "do you see?" and the answer *mithon no*, "(I) see", are commonly spoken in W. T. : *t'on na ? t'on*.

May we really suppose that so radical a change has taken place between the moment of fixing the orthography and modern times? Or is it not more probable that the old pronunciation did not differ in this point from the modern one, and that the difference is rather one of writing, or rather of internal hearing, in so far as the originators of the Tibetan orthography in the seventh century A. D. did express not only what they heard from others who were pronouncing, but also those somewhat more indiscriminate sounds which they heard while observing the sound-articulations of their own in repeating those kinds of sentences for themselves (although but articulating them) while writing them down. I have tried elsewhere<sup>1</sup> to show that the kind of writing introduced by Indian Pandits in Tibet, was extraordinarily exact, considering not only the real

<sup>1</sup> Zur Aussprache des Sanskrit und Tibetischen. (1926).

sounds which were heard, but also those vanishing and disappearing noises which are caused by the movements of the other parts and organs of the mouth besides the one which is to be regarded as the principal source of a special sound. In a similar way I hope to have proved with sufficient reasons, that the so-called superscribed and subscripted letters as in *sbr*, which are generally transcribed by putting them after one another : *sbr-*, instead of above one another <sup>s</sup><sub>r</sub> *b*, have been pronounced simultaneously, so that there is one single sound, but consisting out of two or more sounds or rather articulations, formed at different places of articulation and mixing together into one special kind of consonant which contains the elements of two or three consonants without being similar to any one of them. So it may be, that *sbran-bu*, which now-a-days, "according to Jaeschke's Dictionary, is generally pronounced *dan-bu* with "cerebral" *d*, may have had this pronunciation already in the time, when the orthography was fixed, and that this is to be explained by the fact that the writing did not try to render directly the auditive impression, but the characteristic kind of articulation as well, which, if well understood, will not leave any doubt as to the exact pronunciation of the written sounds nor to the auditive impression, which it leaves in the hearing individual. If we are allowed to suppose that the phonetical culture of the Pandits who were engaged in fixing the Tibetan language in written characters for the first time, was high enough as to allow them a free use of those principles which Jespersen and his colleagues in phonetics hold to be necessary in writing down phonetical texts to day, especially such of till now unfixed dialects and languages, we may presume as well, that with the strange rules about ending principal clauses with *o-* and interrogative ones with *-am* they have, unconsciously perhaps, fixed the natural laws that direct the musical movement of the voice in differentiating the expression for assertion and interrogation.

If we take our issue from this proposition, we may come to the following results.

It is a well known linguistic fact, that, whenever an asserting sentence is being finished, the voice sinks down, before it totally vanishes. Now this last expiring of voice may be expressed by a vowel-sound corresponding to *o*. On the other hand, if there is a subordinate sentence preceding the principal one, the voice rises to a certain pitch, which may be the highest one generally reached by the pronouncing individual. *e.g.* in the sentence: "If you are sick you must go to the physician," the musical intonation is rising as far as the end of the conditional proposition, while it reaches its deepest tone at the termination of the whole sentence. Now, if the mouth were closed immediately after pronouncing the last sound of the sentence, it would be difficult to understand that there is still an *o* to be heard. But—and this is curious enough, although scarcely to be doubted at—the lips are not shut immediately, in the German language as little as in the English one, and, we may presume in the Tibetan as well. In every case the last consonant, and especially the explosives, must have their final explosion of a kind of vocalic character, which will have, as has been shown above, the greatest similarity with an indistinct *o*.

Now, if this theory of considering the Tibetan rules about the terminations of affirmative sentences hits the mark, we may confide to have found the clue for understanding those about the interrogative sentences. While comparing the musical intonations of this kind of sentences in European languages we may note at once, that here the musical accentuation is rising till reaching its highest pitch with the last utterance of voice. The termination of the question and the expectation of an answer may be specially marked by closing the mouth in order to show, that the questioning person has got nothing more to say himself and that he expects an immediate answer from the other. This, too,

is a linguistic fact, which, although perhaps never before stated in this crude form, may be proved experimentally by any one, who is somewhat accustomed to experimentally observing the articulatory movements executed by the speech-organs of one's own. It may be, that, after a question, the mouth is not always and absolutely shut. But, we may add, in this case the question is not a peremptory one, it still has the character of balancing and of doubt, and, in every case, the questioned person will earnestly feel moved to reply only when seeing and hearing, that her interlocution has entirely finished speaking and eagerly waits for a reply. This shutting of the mouth is represented by the termination *am* (with a labial-nasal) in interrogative sentences in Tibetan. In the case, too, the vowel of the terminating syllable is nothing but the indistinct noise which is heard also in the Indian pronunciation of Sanskrit *a* at the end of words, where, as every one knows, we generally do not hear any vowel-sound at all, as is sufficiently proved by the writing of words like *Vasudev* (instead of *-deva*) without the terminating *a* which is really nearly inaudible, but not totally wanting. There is always some weak vocalic noise at the end, as is shown by the voice-character of the last consonant, *e. g.* *v* in our example *Vasudev*. This very weak voice sound is nothing else but the sound represented by Sanskrit *a*, which in opposition to all the other vowels, is designated by Pāṇini as well as by the native grammarians generally, as narrow (*samvṛta*) while all the others are said to be open (*vivṛta*). Of course this sound cannot be what we generally mean by *a*, but it is rather the indistinct vowel-sound known in other Indo-European languages as well and called here shwa indogermanicum, in imitation of the shwa known in Semitic languages.<sup>1</sup>

1. Cf. M. Walleser, 'Zur Aussprache von skr. a' Zeitschr. f. Indologie Iranistik, Vol. V (1927) p. 197.

We may understand now better, why a quite disappearing noise which in the transcription of languages and dialects is mostly not taken care of, has not only been noted in the Tibetan alphabet which had—as we already observed—the preference of having been formed by the very best practitioners in phonology and phonetics, but that it has bestowed even the fundament for differentiations in sentence intonation which in no other language have ever been marked. It is true, the musical accent is given in a few other languages as well, *e. g.* the Vedic Sanskrit and the Greek of the Alexandrian grammarians by the use of “accents”, and in Chinese by the different “tones” (*shèng*) introduced by Indian Pandits together with the “rhyme-tables” in the sixth century A. D.<sup>1</sup>

But all these notations consider only the word-accent. The sentence intonation, *i. e.* the rising and lowering of the musical flowing of the spoken language, escapes even much easier the attempts of being grasped, as it is not combined with single words but depends entirely on the special aim and meaning, in which the sentence is pronounced. Thus the difference of the assertion “You are ill!” and the question: You are ill?” consisting in the lowering of the voice in the first case, and in rising it in the second, is marked only in Tibetan by changing the terminating syllable of the sentence into *o* or *am* although the distinction may be so slender that the ear of the modern foreigner and perhaps even of the native (*viz.* if there has not been a systematical instruction in observing even the slightest alterations in pronouncing) does not remark it, as we have seen above.

Also the conclusions to be drawn from a comparison of modern Tibetan dialects, a number of which are represented in patterns

1. Cf. B.Karlgren, Thonolfgie chinoise (1915) p. 29 f,

in Grierson's Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. III, Tibeto-Burman family, Part I, Tibeto-Himalayan group, tend to the same results. Here we find that in none of the patterns of modern dialects there is ever taken notice of a differentiation between positive and interrogative sentences as to the termination with the exception of two,<sup>1</sup> those of Lahul (p. 71) and of Khams (p. 138), both of which have been noted by Jaeschke. I am sorry to say that neither of these two samples can be acknowledged to be an unobjectionable rendering of the special dialect, as they contain, not like the others, stories of common use, but a Buddhist scriptural text evidently taken from a Sutra contained in the bKah-hgyur collection and read aloud by one conversant with the concerning dialect with the phonetic peculiarities of even this dialect. The text itself, with its succession of words and synthetical constructions, is in both cases identical so that there can be no doubt that here we have no idiomatic examples of dialects at all. Consequently we must not wonder if here the terminations in *-o* have been taken over from their scriptural source and that their pronunciation is also marked by *-o*. We can confidently say that this pronunciation is rather artificial and cannot be regarded as a proof for its effectual existence in the dialects of Lahul and Khams. This supposition may be strengthened by the circumstance that also in the newest grammars of the chief dialect of the Tibetan language, which at the same time is the one used all over the country as the lingua franca—I, but refer to Ch. Bell, Grammar of colloquial Tibetan.—there is nowhere spoken of those terminations in *o* or *am*, neither do the numerous examples of idiomatic Tibetan sentences given there betray with a syllable that anyhow they may be pronounced to-day.

1. As to the specimen for the Central Dialect (p. 79) communicated by Mr. David Macdonald and Col. Waddell from the State Sikkim (1899), it is taken from the translation of the Bible and must be considered after the principles prevailing there.

It is true that the Tibetan translations of the Bible and especially of the New Testament observe strictly the use of final *o* and *am* with the exception of metrical passages.<sup>1</sup>

Of course, all these seeming exceptions from the rule generally observed are to be explained by the fact that these translations of the Bible have been modelled exactly after the patterns given by the doctrine of Buddha in the translations of the bkah-hgyur. In this respect the learned and sacred language of the Buddhist tradition has proved superior to the newly invading Christendom by imparting to it not only its elevated style of diction and its venerable language of an age long passed by, but also those old-fashioned peculiarities of pronunciation which no-body to-day would introduce from plainly considering the spoken language, if there were not the unwritten law of religious style and diction which commands the employment of peculiarities elsewhere out of use.

I should not like to conclude this short study without pointing towards the exactness and acuteness of the Tibetan orthography which often unfolds characteristics of the spoken language which even to the phonologically practised scholar are not immediately perceptible. So I may refer to the phonema of "complex" consonants about which I have treated in my paper "Zur Aussprache des Sanskrit und Tibetischen" (Heidelberg 1926) and which are represented in Tibetan (as well as partly in Sanskrit) by superscribing and subscribing letters to one another. As this theory has found

1. E. g. Gospel of St. Matthew, Shanghai (1908) p. 3 (11.6), p. 25. (XI, 11). p. 27 (XII, 18, 21). p. 37 (XV, 8, 9). p. 53 (XXI, 43). St. Mark p. 1 (I, 243). p. 18 (VII, 7), p. 33 (XII, 10, 11). St Luke p. 3 (I, 47-55), p. 5 (I, 68-79), p. 7 (II, 29 32), f. 9 (III, 4-5) etc.

some difficulty in making itself intelligible, I beg to adduce here one more proof which will perhaps convince even those adversaries who till now appear inaccessible to reasons and arguments drawn chiefly from Sanskrit correspondences of Tibetan phonomena.

It consists in what follows.

In his attempt ("Versuch") on Tibetan-Chinese word equations Dr. W. Simon advances the somewhat striking assertion (p. 186) that *r* and *l* to be met with at the beginning of Tibetan words are not "prefixes" but "transposed sounds" ("versetzte Laute"). I am not disposed to quarrel here about the conception of "prefixes" which may admit some doubts both as to their pronunciation (phonetic value) and to their historical explanation. What I wish to emphasize here is only the character of these sounds as of such which are not to be treated as individual and independent ones but rather as intimately combined with the primary sounds to which they are joined. I have elsewhere proposed for these super and subscripted letters the designation of "complex consonants" wishing herewith to say that they influence the entire complex of sounds in forming out of it one single acoustic impression, although the articulating basis of this phonema may be divided according to the co-operation of the different organs of the mouth which all of them are to participate in giving any sound the special timbre which it has in the individual connection where it happens. About all the details of this theory I must refer the reader to look into my paper quoted above. Now I should like to come to meet Dr. Simon half way in admitting his proposition (which really I hold not to be proved) that there was a kind of metathesis ("eine der Aussprache- erleichterung dienende Lautversetzung") being the cause for speaking *ln* instead of (unproved!) *nl*

or *le* instead of (unproved!) *cl*: Does Dr. Simon really think that such a "metathesis" which is required by him may take place without affecting intimately the sound across which or round about which the "metathesis" is acting? Does he not see that we must nowadays, where the study of phonetics is advanced far enough as to request also the consideration of articulatory changes of secondary rank, consider not only the chief consonant which is generally heard and accordingly written in the plain phonetic transcription often thought sufficient for transcribing the sounds of languages, but also those vanishing and not always audible alterations of sound brought about by the position of the more or less inactive parts of the mouth! I have laid stress elsewhere on the demand raised chiefly by Jespersen<sup>1</sup> to employ for phonetic transcriptions no more single letters but rather a system of lines, each of which is destined for denoting all the alterations to which a single organ of sound-formation, *e.g.*, the lips, the point of the tongue etc., may underlie successively during the whole process of articulating a text of sentences which are to be fixed by phonetical script. If Dr. Simon will think necessary to comply to this commanding request of phonology, how will he treat these consonants which are specially affected by this "metathesised" sounds, *viz.*, those "across" or "through" or "above" which the metathesis is to take place? I think he will feel constrained to connotate in the graphical scheme drawn according to the requirements stated above the "metathesised" consonants together with their pertinent ones, that is to say, he will write these different articulations above one another exactly as is done in the Tibetan script with those consonants which are joined with superscribed *r* or *l*. Properly said, it is not true at all that these two signs are prefixes in Tibetan, they are superscribed

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1. Grundfragen der Phonetik. (1904) p. 65 ff.

and this can mean only that they are pronounced at the same time with those sounds above the letters of which they are noted. If Dr. Simon will condescend to an understanding of these relations well known as for the rest to every one who has occupied himself a little with practical phonetics—there is no doubt he will find a much more satisfactory solution for the difficulties which induced him to the somewhat peculiar assumption of a metathesis in cases where both the Tibetan and the Chinese development of sounds absolutely excludes such a process. And this is the case in almost all—if not all the sound-equations adduced by Dr. Simon in the second part (p. 186 ff.) of his paper.

I do not think that it will recommend itself to abide any longer with a phonetical fact which wants only to be earnestly considered in order to be assented to and I especially decline to give for the moment any instances for refuting the opinion of Dr. Simon. I even daresay that I should not have taken notice of this newest publication of Dr. Simon, if I did not see in it a radical mistake of its author who will but have to correct in order to give his equations a fundament better in every case than what he succeeded to give them till now.

Max Walleser.

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## SUBORDINATE CLAUSES IN TIBETAN

By

Max Walleser (Heidelberg)

In a paper about "Affirmative and interrogative sentences in Tibetan" I tried to show that the distinction of these in written Tibetan by the termination *o* and *am* is rather one of musical intonation than of sound-articulation. Now, I should like to prove that there is neither a differentiation between principal and subordinate clauses, in so far as the use of the particle *-de,-te,-ste* may be explained in a way that makes their distinction superfluous.

As to this particle, I. I. Schmidt in his "Grammatik der tibetischen Sprache" (1835), modelled after Csoma's Tibetan grammar, gives the following rules as to these particles (§41): "Die Partikeln *te*, *de* and *ste*, dem Participium Präsens oder der Verbalwurzel angehangt, bilden . . . das Gerundium Präs.: z. B. *hdug-ste* sitzend; in gleicher Weise mit dem Part. Prät. verbunden bilden sie das Gerundium Prät. also *smras-te* gesagt habend". Of course, we cannot accept this formulation, as it contains a number of conceptions and grammatical definitions which are in contradiction not only with the general use of language but also with logic. We may but refer to the presumption that with gerund we understand the use, specially observed in Latin, of the infinitive of a verb in secondary cases or joined with prepositions as *e.g. laborando* "by working," so that the gerund may be considered as the ablative (or instrumental) of the infinitive *laborare*. It may be that the case form of the ablative

corresponds in certain meanings to the Tibetan termination *-te* etc., but there are, besides, so many differences as to the syntactical employment that it appears quite impossible to make use of this designation of gerund for the Tibetan termination *-te* etc. as well.

On the other side, it is as inadvisable to call it participle, as with this term we join the faculty of underlying the nominal flexion corresponding to the substantive noun to which the participle refers. As with Tib. *te*, *ste*, *de* there is no possibility of declination, we feel quite unacceptable as in the case of gerund, to call it participle, but it is not manageable neither, to call the verbal form to which the particle *te* etc., is affixed, "participle," as is done by Schmidt l.2. who calls the verbal stem of *hdug ste*, viz., *hdug*, a participle. It is quite natural, and there ought not to be any necessity of discussion about this, that here like in many other cases we find in our grammar the use of grammatical terms and conceptions which are derived from the syntax of European languages, specially from the Latin one, without the legitimation to do so. As so many other uncultured languages among which the agglutinative are of a singular plainness and simplicity, the Tibetan is much too unartificial as to lend itself to an interpretation with the help of our grammatical categories. We must try to reduce the linguistic phenomena meeting us in this language to the plainest formula and then we shall see very soon, that neither the designation of "participle" nor that of "gerund" finds a place in the systematical arrangement of grammatical terms to be employed for this language.

It is now the same incongruity of Tibetan with our occidental language which prevents us from subscribing to Foucaux's formulation of the rule about the use of *te*, *ste* and *de* (*Grammaire de la langue tibétane*, 1858, § 73, p. 57.). On frome avec le participe présent ou le participe passé une espèce de locution absolue, en ajoutant à ces participes le signe de l'ablatif, de l'instrumental, du génitif ou du datif \_\_\_\_ On obtient le même

sens avec les particules *te*, *de* et *ste*. Exemples: *smra ste* "disant", *smras te* "ayant dit." Here the formulation is much more convenient, as it avoids the use of the term "gerund". Notwithstanding, it appears to be objectionable in so far as it supposes the present stem *smra* and the perfect stem *smras* to be "participles", which they generally can become only by the addition of the "article" *pa* or *ba*, if we hold this change as sufficient for the designation of it as a participle. I think it will not only be better but the only possible way in order to get to a clearer understanding of the matter, if we entirely keep aloof from the conceptions of "gerund" and "participle" and restrain ourselves upon the plain and objective state of affairs in formulating the use of the particles with *de*, *te*, *ste*, thus that they are added respectively to the present or perfect stem of the verb which, according to the general use of the Tibetan language, has its place always at the end of the sentence.

After these observations about the theories of I. I. Schmidt and Foucaux we can be somewhat shorter as to the explanation given by Jaeschke in his Tibetan grammar § 41. Jaeschke has a much better understanding for the racial difference of the Tibetan language from our European ones and for the impossibility of employing the terms borrowed from the grammatical structure of the latter for designating syntactical relations found in the former. Thus Jaeschke knows quite well, that the formations with *de*, *se*, *ste* are neither gerunds nor participles and that it is but a kind of conventional designation helping us a little in the understanding of the meaning of those formations.

Thus he says (p. 55): "*te* (*de* etc.) . . . is added to the present root as well as to the perfect-root: *gton* *ste* "giving", *bian* *ste* "having given", and stands for all clauses beginning with *when*, *as*, *since*, *after* etc. Also in the spoken language of (Western) (Tibet). it is used most frequently".

The linguistical fact spoken about proves thus to be of a

very plain kind. We may say, the ending *te* etc. is added to the verbal from which always stands at the end of the sentence and is identical with the verbal stem in so far as there are not finite forms derived with the help of verbal terminations, personal ones or others. So, as to the formal appearance, there does not exist any difference between principal sentences and subordinate ones, and we are permitted to consider the particle *te* etc. with the same right as co-ordinating conjunction and as a subordinating one. But if this is the case, it will recommend itself much more, to consider them as co-ordinate ones, because we have no inducement to complicate things more than they are by themselves. We know that only those languages which are of the most developed kind are provided with both co-ordinating and subordinating conjunctions, and there is of course no reason to attribute this predicate to a very poor and absolutely primitive language like the Tibetan one : syntactical distinctions which we know chiefly or exclusively from the Indo-European languages. We may add one more argument in favour of an explanation without subordinate sentences properly called. It seems that the meaning of a clause as of a subordinate one depends on the existence of conjunction at the beginning of it.<sup>1</sup>

Now, if Tib. *te* etc. has its place not at the beginning of the seemingly subordinate clause, but at the end of it, it is evidently not a subordinating conjunction at all, and as there is no conjunction, there is no subordinate clause neither and we may be more sure about it, as all the grammars quoted above are in concordance while speaking of "gerunds" of "supines", and it is a special merit of Jaeschke's to have laid stress upon the statement that these forms are only "substitutes for most of those subordinate clauses which we are accustomed to introduce by conjunctions".

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1 With the exception of conditional and indirectly interrogative clauses which are sometimes marked as such by a metathesis of the verb, e. g. in modern German, English, French etc.

The conclusion which we are draw from these facts is the following:

In so far as the particles *te*, *ste*, *de* are appended to verbal stems, they may formally be designated as a kind of "gerund" or "supine", but only if these particles can be explained in the same manner as the gerunds and supiness known to us from other languages, *viz.* as casual terminations. If this is not possible, we shall have to consider them as particles used in the sense of co-ordinating conjunctions, by protracting them from the end of the preceding clause to the beginning of the next one. There is also of course a slight alteration of the signification of the participle, in so far as it gets now the meaning of "then", "there" or a similar one. The chief difficulty seems to be now: is a clause—in our case the preceding one—to be considered as such a one, if there is no finite verb, but only the verbal stem—be it present, perfect or future—in its crude form? I think, we can answer to this question affirmatively, as this is thought quite sufficient in all the other kinds of clauses as well, and that thus we may confide to have found the right way in treating the problem as we have done.

Now, this fashion of seeing the matter would be much more satisfactory, if we succeeded to give the particles *te*, *ste*, *de* an etymological explanation which would correspond to the particular meaning implied in the one of a co-ordinate clause. And I think, indeed, we can risk an etymology without being obliged to take into account any factors not quite perspicuous to us.

A few words beforehand for making clear the etymological premisses which may help us to find out the original meaning of those particles.

We see also in other cases of a similar character an alternation of the initial consonants, *e. g.* in the beginning of the somewhat kindred particle *cin* which, according to the preceding con-

sonant, may be spelt (and pronounced *cin*, *shin* as well. Now, it is difficult, if not impossible, to decide which of these forms is the original one. One can presume that all these different forms may be equivalent in so far as the use of the one or the other depends exclusively on external circumstances (*viz.* the preceding sound), and if this particle *cín* etc.—as is really the case—can be found exclusively as a kind of suffix (and not as an independent word), we may even say, that is quite impossible to give one special form as the fundamental one, if we accidentally have not got a hint for choosing one of them as an appropriate one for etymological explanation, by reason of the similarity or identity with another word of the language, used in a similar meaning. Now, I do not think, that this be an easy thing in the case of *cín* etc., but among the three forms *te*, *ste*, *de*, there is at least one which is well known to us from its employment in the language, although the syntactical meaning does not seem at first sight to be quite the same. This form is *de*, the well known demonstrative pronoun, or rather demonstrative particle, for it always needs a particular complement—case-ending or other—to get its character of a demonstrative pronoun.

This latter circumstance may indicate to us that really we have to do here not with a pronoun at all, but with a demonstrative particle *de* which we can put on the same level with the temporal particle *da* in *da ni* “now”. The alternation *de:da* may be proved by other examples, but of which, instantly, I do not know any one. But even if we must renounce to comparing *de* with *da*, it is sufficiently proved as a demonstrative particle of a similar meaning from the different composite forms of which it may be a component part. There are many cases—perhaps they form the majority of

all—were *de* may be considered directly as a preposition joined to the verbal stem in the meaning of a subject of the sentence *e. g.*, the sentence given by Jaeschke § 41 A 1 (p. 55): *phru gu chus khyer te chio* “the child by the water (was) carried, it (*de*) died”. It is true, there is one great difficulty with this way of viewing the matter, *vis.*, to explain how it comes that after vowels we have the form *ste* and not *de* (*e.g.*, in the sentence: “*rgyal po ci ste rgyal sras kyis rgyal sa bsun no*”). But we may reckon here with the use of the suffix—*s*, added to the stem of verbs (in our example to *ci* so that it becomes *gis*) to designate the preterit (*e. g.*, *skyes* from *skye*), and thus it would be quite natural that always there is a consonant *s* before the particle *te*, melting with the latter to *ste* after verbal stems terminating in a vowel.

Now, this explanation of the syntactical use of *te*, *ste*, *de* seems to agree exactly with the modern use of the syllable *de* in conjunction with the terminations *nan*, *mikhan*, *pa* or *ba* added to the root. Ch. Bell, in his “Grammar of colloquial Tibetan” (sec. ed. 1918) treats about this employment of *de* in the 6th chapter § 19 (p. 60) under the designation of “agentive participle” and gives among others the following example: “*khas sa hgro nan (mkhan) ban chen de*” “The messenger who went yesterday”, or: “*kas sa yi ye gton nan (mkhan) mi de*”, “The man who sent the letter yesterday”, or “*khas sa btañ nahi (bahi) yi ye de*”, “The letter which was sent yesterday”. Of course, these examples are not to be considered as syntactically quite equivalent. Here there is the genitive ending *bahi* before the noun in the sense of an attribute, as in the last example, we may think at once that the conjunction *de* is nothing but a postponed demonstrative pronoun by which the preceding noun is taken up again. But this may be the case in the other sentences as well, and then the characterisation by “agentive participle” is also cor-

rect. But the general use in the old written, literary language appears to have been larger, in so far as the participle *de* (or *te, sta* according to sandhi rules) referred not to a single noun, but to the whole sentence. With other words: the particle *de* etc. was not used in its general meaning of a demonstrative pronoun, but rather in that of a particle of time: "then", or of locality: "there". So it may be regarded as a conjunction for co-ordinate sentences generally, but one which shifted to the use of a subordinating conjunction with the power to change the *preceding* sentences into a subordinate one, and thus we may acquiesce in acknowledging that the general use of former grammars which inclined to call *te, de* etc. a subordinative conjunction, was quite legitimate.

So we may recapitulate what we have said in the preceding pages in the following manner. We have got to distinguish a double use of *de* etc., 1) the one as a demonstrative pronoun, visible better in the modern use of it for forming the "agentive participle", as noted by Ch. Bell, and 2) the one as a demonstrative particle with the meaning of "then" or "there" which is to be considered as a co-ordinating conjunction, but shifting to the use of a postponed subordinative conjunction. How this double use of *de* is to be explained or brought upon one line, remains still open and will require some more research, and it will be appropriate, perhaps, to found it upon a study of the modern dialects of Tibet. There is no much probability, that the modern translations of the Bible will shed any more light upon this question as they are modelled chiefly after the old Buddhist translations of Indian texts—as we have shown in a former paper. And with the dialects there is the difficulty that we cannot always and everywhere state the identity of the forms current to-day with forms used in the literary

language. Notwithstanding we may try to show, to which results such a comparing study will lead.

In the "General Introduction" to Grierson's "Linguistic Survey of India", Vol. III. Tibeto-Burman family. Part I. p. 28 we read: "Another common suffix is *chas* in Baltī. Other suffixes of the same kind are *mkhan*, *te*, *ching*, *gin*, etc.... *Te* is used after the consonants *n*, *r*, *l* and *s*. After *d* it is replaced by *de*, and after *g*, *ng*, *b*, *m*, and vowels by *ste*. It is the usual suffix of the conjunctive participle: thus *htang-ste*, "having given".

What is of most interest for us amongst all this is the information about the use of *te*, corresponding as for the rest exactly with what is said in the grammars of classical Tibetan. As there is no reference at all here to the use in dialects and especially also to the question, whether it exists in these, although in somewhat altered form, we are referred to hypotheses rather than to well-founded facts in quoting instances from the dialectical patterns given in the volume. Only with this restriction it is possible at all to communicate some examples for the use of *de*, *te*, etc., and to deduce some conclusions from them as to the syntactical use of the rather doubtful corresponding forms.

Thus it is absolutely unintelligible whether we can combine the classical termination *te*, *de* etc, with the one given in the grammatical remarks about the dialect of Baltī (l. c. p. 37): "Conjunctive particles are formed by adding the suffix *e* to the present or past base. Thus, *ser-re*, saying; *khur-re*, taking, *ong-s-e*, having come; *hhyong-s-e*; having brought; *be ya-s-e*, doing."

I do not think that this termination, consisting only of the vocalic epenthese *-e* which we may consider as a short vowel-noise corresponding to the *-o* terminating principal

clauses stands in any direct relation to the classical termination *te*, *de* etc. I should rather think that we have to seek for an explanation on exactly the same lines as was given by me for the phenomenon just mentioned of final *-o*. Here, the two sentences which in the Introduction just quoted are considered as subordinate and principal, are evidently put together without any conjunction at all, the terminating *-e* (-*e,o*) being only the sign for elevating the intonation and thus indicating (*viz.*, by musical pitch) the introduction of the next sentences which therewith is ranged as a principal one. So, all this would be considered according to the rules laid down for the use of terminating *-o* in my paper cited above.

I only want to give one or two examples for the use of this *e* in Balti, sufficient to show the absolute analogy with the use of *-o*: l. c. p. 39: ... *khur-sē* (carrying) ... *bes b<sup>e</sup> yas* (way made.)

... *so sē* (living) ... *skang-at-pa* (filled.)

... *ong-sē* (having come) ... *zers* (said).

... *song-sē* (having gone) ... *zer-uk* (shall say.)

If we go on now to the dialect of Purik, being the link between Balti and Ladakhi, we find a very similar use. There are the following remarks about it in the short grammar that precedes the specimens: "Adverbial and conjunctive particles are formed by adding the suffixes *se* and *te*; thus, *shi se*, "dying", *that-te* "gladly". *E* is sometimes used in the same way. Thus, *zer-re*. "saying". Such forms are occasionally also used as verbal nouns. Thus, *zer-sē-nā*, "from saying, having said" *logh-sē-nā*, "having returned" ...".

This use may be illustrated by the following examples (l. c. f. 47.):

... *sgō-sē* ... *tang-s* “(having divided . . . (he) gave”.

... *b<sup>e</sup> yas-sē* ... *druls*, “having done . . . (he) went”.

If we come now to the dialect of Ladakh, we find in the grammatical remarks, given after Mr. Franck's Ladakhi grammar, the following rule relative to the suffix *te* (p. 58): “Conjunctive participles are formed by adding the suffix *-te* to the present or past base; thus, *zer-te*, “saying”; *song-s-te*, “having gone”. There are for it the following instances (p. 62):

*khur-ste* (taking with him) . . . *langs-song* (he started); *tshar-te* (finishing) . . . *yong s te* (having arrived) . . . *song* (he went);

*Yong-s-te* (having come) . . . *zer-pa* (he said).

Thus we may say as to the use in Ladakhi, that sentences are joined to one another in a somewhat narrower or more intimate fashion by terminating the first by *-e* which evidently here also denotes only the rising of the musical accent.

Going on, we find that in the rather unimportant dialect of Lahul about which only scanty information is given, the usual suffix of the verbal noun is *che*. But this has evidently nothing to do with the conjunctive particle *de*, *te* . . . or *e*, being related rather to the classical *cii*. Their is neither a specimen of the dialect to be used confidently.

Now, as to the Central dialect which is the lingua franca of Tibet and not exclusively the local dialect of Lha-sa, we may not expect at all any remarkable difference from the classical language. Indeed, we find here the use of *ste* exactly as in the texts of the bKah-hgyur or bsTan-hgyur. Cf. f. 76: “Conjunctive participles are formed by adding case-suffixes to the base or by means of special suffixes such as *de* and *te*, *ching* and *shi*”

As to the remaining dialects of this group, especially those of Spiti (l. c. p. 83) and Nyamkat (p. 86), the informa-

tion given is rather scanty. There is scarcely anything said about them, that was not remarked as yet in reference to the preceding ones. The other Tibeto-Himalayan dialects treated on p. 187 ff., are too distinct from the models of classical Tibetan as to permit any comparation.

If, finally, we try to draw the conclusions from these notes about the southern Tibetan dialects, they may be resumed as follows:

Evidently there were two kinds of using conjunctive particles, joined to the verbal form which finishes—terminates, the former clause: either a syllable derived from the old particle *de, te, ste* was affixed to it, or merely the vowel *e* (*e, g.,* in the dialect of Balti) which is to be considered as a designation for the elevated intonation that is to announce the new sentence to which the preceding one is the introduction. This *e* would thus correspond to the *o* used at the end of principal clauses and joined to the last word by doubling its consonant. I hope I have sufficiently shown in a former paper, that this *o* means the lowering of the musical intonation; in the same manner terminating *e* would express the rising of intonation at the end of the secondary sentence.

On the other hand, the particle *-te* etc., used in the dialects of Ladakh, Spiti etc., as well as in the Central dialect, may be derived from an original *de, viz.*, a kind of demonstrative particle, referring either to the whole preceding sentence, or, as is the general use in modern colloquial Tibetan (as noted by Ch. Bell), to the subject of this sentence. In the former case we may consider it as a kind of postponed subordinating conjunction in the latter as an “agentive participle”, as such it has been characterised by Ch. Bell in his Grammar of colloquial Tibetan.

Of course, the question arises now whether it would not be possible to give for these two linguistical phenoumena a common explanation, either by considering the one of them as the cause of the other, or by deriving them from a common source. I think we can proceed from either as being the original construction.

Firstly, we may suppose that in the same way, as the syllable *o* or rather the expiring vowel-sound on a very pronounced deep pitch, was used for designating the end of the whole sentence, the syllable *e*, as the corresponding high vowel-noise being employed for severing the preceding "subordinate" clause (but which did not differ as to the form from a "principal" one, except the finishing *e*) from the subsequent "principal" one. This state of things appears clearly in Balti like *zer-re*, *kur-re* (Ling. Survey, III, 1, p. 37), but it exists most probably also in forms which may be derived from the past participle ending in *s*, e. g. *ong-s-e*, "having come": *khyong s-e*, having brought"; *beya-s-e*, "doing". If we wish to reduce the forms terminating in *te*, *-ste*, *-de* as well to this pure vocalic noise at the end of "subordinate" clauses, we are to presume that this process took its origin from such verbal stems which had a dental explosive as termination. We know from the oldest sources of Tibetan script that this terminating *d* was much more repanded in Tibetan than appears in modern writing, and that especially the stems ending in *l*, *r*, *n* in most cases had a *d* at the end.\*

\*In native Tib grammar it is called *da-drag*. Cf. Jaeschke, Tibetan grammar 3rd edi (p. 45 § 34), p. 147; Laufer. Bird divination among the Tibetans (Toung Tao, 1914, p. 56 ff.); Schubert, Tib. National grammatis, Berlin, vol. 31, 32) I. V. 13 ff.—For the phonetic value of *d* as final consonent see Karlgren, Prblems in archaic Chinese, I. R. A. S. 1928, p. 789 ff.

Here quite naturally the termination appeared as *de* or *te*, which was later on considered and treated as an independent suffix in so far as it could be added to every verbal stem.

On the other side we may take our departure from the demonstrative *de* as well, which even in modern times has been made use of again in forming the "agentive participle" (Ch. Bell). It is true that this construction is somewhat more difficult to be understood in such cases where there is not a single word, *viz.* the subject of the succeeding principal sentence, brought into relation with the preceding 'subordinate' sentence, but where we feel rather induced to consider the preceding sentence as an absolute participle, corresponding to the Latin *ablativus absolutus*, the Greek *genitivus absolutus* etc. But from all these Indo-European constructions the Tibetan would differ in so far as there is no case ending at all, designating the syntactical dependency of the preceding sentence. In opposition to them, in Tibetan the dependence is expressed only by rising the intonation towards the end of the preceding sentence which thus keeps in a certain degree its character of a principal sentence, formally at least. But about all this we have spoken in the first part of this paper to which it may be sufficient to refer.

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## THE LANGUAGE OF THE KIRTILATA

*By*  
**BABURAM SAKSENA.**

1. *Kirtilata* of Vidyāpati, the well known poet of Mithilā, is one of his earliest works: it was written about 1360 A. D. The author calls the language of the poem, *avahatthā* (p. 6).<sup>1</sup>

It thus represents the *Apabhramṣa* of the 14th century. Vidyāpati terms the language *dēsila baanā* ‘country-speech’ also in the same breath and hence it appears that the language represents the speech of the times—particularly of the cultured classes. The vocabulary represents all the three elements—*tatsama*, *tadbhava* and *Desī*. *Tatsama* forms are very often resorted to. The first five stanzas of the introduction as well as the closing stanzas of every chapter are in Sanskrit entirely. While writing prose the author several times lapses into Sanskrit of an ornate classical style, for instance:

- p. 12 *atha gadya . . . pavitra . . . . . deva.*
- p. 14 *prabala ū̄śatru . . . . . jayalakṣmī.*
- p. 18 *hṛdaya giri kandarā nindrāna pitvairi kēśari.*
- p. 20 *vismṛtavāmiśōka (hu) kuṭibarāja nīticatura (hu).*
- p. 36 *mānayjana (ka) lajjāvalambita mukhacandrikā kuatli  
katāksachāṭā kandarpa ū̄śara ū̄śrenī.*

This clearly shows that the language of the cultured class incorporated words from the ever-present literary language viz. Sanskrit just as literary Hindi does to-day or literary Urdu does from Persian. The Pandits of Mithilā have always been an orthodox set and have kept in close touch of Sanskrit literature and thus at every stage they could freely borrow from the parent

1. The references are to the pages of *Kirtilata*, edited by the writer of this monograph and published by the Indian Press, Ltd., Allahabad. The text has been collated from two manuscripts and from Har Prasad Shastri's Bengali edition, and is accompanied by a Hindi translation and an introduction. The edition was taken in hand at the suggestion of Sir George Grierson.

language. Even to-day, the Pandits' maithili differs from that of the illiterate country-man in this particularity to a considerable extent.

The **tadbhava** words have a great variety of forms, the same words may represent several stages of its development, e.g. **brāhmaṇa** : **bāṁhāṇa** p. 32, **bābhāṇa**, p. 44. This is explicable by the fact that the same word may have been taken as a loan from Sanskrit at various stages.

**Dēśī** words are very few. **Chailla** appears earlier in Prakrit works (e.g., in *Karpūramāñjarī*); I have noticed in this text **dhāgāḍa**, p. 90 and **rūṇḍa**, p. 90.

2. Besides the above the text contains a large number of loan-words from Persian and Arabic. The poem gives a detailed description of **Jaunāpur** (modern Jaunpur), the seat of a Muslim principality. The following is the list:

**Surtāna**, p. 10, (**Surutāna** p. 44), **pātiśāha**, p. 14, 22, **turukka**, (**turukkā**, p. 38, **turuka**, p. 40, 44, **tuluka**, p. 66, 70, **turukini**, p. 42) **sāha**, p. 36, **Kammāṇa**, p. 38, (**kamāṇa**, p. 90), **maijalla**, p. 40, **mīra**, p. 40, **vallia**, p. 40, **saillāra**, p. 40, **sarāba**, p. 40, **kbāṇa**, p. 40, **mukadama**, p. 42, **matarupha**, p. 42, **carakha**, p. 42, **saada**, p. 42, **?vilaha**, p. 42, **daravesa**, p. 42, **makhadūma**, p. 42, 80, **hukuma**, p. 42, **bāga**, p. 42, **misimila**, p. 42, 90, **nīmāja**, p. 44, **masīda**, p. 40, 44, **gālima**, p. 46, (**darabāra**, p. 46 (**darabāla**, p. 50)), **mahala**, p. 46, **dārigaha**, p. 50, **nīmājagaha**, p. 50, **khoāragaha**, p. 50, **khōramagaha**, p. 50, **davāla**, p. 50, **dākhōla**, p. 52, **ujjīra**, p. 56, **khodālamba**, p. 58, **pāpōsa**, p. 58, **pharamāṇa**, p. 58, **sēra**, p. 58, **demāṇa**, p. 62, **gaddavara**, p. 62, **?kurubaka**, p. 62, **adapa**, p. 62, **takata**, p. 98, (**takatāna**, p. 64), **tabala**, p. 66, **malika**, p. 110 (**manīka**, p. 80), **rāha**, p. 80, **bakhata**, p. 80, **daneja**, p. 80, **thēgha**, p. 82, **nisāṇa**, p. 84, **tajāna**, p. 84, **bāga**, p. 84, **cābuka**, p. 88, **tarakasa**, p. 88, **phauda**, p. 88, **magōla**, p. 90, **khundakāra**, p. 90, **bagala**, p. 90, **banda**, p. 90, **sikāra**, p. 98, **mahamada**, p. 100, **sarama**, p. 102, **gandā**, p. 38, **bandā**, p. 38, **kūja**, p. 38, 42, **tabellā**, p. 38, **dokkānadarā**, p. 38, **khisā**, p. 38, **mōjā**, p. 40,

**khōjā**, p. 40, 42, **kalīmā**, p. 42, **kasidā**, p. 40, **kitēbā**, p. 40, **kabābā**, p. 40, **paedā**, p. 40, 80, **nevālā**, p. 42, **dvāā**, p. 42, **bādi**, p. 38, **raiati**, p. 68, **bajārī**, p. 38, **karibī**, p. 40, **bājū**, p. 38, **peājū**, p. 38 **piāju**, p. 42) **sarāfē**, p. 38, **kalāmē**, p. 40, **khodāe**, p. 40. **gulāmō**, p. 38, (**gulāmā**, p. 96) **salāmo**, p. 38, **tokhāra-hī**, p. 40, **rōjā**, p. 42, **mulukkā**, p. 46, **umāra**, p. 46, (**ūmārā**), **kādī**, p. 80, **menānē**, p. 50, **hauddē**, p. 96, **hajārī**, p. 38, **khāsa**, p. 50, **kharāba**, p. 40, **sadara**, p. 50, **tēji tājī**, p. 84, 88, **kharidē**, p. 38, **abē bē**, p. 38.

These words take up the terminations like Sanskritic words; the nearest sounds have been substituted for such foreign sounds as do not exist in the language. There are certain modifications which are explicable only by the hypothesis of hesitation and uncertainty of the correct pronunciation.<sup>1</sup>

3. The sounds do not need a separate treatment as the history of I. A. sounds is regular in this text. The following points, however, may be noted:—

(a) Vowels — these are generally lengthened at the end of a foot for the sake of metre and rhyme and sometimes even in the middle (e. g., **phūra**, p. 76). But the lengthening is inexplicable on this ground in several cases (**dīgantara**, p. 70, cf. **diggantara**, p. 94, **antarikkha**, p. 106, cf. **antarikhkha**, p. 110, **thira**, p. 92, cf. **thira** p. 110). In one instance even the quality of the vowel has been changed for rhyme (ī becomes ī—**nōra** for **nīra** in order to rhyme with **bōhra**, p. 22). In **kumara**, p. 24, and **rājā**, p. 24, the shortening of the vowels (**kumāra** and **rājā**) is not explicable. **ai** and **au** in a few cases appear written as diphthongs but are really simple vowels āī āū.

(b) Initial **y** was pronounced as **j** as is clear from its appearance in two places where **j** - was expected (**yanāvañō**, p. 4, **yujjhayi**, p. 90, cf. **jujjha**, p. 84) -<sup>v</sup>**y** (in place of an elided -**k**-)

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1. For a detailed treatment of foreign sounds see the writer's paper: 'Persian loan-words in the Rāmāyan of Tulsīdās'—Allahabad University Studies, Vol. I, pp. 63-75.

is retained in some cases as is clear from its representation by e (*sakala*>*saela*, p. 50, *nagara*>*nayara*, p. 16, cf. *naara*, p. 26) as medial -ya and -e had no distinction in pronunciation (*payadā*, p. 40). r and l are confounded in several words (*ghōlā*, p. 24, 30, *ghōrā* p. 44, cf. *ghōdā*, p. 68, *sambala*, p. 24, *sambara*, p. 70); l, however, has an upper hand: *palai*, *pali*, p. 66 (cf. Hin. *par-* Awadhī *par*), *joli* (cf. Aw. *jörl*), p. 88, *pakali*, p. 100 (cf. Awadhī *pakari*), *davali* p. 46 (Aw. *dauri*). The text has v abundantly, but this simply is used for b in most instances (e.g. *vamhana*, p. 32).

(c) nasals—no distinction appears to have been made between n̄ and n, the latter being the pronounced nasal (*suana*, p. 4 *suana*, p. 32) Old -n̄n̄- was pronounced as -ṇḍ- as is clear from *akandana*, p. 6, *pundu*, p. 8, *senḍu*, p. 64. ñ represents ý initially and mere nasalisation medially (*ñañona*, p. 26, *kahaño*, p. 8).

n represents l in *manika*, p. 80 and *nahia*, p. 48 and l represents n in *lasūlā*, p. 38 and *ilamē*, p. 48. -m- is represented by -v->b- generally, but the reverse process is found in *apāmana*, p. 34 (<*apāvana* through *apāvāna*). In *samhāra*, p. 28, (<*sambhāra*: *sabbhāra*), m possibly represents merely nasalisation. In *cānda*, p. 34, *rānika*, p. 50, *cāndana*, p. 68 and *āṅga*, p. 68, (cf. *āga*) the nasal was very weak and was coming towards nasalisation merely. The text is very fond of nasalisation and in most cases there is no plausible reason for it, e. g., *amiñña*, p. 56 for *amia*, *pāñña*, p. 6 for *pāua*; *piña*, p. 16, *ūpāe*, p. 10, *ūmīra*, p. 60, *kīja*, p. 68, *turukkā*, p. 38, *jāniña*, p. 52, *bissamiñña*, p. 52.

(d) sibilants -ṣ appears in many instances but its pronunciation was kh as is clear from the following instances *khāna*, p. 40, *sāṇa*, p. 46, *susa*, p. 56, *sanē*, p. 68). It was possibly pronounced ṣ (or s ?) when a velar consonant was in proximity e.g. *ahisēka*, p. 112 (cf. modern pronunciation of *ṣaṣṭhi* as *khaṣṭhi*). The regular sibilant was s.

(e) aspiration—The absence of aspiration in *nakata*, p. 42 (<*naksatra*, modern *nakhata*) and its presence in *bipatha*, p. 70 (<*vipatti*) and *pacchusa*, p. 56 (<*pratyusa*) is not easy to account

for. At some places the orthography doubles the same aspirated consonant (*e.g.* **uththi**, p. 50), but it represents a combination of the unaspirated and the aspirated form. The consonant -h- comes up in several instances in grammatical forms and is inexplicable, *e.g.* in the past tense of the verbal forms.

(f) mutes—The absence of voice in **ṭhaka**, p. 16 (modern **ṭhaga** Skt. **sthag-**) is not easy to understand. The pronunciation -dh- appears to have been unstable (**caḍhāvai**, p. 44, **caḍi**, p. 100, **cabri** p. 98).

(g) The following instances of **sandhi** have been noted: **kikkariaū**, p. 70, **kikkariā**, p. 80, **āevaja**, p. 30, **jajjamia**, p. 10.

In the following pages a detailed grammar of the language is given.

## NOUNS.

### §4. Bases end in -a, -ā, -i, -ī, -u, and -ū.

By far the largest number is that of -a bases which are about 1700 (about 1400 without terminations and about 300 with terminations). The number of ā bases is 225, of -i 155, of -ī 80, of, -u 45 and of -ū 7<sup>3</sup>.

(a) Bases in -a represent either old bases in -a (*e.g.* **hiaa**, p. 6; Skt. **hr̥daya** ‘heart’, **suana** p. 4: **sujana** ‘a good man’, **chailla**, p. 4: Pkt. **chailla** ‘clever’), or old bases in -ā (*e.g.* **lāja** p. 92: Skt. **lajjā** ‘shame’, **sēva** p. 8: Skt. **sēvā** ‘service’) or are loan-words from Persian-Arabic (*e.g.* **kammāṇa** p. 38: Pers. **kamān** ‘bow’, **nimāja** p. 44: Ar. **namāz** ‘prayer’). It is certain that the final -a (after consonants) was not pronounced, it appears here because the script does not distinguish between a consonant plus -a and a mere consonant in the final position.

3. For the purposes of statistics in this monograph, if a noun occurs more than once it has been taken to be as many nouns, *e.g.* if **kaṭaka** ‘army’ occurs as **kaṭaka** twice, as **kaṭakāñī** twice and as **kaṭake** once, it will count as five nouns.

(b) Bases in -ā are either the ancient -ā bases (*e.g.* vēsā p. 34: Skt. vēśyā ‘prostitute’, rajā p. 24: Skt. rājā ‘king’, or the elongated forms of ancient -a bases (*e.g.* vaanā p. 6: Skt. vacana -ka ‘speech’ vallahā p. 26: Skt. vallabha -ka ‘dear one’, bōlā p. 94: Pkt. bōla -‘word’), or are loanwords from Persian ending in -ā, -ah and a consonant, (*e.g.* dvāā p. 42: dwāā ‘blessing’: ūmārā p. 60, umrā ‘noblemen’; kūjā p. 38: kūzah ‘cup’, khōjā p. 42: khwa:jah ‘an honourableman’; kiteba p. 40: kitab- ‘book’. turukā p. 44: turk ‘Turk’). Of about 225 bases ending in ā, 80 are old -ā bases, and 16 loan-words from Persian. The rest are the elongated forms of -a bases. Some of these have short forms also, *e.g.* ghōlā, p. 52 and ghōla, p. 24.

(c) Bases in -i\* either represent old -i, -ī, -in bases (*e.g.* satti p. 6: Śakti ‘strength’, vijjāvai p. 4: vidyāpati, mēini p. 12: mēdīnī ‘earth’, hāthi p. 30: hastin ‘elephant’) or are Persian bases in -ī or a consonant (*e.g.* bādi p. 33: bādī ‘maid’, raiati p. 63: ra'yat ‘subjects’). Besides jai p. 48 represents Skt. jaya ‘victory’, gāi p. 44 represents Skt. gō ‘cow’. The actual Sanskrit from gō occurs on p. 34 Except half a dozen nouns mentioned above, all the bases in -i are representatives of Sanskrit -i, and ī- and -in nouns.

(d) Bases in -ī represent old -ī (*e.g.* lacchī, p. 26, mēmī, p. 106: mēdīnī ‘Earth’), -i (*pāti*, p. 24: pañkti through Skt. panti ‘line’, bhūmī, p. 96: bhūmi through Pkt. bhūmī ‘Earth’), -ikā (kāhānī, p. 8: \*kathānikā ‘story’, piārī, p. 20: priyakārikā ‘beloved’) and -in bases (*manti*, p. 20: mantrin ‘minister’). As a result we have both short and long forms of a few nouns, *manti*: manti, mēini: mēmī. Besides these, we have a few loan-words from Persian *viz.* karībī p. 40 ‘paucity’: qarībī, bādi p. 63 ‘maid’, kādi p. 80: qāzī ‘judge’ turukīnī p. 42 is a feminine form of the loan-word.

(e) Bases in -u represent old -u (*e.g.* sattu, p. 8: śatru ‘enemy’, riū, p. 12: ripu ‘enemy’, pahu, p. 56: prabhu ‘master’). In bhāhu, p. 112 we find a representation of -ū base (bhrātrvadhu ‘younger brother’s wife’) and in gōru, p. 90, -u represents -upa > -ua > -u.

(f) Bases in -ū are only elongated -u bases **pasū**, p. 6 'cattle', **hīndū** p. 42 <**sindhu** 'Hindu' (aspiration lost by Persianisation) **sattū** p. 104. There is one Persian loan-word **bājū**, p. 38: **bāzū** 'side'.

(g) One noun **bhuavai**, p. 8 is found in -ai but it represents only -āi. There is one noun **mātr**, p. 18 which is pure Sanskrit. A few nouns are found in -e but the sound -e in them represents -ya of Sanskrit (*e.g.* **vae**, p. 92: **vyaya** 'expense') or of the Prakrits (*e.g.* **rāe**, p. 10: **rāyā** 'king' **loe**, p. 43: **lōka**>**lōya** 'people') or in one case of Persian (**khodāe**, p. 40: **khodāyā** 'God').

#### CASE-TERMINATIONS.

5. Out of about 2200 nouns used in the text, only a little over than 300 appear with terminations. These are :—

-m, -ēna, ēhi (-ēhī), -ānā, -āñī, -ha, hi (-hī), -nhi (-nha) -u, -o, -ānañō, -e (ē) and -hu.

(a) Only one instance of -m (**rōlam**, p. 106 'uproar') is found and it is a Prakritism. (b) So also are 4 instances of -ēna (**purisattanēna**, 'by valour' **jamma-mattēna** 'by mere birth' and **jaladānēna** 'by gift of water' all in one stanza p. 6 and **gamanēna** 'by going' p. 94) and (c) 4 of -ēhi (**khaggēhī** 'with swords', p. 104, **parakkamēhi** 'with feats of valour' p. 84, **cāmarehi** 'with chowries', p. 84, **pakkharēhi** 'with coverings?', p. 84) (d) There is only one instance of -ānā (**nāmānā** 'names', p. 104) and it serves as accusative plural. Does it represent the ancient nominative plural of masculine -an bases? (e) **kātakāñī** 'armies', p. 76, p. 94 is found twice and represents -āni ending. It is interesting to note that -n- is represented here as -ñ- which is merely nasalisation, while it survives intact in **turukānañē** (see infra (h)). (f) There are 11 instances of -ha termination all after -a bases (*e.g.*, **jujjhaha** 'of the battle', p. 110, **dhuttaha** 'of the wicked person', p. 34, **rāaha** 'of the king', p. 22). Once -ha has been lengthened to -hā (**devahā** 'of the gods', p. 4). This -ha represents Skt. -sya>-ssa>-sa. In all the eleven instances it has a genitive sense.

(g) There are 44 instances of -hi (-hī). Of these 29 have a locative sense (*e. g.*, **kī samsārahi sāra** ‘what is the essence in the world’, p. 6, **tatthi doārahi paīa** ‘there on the door were found’, p. 48), 6 accusative (*e. g.*, **sattuhi mitta kae** ‘having made an enemy a friend’, p. 18), 7 instrumental (*e. g.*, **pae bhārahi** ‘by the weight of the feet’, p. 60) and 2 genitive (**rāyaghārahi kā pubba khēta** ‘the former field of Rājaghaba’, p. 102, **vaisyāhi karō sukha** ‘the happiness of those courtesans’, p. 34). Except in the two instances last mentioned it is every where found without postpositions. It is used in the singular except in one instance cited above. I should connect this with the -smin termination of Sanskrit.<sup>1</sup> The preponderating locative use of this case establishes that. The beginnings of the use of this case as a general oblique are found here. In a later Awadhi text (**Tulsidās-Rāmāyan**) this case is found as a very general oblique case.

Of the 44 instances of this case, 2 are of -u nouns 3 of -ā nouns and the rest of -a nouns.

(h) There are 13 instances of -nhi (12 after -a nouns and 1 after -ā noun) and 1 of -nha. Of these 11 have a genitive sense—9 with postpositions and 2 without them (*e. g.*, **mahājanhi karō bōlantā** ‘at the utterance of great men’ p. 18, **arirāanha lacchia chōli le** ‘seizes the glory of the enemy-kings’, p. 86). 1 accusative (**gō bōli gamāranhi chāda** ‘leave the country-people when they cry for protection’, p. 36) and 2 agentive (**tabbē mantinha kiau baththāva** ‘then a suggestion was made by the counsellors’, p. 56, **maharāanbi mallikē cappiliū** ‘the malik was overcome by the mahārājā’, p. 112). This case is based on the ancient genitive; the addition of -hi is possibly on the analogy of the singular in order to give a distinctive body to the case.<sup>2</sup>

1. I prefer the derivation of this case from -smin to -dhi (*vide* Chatterji: Origin and Development of Bengali, 499).

2. For detailed arguments for this see. I. A. LII, 1923, p. 76 where I discussed the derivation of the same case in **Tulsidās**.

(i) There are 12 instances of -u termination, 11 after -a nouns and 1 after -a noun (*kalau* ‘in the art or of the art’, p. 4). Of the 11 instances after -a bases, all except three have a nominative or accusative sense (e. g., *tabahu piāju piāju* *pai* ‘even then only calls onion, onion’ p. 42, *jasu patthāvē puṇdu* ‘at the mention of which merit (accrues)’, p. 8). In the three instances where the -u ending gives a genitive sense (*muhu bhītara* ‘in the (middle of) mouth’, p. 42, *senḍu sañkha* ‘the number of the army’, p. 64, *mahāmāsu khaṇḍo* ‘the piece of human flesh’, p. 106) it has been used like -a base in compounding. It should be noted that in two cases *senḍu*, and *rāu* the -u ending has come up after an -ā base reduced to -a, *sēnā>sennā>senna>senda*: *senḍu*, *rājā>rāā>rāa:rāu*. The -a forms of these words (*senna* and *rāa*) are attested by this very text. This -u ending is the ancient -ō -ah of the Nominative singular.

**Note.**—In all the eleven instances -u comes as a substitute for final -a (*māsu* and not *māsau*).

(j) There are 33 instances of -ō ending, 9 added after final -a and 24 substituted for it. This is the old Nominative singular ending coming after the ordinary or the elongated (-ka) base. The -o is sometimes short and sometimes long. The sense is everywhere nominative or accusative (e. g., *jahā jāia jehe gāñō*, *bhogai rajā ka baddi nāñō* ‘wherever to whichever village they went, there was great fame of King Bhōgēśvara’ p. 24) except in the following instances:

**maḥauō kā ākusa** “the goad of the elephant-keeper”, p. 82,  
**diggantara rāā sēvō āā** ‘the kings from all the other quarters came for service, p. 94,

**pāo pahārē puhuvi kappa** ‘the Earth trembled at the stroke of the foot’, p. 102.

**calia takatāna suratāna ibarāhimao** ‘the coaches of Sultan Ibrāhim moved’, p. 64.

In these instances the -ō ending has lost its force of the

Nom.—accusative and has been used as an ordinary base. We also find five instances where a noun with this ending has been used in the plural (*kumārō* ‘princes,’ p. 38, *kumāraō*, p. 80, *dvaraō* ‘doors,’ p. 42, *gulāmō* ‘slaves,’ p. 38, *salāmō* ‘greetings,’ p. 38).

(k) There is one instance (*Turukānañō* of the Turks’, p. 38) of -ānāñō ending (based on ancient -ānām).

(l) Of 191 instances of -e (-ē) ending, 150 are in -e and 41 in -ē. Of these 1 is after -i base *pūhaviē'* of the Earth’, p. 46) and in this case is the representative of the Prakrit oblique ending -ē after feminine bases... Three are after -ā bases (*tulanāñē* ‘by comparison,’ p. 14), *majjāñē* ‘by marrow,’ p. 106, *vidhātāñē* ‘by the ‘Creator,’ p. 14) of which the first two are oblique.) -ē (Pkt. fm.) and one is instrumental on the model of -a bases. The rest are with -a bases. The largest number indicates an instrumental sense (65 -e and 27 -ē), e.g., *rūñē* ‘by beauty,’ p. 48, *paa bhare* ‘by the weight of the foot,’ p. 46, *bharē*, p. 86 next comes locative (41 -e and 4 -ē), e.g. *maggē* ‘on the way, p. 104 *meñāñē*’ in the middle,’ p. 50, *māthē* ‘on the head<sup>1</sup> p. 68), 30 are with a nominative sense (27 -e, 4 -ē), 13 accusative (10 -e, 3 -ē) and 6 (e) denote a genitive sense, (e.g. *pattape cinhe* ‘signs of glory,’ p. 94). Under Nominative 7 e.g. *rāā puttē mandīā*’ the princes adorned’, p. 48, *kācalē kacalē nayanē* ‘bewitching eyes’, p. 86, *phaudē* ‘armies’ p. 96) and under accusative 2 (*mahala majēdē janantā* ‘knowing the joys of the palace’, p. 46, *nahia ilāmē* ‘having obtained rewards’, p. 48) denote a plural number. Under Nominative and accusative 24 -e endings are merely -ya, representing a medial consonant which has been lost or representing Sanskrit or Prakrit -ya (see supra §3).

The instrumental ending is surely ancient -ēna (-ēna, and the locative ancient -ē. Under nominative and accusative as well as genitive in the singular there is possibly māgadhi Nominative singular -e. In the plural, there appear to be the traces of the pronominal nominative -ē extended to the nominative as well.

20. **bīsa**, p. 90

28. **atthātsaō**, p. 52.

100. **sae**, p. 90, **śata**, p. 28.

1,000 **sahasa**, p. 26, **hajāri**, p. 38

1,00,000 **lakhkha** p. 33, **lakha**, p. 63

1,00,00,000 **kōti**

(b) **Ordinals**

1st. **pahila**, p. 36, **padha-na**, p. 16, **pratha-na**, p.

2nd **dosarē**, p. 68, **dosari**, p. 25

3rd. **tesarā**, p. 34

5th. **pancama**, p. 10

(c) **Fractional**

$1/3$  **tiya**, p. 36.

(d) **Miscellaneous**

'a few' -**ekkē**, p. 104, **ekka**, p. 20 **kichu** p. 62.

'numerous' -**bahula**, p. 70, **anēa**, p. 84, **anēkō**, p. 38 **bahū**, p. 106,  
**bahūtā**, p. 38, **bahuta**, p. 92, **pracura**, p. 28

'all' -**sabē**, p. 60, **saba**, p. 50, **sabba**, p. 16

'innumerable' -**anavarata**, p. 82, **anantā**, p. 40, **akhila**, p. 86.

## PRONOUNS.

### 9. First Person.

In the direct case there is only one form **hañō** 'I' which is found in five places, (p. 6, 8, 18, 80, 100). This is based on **aham**.

In the oblique **mo** (p. 64) is found once and so also **moñē** (p. 4), both have a dative sense. The genitive has several forms **mamā** (p. 22, 112), **mahu**<**masso** (p. 62, 110, 112) **maha** < **massa** (p. 110), **majhu** (p. 4, 58), **majjhū** (p. 22), **mujhu** (p. 70), **mujjhū** (p. 4, 72), all based on **mahyam** and **mōra** (p. 20), **mēra-hū** (p. 20) which appear to have an enclitic (**kara?**) added to the oblique form.

**ahma** appears twice (p. 72, 74) and **ammaha** once (p. 70) as genitive only. They go back to the Prakrit **ambē**,

### 10. Second Person.

In the direct **toñe** appears once (p. 112), **tōha** once (p. 64) and **tohe** four times (p. 58, 64, 64, 64) **tumhē** appears as Nominative four times (p. 60, 60, 64, 64) and as accusative once (p. 60).

In the oblique **tohi** (p. 112) appears accusative and **tujjhū** once as dative (p. 112) and twice on (p. 56, 58) as genitive **tumhē** occurs as a genitive twice p. 60 and **tumha** as genitive twice (p. 58, 60). Oblique **tō** (p. 58) is used with the postposition **kē** as a dative.

All these forms are derivable from the Prakrit forms.

### 11. Third Person.

The forms of the third person, remote demonstrative and correlative fall together.

In the direct singular the text has the following:

(a) **sō** which appears six times as demonstrative (p. 6, 6, 8, 26, 62, 112) and twice (p. 4, 20) as correlative,

(b) **sa** (p. 12) as third person pronoun

(c) **sē** as correlative once (p. 112) and as demonstrative once (p. 112).

(d) **ō** seven times (p. 4, 50, 50, 64, 64, 64, 68) and **ō-hu** thrice (p. 50, 64, 64) appear as demonstrative.

In the direct plural we have two forms **tā** (p. 96) as a correlative and **tē** (p. 94) as third person subject.

The oblique has several forms **tā** is found twice (p. 22, 100) as accusative and once as genitive (p. 94), **tāhi** appears thrice (28, 50, 50) and in every case stands as a demonstrative adjective to plural nouns, once it appears with **karō** (p. 86) as genitive singular. Similarly **tanhi** (p. 36) without postposition and **tānhi** (p. 36, 12) with **kari**, **karō** denote genitive plural and **tenhe** (p. 76) and **tenhi** (p. 62) stand as demonstrative adjectives with plural nouns. **tasu** (p. 26, 33, 44, 4, 8, 10, 50, 74, 83, 100), **tāsu** (p. 10, 12, 74, 100, 76) and **tisu** (p. 74) stand as genitive without postposition, only once does **tasu** appear with **kera** (p. 32).

**ao** without postposition (p. 96) and with **k̄** (p. 32) and **kā** (p. 42) denotes genitive.

**tauna** appears once (p. 58) as an adjective and is derived from **ta+uña** (**tat punah**). **tam:** Pkt. **tam** as an adjective is found twice (p. 88, 90) in the sense of 'that'.

### 12. Relative Pronoun.

In the direct **jō** appears as Nominative singular thrice (p. 4, 20, 80) and **jē** thrice as singular (p. 10, 16, 72) and once as plural (p. 96).

In the oblique singular we have **jēna** thrice on p. 8 (Pkt. **jēna**) and **jē< jēna** thrice (p. 8, 10, 80) **jē** appears as an adjective twice (p. 90, p. 112). As agentive **jenhē** appears on (p. 10, 12, 14 and six times on p. 76 and **jenne** once (p. 12). In all these cases it is plural. There is one instance of **jei** (p. 10) and there are two instances of **janhi**, once (p. 34) without post-position and once (p. 32) with **kē**. In the genitive singular we have **jasu** (p. 6, 8, 74, 76, 88, 114), **jassa** (p. 6) **jāsu** (p. 6, 8, 48, 84) and **jisu** (p. 74). **jam** appearing once (p. 10) is used as a locative, **jehe** as an adjective of **gāñō** (p. 24) and **jeñona** (<**jem una**) of **darabāra meñānē** (p. 50).

### 13. Proximate Demonstrative.—

In the direct we have **i** (p. 4) and **ēhu** (p. 8, 18, 50, 96) and in the oblique **ehi** (p. 18) and **ēhī** (p. 50).

**i** is a modern demonstrative; **ēhu<ēsō** and in **ehi**, **ēhī-hi** possibly represents the oblique ending.

### 14. Interrogative.—

In the direct we find **kō** on p. 8, 62, 64, 82, 96, 110 and **kē** on p. 52, 88 as animate and **kī** (p. 6, 98, 98, 60, 70, 76, 80) **kā** (p. 4, 28, 34, 40, 42) and **kāha** (p. 64) as inanimate. We also have **kavana** (p. 8), **kañona** (p. 51), **kamana** (p. 68, 96, 112) and **kamana** (p. 22).

There are two instances of **kēna** (instr. sg. p. 94, 98); of

these **kō**<**kaḥ**. **ke** is the Māg. form of **kō**; **ki** represents **klm**; **ka** and **kaḥa?**; **kavana** etc.. go back to **ka uṇa**.

### 15. Indefinite.

(a) 'Some one' -**kōi** appears once (p. 16) and **kāhū** 12 times (9 times on p. 24 and once each on p. 34, 36 and 42). Once we have **kāhu-o** (p. 24). The inanimate **kichu** (aomewhat) is found on p. 20, 30, 32, 42 and compounded with **āna** on p. 42.

(b) The pronouns meanig 'other' are:—

**āna** (**āṇa**) < **anya** on p 18, 50, 58, 62, 94, **iara** (p. 60) **iarō** (p. 4)<**itara**, **avaru** (p. 34)<**apara** and **para** (p. 48).

The last one has its adjectives **parāri** (p. 42) **parāri** (p. 104).

### 16. Reflexive.

We have several forms based on **ātman** viz., **āpē** (p 48, 80), **āpa ka-** (p. 90), **appā** (p. 104), **appa** (p. 4) **appu** (p. 32, 66) and **spana** (p. 22), **apanē** (p. 32), **apenehu** (p. 60), **apaneñō** (p. 42) and **appana** (p. 100). All are used in a genitive sense except **āpē** which means 'by one's self'. **nia** (p. 72, 48) and **niñā** (p. 8, 18, 60, 94, 100)<**nija** as well as **nija** (p. 18, 102) mean 'one's own'.

### 17. Pronominal Adjectives.

The following pronominal adjectives, besides those already mentioned under various pronouns, have been found in the text:—

(a) **taisanā** (**prastāva**) 'of that sort', p. 62, **taisao** (**kabba**) 'of that sort', p. 4; **aisa**, p. 22, **aisō** (**kaṭaknhī**) p. 92, **aiseo** (**paratāpe**), p. 44, **aisano** (**āsa**), p. 36, **aisaneñō** (**ūpatāpa**), p. 62, **aisenñao**, p. 34, —'such'; **jaisao** (**kabba**) 'as', p. 4.

(b) **tetulī** (**bēlā**) 'that much', p. 18, **ettā** (**dukbkha**) 'so much', p. 72, **kata** 'how much' p. 88.

(c) **ettē** (**lakkhana**) 'so many', p. 6; **kata** (**dhāgara**) ' how many?' p. 90, **katehu** (**dīnē**) 'many a', p. 24.

Of these (a) are based on -**dr̥śa** (**tādr̥śa** etc.), (b) and (c) on -**vat**. The suffix **-na** is an addition in **taisanā**, **taisao**; **aisa** being the ordinary forms.

### POSTPOSITIONS.

18. Only about a hundred postpositions are found in this text. Of these after nouns and pronouns we have the genitive postpositions used 73 times, instrumental and ablative 11 times, locative 6 times and dative once. The rest are after adverbs, e.g. **tē** and **kahu**.

(a) Genitive -dative.

**ka**—17 times (e.g. p. 14 **śakti ka parīkṣā** ‘test of strength). Only once has it a dative sense (**ahimāna ka** ‘to pride’ p. 58).

**kā**—3 times, once genitive (**nāgaranhi kā mana gāda** ‘got fixed in the hearts of citizens’, p. 33) and twice as dative (**adhamā uttama kā pāraka** ‘the low man gives deliverance to one high birth’ p. 16, **āna kā lāga** ‘stuck to another’, p. 30.)

**kā**—3(100, 102, 92) used as genitive in all the cases (e.g. **gandaka kā pānī** ‘the water of Gaṇḍaka’, p. 100).

**kē**—7 times always genitive and with a noun in an oblique case (e.g. **surutāna ke pharamānē** ‘on the Sultan’s Firmān’, p. 80).

**kai**—3 times, once with a feminine noun (**āsa asavāra kai** ‘the hope of a horseman’, p. 86) and twice with a masculine noun (**sira navai sabba kai** ‘the head of every one bends down’, p. 50, **bhae sabba kai** ‘everyone’s fear’, p. 50).

**kō**—7 times, all genitive (e.g. **rasa ko mamma** ‘the secret of sentiment’, p. .)

**karō**—14 times, all genitive with a singular noun (e.g. **tānhi karō putra** ‘their son’, p. 12).

**kare**—2 times, both genitive and with nouns in an oblique case (**kumbhōdbhava karē niyamātikramē pēli** ‘having moved in the transgression of the injunction of (the sage) born of a jar, p. 82, **padma kare ākārē** ‘in the form of a lotus’, p. 86).

**karēo**—4 times (14, 30, 32, 50, e.g. **dusṭā karēo dappa cūreō** ‘trampled on the pride of the wicked’, p. 14).

**karī** —7 times, all genitive with a feminine noun (*e.g.* sattu karī dīthi 'the glance of the enemy' p. 112).

**kērā** —5 times, all genitive (10, 26, 32, 72, 102, *e.g.* tā kula kēra baḍdipana 'the greatness of that family', p. 10).

**kērī** —once and with a feminine noun (tam diśa kērī rāya-ghara-tarunī haṭṭa bikāthi 'the youthful Royal ladies of that family are sold in the market', p. 90). Of the above ka, kā, kā, kē and kai go back to some forms of kṛta, and karō, karē, karēo and karī to the elongated Prakrit forms of the same participle (*kariō* etc.) while kērā and kerī possibly to \*kāryaka.

(b) Locative.

mājha 2(yuvarājanhi mājha pavitra 'clean (virtuous) amongst the Princes, p. 12, mājha sangama 'in the battle', p. 104)

maju 1(sānā maju 'in the army', p. 80)

mādi 1(bithi mādi 'in the street', p. 32).

pā 1(bhūmi pā 'on the Earth', p. 86).

pari 1(kamana pari 'on whom', p. 96).

Of these mājha and maju are derived from madhya and pā < pakṣa or pārṣva while pari < upari.

(c) Instrumental-ablative

sē —2(dāma sē 'by the string', p. 84, tāsa sē 'from fear', p. 84).

sañō —6 (6, 22, 32, 82, 104, *e.g.* jīva sañō 'with life', p. 22).

taha —1 (yatrāhū taha 'even by going', p. 30).

hō —1 (rōla hō 'by the noise', p. 30).

hunte —1 (duru hunte 'from far off', p. 46).

Of these sañō < sama or sa-nāna the latter being used as such in pabbata samāna 'with or like a mountain', p. 82); and sē < sahitena, while taha possibly comes from tataḥ, hunte from hontae- locative of the imperfect participle of √bhū - and hō also from √bhū -.

(d) Dative—besides the few cases cited under genitive we have lāgi once in the sense of 'for' (tesarā lāgi 'for the third' p. 34). It is the absolutive form of lag-

## VERBS.

19. The text abounds in the verbs of the past tense and of habitual or historic present, as it is a descriptive poem. The other verbs are found generally in direct speech.

## 20. The Present Tense.

This is generally expressed by verbs with personal terminations based more or less on the ancient Present tense. The terminations are:

|      | <i>Singular.</i>                                 | <i>Plural.</i>        |
|------|--|-----------------------|
| 1st. | -añō   |                       |
| 2nd. | (a) -asi<br>(b) -ahi                             |                       |
| 3rd. | (a) -ai (-ae)<br>(b) -ahi<br>(c) -athi<br>(d) -a | (a) -ahī<br>(b) -anti |

**Note.**—The initial **a-** of these terminations is elided if they are found after roots ending in **ā** (**jā**: **jāthi** p. 30), **ē** (**dē**: **dēi** p. 40), and **ō** (**hō**: **hōi**. p. 16).

1st sg.—e.g. **jampañō** 'I say', p. 6, **lāvañō** 'I bring', p. 100, **hañō kahañō** 'I say', p. 80. There is one instance (**dekhao** 'I see', p. 18) where **-ñ-** (which represented merely nasalisation) is absent. The termination is based on **-amah-** of the plural, transferred to the singular.

2nd sg.—There are only three instances of (a)—**kahasi** 'sayest', p. 6, **jāsi**, 'goest', p. 112, **bhaggasi** 'runs always', p. 112, all in a conjunctive sense, and three of (b)—**jāhi**, p. 112, **jāhi jāhi**, p. 112, and **jāhi jāhi**, p. 112, all in the sense of imperative. Both are possibly the **-si** termination of the Prakrits. (b) showing the development of **-s-** as **-h-**.

3rd. sg.—by far the most common form is **-ai**, (e.g. **besāhai** 'buys', p. 32, **pajjatāi** 'roams', p. 28) there are about half a dozen instances of **-ae** (e.g. **milae** 'meets' p. 38), nine of (b) (e.g. **dhāvahi**

'runs', p. 94) and sixteen of (c) (e.g. **āvāthi** 'comes', p. 30; once **hōtha** 'becomes', p. 102). Sometimes the same root is available under more than one form (**rahai**, p. 42, **rahai** p. 48, **āvāhl**, p. 46, **āvai**, p. 60). Of these form (a) goes back to Sanskrit-**ati**>-Prakrit-**ai**, -**ae** being merely a variant of **ai** in pronunciation. In **athi** there appears to be a resuscitation of the ancient form with an emphatic aspiration, and -**ahi** would be a derivation of -**athi**. Or possibly the -**h**- in -**ahi** represents emphatic **ai**. It should be noted that **athi** does not express any honorific sense as against modern Maithili (Chatterji, p. 936).

Besides the above we have two instances of -**ē** (**karē** 'does', p. 34, **kharidē** 'buys', p. 38) which is a further development of **ai**. We have ten instances of present tense in -**a** (e.g. **kara** 'does' p. 34, **bāja** 'strikes', p. 52, **basa** 'resides' p. 26, **hōa** 'becomes' p. 38). There are a few instances of the Past tense in -**a** (see infra 21 (a) A similar form in -**a** is found in Tulsidās also<sup>1</sup>. What is the origin of this? Does it represent, the loss of final -**i** of **ai**? But this is not attested by modern Maithili or Awadhī? Is the perfect participle here found used as the present?

**Note.**—In a few instances the root in -**ā**, -**ē** and -**ō** is by itself found without any desinence (**jā** 'goes', p. 34, **khā** 'eats' p. 42, **dē** 'gives' p. 42, **hō** 'becomes', p. 102, **lē** 'takes' p. 86.

3rd. plural—the (a) form is -**ahī** is the most common e.g. **hērahī** 'they look for', p. 26) **ānahī** 'they bring' p. 28), there being only three instances of (b) (**taullanti** 'they weigh', p. 38, **hasāhanti** 'they purchase', p. 38, **pajhālenti** 'they wash', p. 106). Both go back to ancient - **anti**, -**h-** in (a) being for emphasis or to avoid the hiatus and the (b) forms being the ancient resuscitated forms of the Prakrits.

## 21. The Past Tense.

This is based on the ancient perfect participle. The variety of forms is confusing by abundance and the use is without any

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1. Vide Allahabad University Studies Vol. II p. 212 Note 3.

reference to persons. The same form is found used with a first person, second person or third person subject. The following are the terminations:

- (a) -ō, -u (ū), -a, -ā in the singular and -ē in the plural.
- (b) -aū (-au).
- (c) -iāo, iaū (-iau), -iū.
- (d) -ia, -iñā, -jā.
- (e) -eo.
- (f) -ala, -ali.

(a) There are four instances of this form in -ō (*e.g. nimajjo* 'sunk', p. 108, *kharō* 'stood', p. 106), 12 in -u (*parn* 'fell', *jāgu* 'awoke', p. 18, *pasaru* 'was spread' p. 32, *pucchu* 'asked', p. 58), about 20 in -a (*pait̄ha* 'entered', p. 46, *bhāga* 'broke' p. 30) 4 in -ā (*bhā* 'became', p. 20, *bikā* 'was sold' p. 68, *āā* 'came' p. 94, *bañhurānā* 'got together' p. 48) and 7 in -ē (*paiñhe* 'entered', p. 38, *bharē* 'filled', p. 38, *thāre* 'stood', p. 46).

(b) There is quite a large number of forms of this variety, it takes up with -ia the largest number. The nasalisation is absent in very few cases. For instance:

*ūppanaū* 'born' p. 16, *huaū* 'was', p. 8.

(c) There is one instance of -iāo (*dhana choddiao* 'wealth was abandoned' p. 22), but quite a large number of -iaū (*e.g., kariaū* 'did', p. 8, *tumhē bhāriaū* 'you filled', p. 60 *kariau* 'did', p. 24. Only a few instances of -iū are found (*e.g. jēna niña kula uddhariū* 'who redeemed his family', p. 8).

(d) A large number of forms are of this variety, -iñā being merely a nasalised form of ia (*e.g., jēna balē rāvana māria* 'who killed Rāvana by force', p. 8, *riū dalia tumhē* 'you crushed the enemy', p. 60, *mahala kō mamma jāniña* 'he came to know the secrets of the palace' p. 52). There are only six instances of īā which is merely an elongation of ia for the sake of metre (*e.g. paā bhare pathara cūriā* 'the gravel crushed by the weight of feet', p. 46). In *uggia* 'come up', p. 32 and *cukkiha* 'missed', p. 62 we have -h-.

(e) There are six instances of this form (*e.g.*, **jenhe sāhi karō manōratha pūreō** ‘who satisfied the longing of the king’, p. 14).

(f) Only 42 instances of this form are found. **-ala** is masculine and **-ali** feminine (*e.g.*, **suratāna samānala** ‘the Sultan-honoured’, p. 10, **rūsali bibhūti palatāe ānali** ‘the angered Prosperity was brought back’, p. 14). In one instance the form ends in **-ila** (fem.) **-gōmaṭha purila mahī** ‘the Earth was filled with temples’, p. 44.

In the above forms we find several stages of the ancient perfect participle, simple and elongated, with **-i** and without **-i**. The nasalisation is inexplicable. The **-I-** forms are the participle base plus **-illa** termination. Considering modern Maithili where all forms of past tenses are based on **-I-** participle, the small number of these in the present text is striking.

There is one instance of 3rd person plural verb (**lehena rāya gaenēsa** ‘king Gaṇēśvara profited’, p. 18) where **-ena** appears as a personal termination.

**Note.**—the Perfect participle is in several cases found used as an adjective *e.g.*, **vea padha** ‘well-read in the Vedas’, p. 8).

## 22. Future Tense.

Only the following instances of the future are found in the text:

1st person **kahabā** ‘I shall say’, p. 10.

2nd person (**tumbe na**) **hōsaū (asahanā)** ‘you will not become angry’, p. 60.

3rd person-sg. **hōsai** ‘will be’, p. 4, 64, 64,  
**dūsihai** ‘will blame’, p. 4,  
**sijihai** ‘will be accomplished’, p. 62,  
**kariha** ‘will do’, p. 4, **bujjhiba** ‘will understand’,  
     p. 4, **jivviha** ‘will live’, p. 72, **dharijjiha** ‘will  
     be kept’, p. 74,  
**dijija** ‘will give’, p. 72,  
**hōja** ‘will be’, p. 30.

Of these **kahabā** is based on **tavya** > **abba** and the rest on the ancient future : **hōsaū** < **bhavisyatha** > **hōissaḥa** > **hōisahu** > **hōsau**; the s later becomes -h- (*e. g.*, in **dusihai**) and may even be lost (*e. g.*, **hōia**).

*Note*.—The above are the forms of the Indicative mood. There are no separate forms for the Conjunctive, the forms of the Ir. dicative are used with **jai** or **jaño** ‘if’ to indicate that sense. The conditional is based on the Imperfect Participle (see *infra* §24); only two instances of it are found (**taño**) **sītthāata** (**rajja**) ‘then the kingship would be reestablished’, p. 56 (**ābe kata**) **sahata** (**je rae**) ‘how would the king have put up with it till now’, p. 74.

### 23. Imperative.

2nd sing.—there are eight instances : (a) in -a, **suna** p. 64, **suna** ‘hear’, p. 6, **bhāṇa** p. 22, **kaha kaha** ‘say’ p. 80. **anusara** ‘follow’ p. 112, (b) in -hi, **jahi** (**jahi**) ‘go’ p. 112, (c) in -isu, **karisu** ‘do’ p. 62, **harijjisu** ‘remove’, p. 64. Of these (c) is possibly derived from ancient II sg. Atmanepada -sva (**kurusva**).

2nd plural—six instances are found : **karahu**, p. 20 **kahabu** p. 16, 50, 56, **karaō**, p. 58, **sunao** p. 38, 16, **bhuñjaha** ‘enjoy’, p. 18, **sajjaha sajjaha** ‘be ready’, p. 82

All these are based on the ancient second person present plural in -tha, which at some stage in the Prakrits become **thō** > **hō** > **hu** : **ha**.

3rd. sing.—All the eight instances are based on ancient -tu (**rahaū** ‘may remain’, p. 22, **jāū**, p. 22, (**jāu** ‘may go’, p. 76, **sāhau** ‘may rub’ p. 10, **jīau** ‘may live’, p. 10, **karau**, p. 10, **karaō** ‘may do’, p. 60 **kariau** ‘may be done’, p. 38).

Besides the above an impersonal passive imperative in -ai and -ia is found, *e. g.*, **ehu kamma na kariai** ‘let this not be done’, p. 18, **sēviai** ‘let him be served’, p. 64, **karijjai** ‘let it be done’, p. 64, **dhariai** ‘be kept’ p. 18, **jāia** ‘may go’, p. 68, **ānia** ‘bring’, p. 68, **chānia** ‘strain’, p. 68. This is based on the Passive present.

## 24. THE IMPERFECT PARTICIPLE.

This is frequently used to describe a condition of things as it is and also sometimes used in place of the present tense finite verb. It has two forms:

(a) -antā and (b) -antē

(a) e.g. abē bē bhaṇtā (*turukkā*) 'the Turks saying **abe**, **be**, p. 40, āvāntā jantā kajja karantā mānava 'man, coming, going and doing (his) business. p. 48, pūhaviē pālā āvautā 'the kings (guardians of the Earth) are coming', p. 46.

(b) e.g. hāthi jāthi bhāgantē gācha cāpantē 'the elephant goes running and cutting trees', p. 82, sikāra khēlantē ...paradappa bhaṇi bhañjantē bāṭa santari surutāna baītha 'the Sultana passed the way, hunting, breaking other's pride by making a round, and sat', p. 98.

Note 1. A few cases of -anta (**bōlanta** 'speaking', p. 74) tūṭanta 'breaking' p. 106, būḍanta 'sinking', p. 16, 106) and -antao (**bhamantao** 'roaming', p. 46) and -antō (**karantō** 'doing') are found.

Note 2. On page 90 jāitē 'going' and khāitē 'eating' appear as forms of this participle. I should, however, connect them with the oblique form of the verbal noun (see infra 28) plus the postposition tē,

This participle has been used in this text without any modification due to number or person. For instance on page 46 **bhamantao** qualifies dūāō rājakumāra 'both the princes', and on page 34 **khaṇdantē** etc. qualify **vaiśyāhi** - feminine.

The -ō and -ā (a) forms are the Nominative cases of the Prakrit participle. The ē form where it is no-nominative represents the māgadhī naminative in ē. In a few cases it is the locative of the participle, e.g. mahājanhi karō bōlantē 'while the elders spoke', p. 18.

Note.—At one place -antē has been modified to -addē (**bihāraddē** 'roaming', p. 46) for the sake of rhyme.

In alahanā 'one who has not obtained', p. 34, is there an instance of ancient -āna termination (**alabhamānah**)?

## 25. THE ABSOLUTIVE.

This is expressed by adding (a) -i or (b) -ia e.g. **gai** 'having gone', **ghai** 'have caught'. p. 42, **sādhi** 'having held', p. 14; **choddīa** 'having abandoned', p. 70, **karia** 'having done', p. 76, **bittharia** 'having spread' p. 88). There are only about a dozen instances of (b) and in one case, the termination appears as nasalised **bissamiñña** 'having taken rest', p. 52. In a few cases the -i of (a) appears as -ē (e.g. 'having done', p. 88, 90, **manusāe** 'having become angry', p. 96, **dhāe** 'having run', p. 62, **dhāñe**, p. 90).

The absolute is generally found without a postposition, only **kahū** appears 6 times (**dhāe kahu** 'having run', p. 62, **damsai kahū**, 'having trampled'. p. 96, **suni kahū** 'having heard', p. 98, **ṭhelli kahū** 'having flanked', p. 100) **palaṭi kahū** 'having turned'. p. 110 **sammaddi kahū** 'having crushed', p. 8.

In **jā** 'having gone', p. 83, **lē lē** 'having taken', p. 40, the root-form itself expresses the absolute and in **bēcā** 'having sold', p. 68, -ā and in **pucchihi** 'having asked', p. 52, -ihi appears to indicate an absolute.

The derivation of -ia, i is from Prakrit **ia** which may become -i and may disappear later (as in **jā**, **lē**).

## 26. The Passive Voice

The synthetic passive, derivable from -ijja- and -ia- of the Prakrits, is found in 27 forms, 7 -j- and 20 -i-. For instance:

**jenhe ruṭṭha hua jama sahijja**

'by whom angered yama was put up with; p. 76,

**suha muhutta ahiseka kijjia**

'at an auspicious moment coronation was performed', p. 76,

**aru kata dhāgaḍa dēkhiathi**

'and how many strong men are seen', p. 90,

**jē saba kariaū appa basa**

'by whom all was brought under his own control', p. 10.

The periphrastic passive, with *vjā* 'to go' appears only two, or three times; *cūri jā basundharā* 'the Earth is shattered', p. 84 *bahuta bāpura cūri jāthi* 'many poor people get trampled', p. 30.

. 27. **The Causative.**

There are about a dozen instances of the causative (*e.g. palatā* 'having caused to return', p. 14, *karāvae māri* 'causes annihilation' p. 60, *baithāva* 'causes to sit', p. 42), all derivable from the ancient causative in *-ā* and *-āv*.

28. **The Verbal Noun.**

There are four instances of the direct case (*jīanā*<*jīvana-ka* 'living', p. 20, *basane pāñela* 'were' able to live', p. 24, *dēnā* 'giving', p. 44, *māri* 'beating', p. 60) which should be connected with (a) ancient *-ana-* and (b) mag. *-e* and ten cases of the oblique (*jāti tē* 'by going', p. 44 *rahaitē* 'to remain', p. 86, *karaitē* 'by doing', p. 62, *sēvai* 'for serving', p. 60, *dīvai hanē* 'at the time of drinking', p. 68 *hindae* 'to make round', p. 30, *kinai tē* 'for buying', p. 30, *bikāē* 'for selling', p. 30, *chuae* 'to touch', p. 68, *bōlee*, *bōlæ* 'talking', p. 20). What is this oblique? Chatterji (Origin and Development of Bengali, p. 1014) calls it merely an oblique of verbal noun in *-i*, and takes *-i* as a suffix.

The direct (a) once ends in *-i* (*bujjhani* 'understanding', p. 18).

**The Noun of Agency.**

There is only one instance of this *bujjhani -hāra* 'one who understands', p. 18 - *hāra* being derivable from *-dhāraka*.

29. **The Verb 'to be'.**

We find the forms of three roots:

(a) *Vas*, *hai* p. 40.

(b) *Vbhū* (1) *hō*, p. 96. *hōa*, p. 36, *hōi*, p. 102, *hua*, p. 94  
*hōaū* p. 80, *huāū*, p. 76, *huaño* p. 100, *hōsai*, p. 64, *hōsaū*,  
 p. 60.

(2) **bhai**, p. 100, **bhae**, p. 70, **bhaū**, **bhau**, p. 98, **bhēla**, p. 102, **bhēli** p. 24.

(c) **✓rah rahu**, p. 96, **rahai** p. 42, 86, **rahiau**, p. 70.

### 30. The Pereiphrastic tenses.

Instances of the forms of the periphrastic tenses are rare. The following have been noticed:

**āvatta hua** 'was coming', p. 94.

**risiāi hei** 'gets angry', p. 40.

**sahi rahiaū** 'went on bearing', p. 70.

**tuṭti rahē** 'got broken' p. 110.

### 31. The Compound Verbs

There are 24 instances of compound verbs:

(a) **✓cah** expresses the aspect of desire: **bhāgac caha** 'wishes to run away i. e. is about to run away', p. 36. **upara cadhāvāc cāha ghōra** 'wants to (i.e. is about to) make the horse climb up', p. 44.

(b) **✓lāg** to express the aspect of the inception of an action, **bōlee lāgu** 'began to speak', p. 20.

(c) **✓pāv** and **✓pār** to express the aspect of the ability to do an action, **kinaite pāvathi** 'is able to purchase', p. 30, **basāñe pāñela** 'was able to reside', p. 24, **chuac pāia** 'is able to touch', p. 68; **gānae na pārīā** 'it is not possible to count', p. 46, **gānae na pārai** 'it is not possible to count', p. 94, **sahahi na pārai** 'is not able to bear', p. 60.

(d) **✓jā**, **✓lē**, and **✓dē** express the aspect of completeness or intensity of an action:

**bhae**, **gēla** 'became', p. 16, 60, **bhara gae** 'became filled' p. 104, **dhāe gae** 'having run', p. 108, **lāghi jāthi** 'jumps over', p. 84 **bhae jā** 'becomes', p. 86, **jītī jā** 'wins', p. 86, **dekhāe jā** 'shows', p. 100; **khāi lē** 'eats', p. 40, **chōli lē** 'seizes', p. 86, **mēli dēño** 'I shall bring' p. 110, **bāhara kae dēla** 'turned out', p. 80, **dījīhi bandha** 'will tie' p. 72.

## ADVERBS.

## 32. Of Place.

## (a) based on pronouns

- (1) 'where' -jam̄, p. 26, jahā, p. 108, 24, 68, jahim̄ p. 38, 90, jaidha kē, p. 112,  
‘wherever’ -jam̄ jam̄, p. 98, jahim̄ jahim̄. p. 106,
- (2) ‘where?’ -kai, p. 6; ‘somewhere’ -kahī, kahī, p. 38, katahu p. 42, 44.
- (3) ‘here’ -ia, p. 48, ūehā, p. 58, ēhu, p. 96
- (4) ‘there’ -taththa, p. 38, tam̄ tam̄, p. 98, tāhā, p. 58, tahā p. 72, 108, tāhī, tāhī p. 106; ūhu, p. 96, uthi, utthi, p. 50
- (5) ‘everywhere’ -saba tahū, p. 38, 60, ‘at one place’ ēkattha, p. 8

## (b) based on other old adverbs

- ‘above’ -ūppara, 34, ūppari, p. 32, upara, p. 44 uppāra, p. 90, uppāri, p. 50, ‘inside’ -bhītara p. 42, ‘in front’ agri, p. 66, saño, p. 112, -sōjha, p. 112, ‘behind’ -pāchē, p. 94, pāchu, p. 102, 108, pacha, p. 40, pīchē, p. 96
- ‘outside’ -bāhara, p. 46, 80, bāharao, p. 62, ‘near’ -niara, p. 110, pāsa, p. 88; ‘far off’ -dūra, p. 38, 52, barā drūa, p. 60; ‘on all sides’ -caupaṭa, p. 102, atarē paṭarē, p. 48.

## 33. Of time.

## (a) based on pronouns

- (1) ‘when’ -jam̄, p. 34, jaba, p. 66, jabē, p. 18, 16, 30, 34, jabē, p. 76, jamana, p. 40; ‘whenever’ -jabā hī p. 42, ja khanē, p. 66, 96
- (2) ‘now’ -abe, p. 58, abahi, p. 62
- (3) ‘then’ -ta, p. 52, 116, taba, p. 100, tabbē, p. 56, 110, tabe, p. 22, 34, tabe, p. 76, tabahi, p. 42, tatō, p. 38, tau, p. 58, tou, p. 52, tam̄ khanē p. 22, 26, tam̄ khanē, p. 60, 72, 98, 112; ‘even then’ -tabahu, p. 42, 70, tabbahū, p. 58,

(4) 'sometimes' -**kabahu**, p. 18, 90.

(b) based on other adverbs

'to day' -**ajja**, p. 53, **ajju**, p. 100, **āja**, p. 30; 'up till now'

-**adya paryanta**, p. 50, 'first' -**padhama**, p. 58, 'long' -**cire**, p. 44, 'in the meantime' -**iththentara**, p. 64, **eththantara**, p. 62, 'again' -**punu vi**, p. 62, 76, **punah**, p. 56, **punu**, p. 12, 18, 28, 56, 58, 64, 76, 112, **niccai** 'always', p. 4, **sahasahi** 'all at once' p. 90.

### 34. Of manner.

(a) based on pronouns.

(1) 'as' -**jimi**, p. 86, **jaō**, p. 64, **jañō**, p. 42, **jāsavē** p. 32.

(2) 'how' -**kaisē** p. 36, **kimi**, p. 4, 16, 72, 80 **kimi kari**, p. 80, **kasa**, p. 86, **kāñi**, p. 4, **kañana**, p. 4, **kamane**, p. 48, **katta**, p. 74.

(3) 'in this way' -**asa**, p. 18.

(b) based on other old adverbs

'in this way' -**eva**, p. 70, **evañica**, p. 98, **ēma**, p. 52, 60, 112.

### 35. Other adverbs.

'no' -**na**, 20 times, e.g., p. 4, 6; **na**, 7 times e.g., p. 8, **nahi**, 14 times, e.g., p. 18, **nahi**, p. 90, **nabi**, p. 68, **nāhi**, p. 64, 94, **nahu**, p. 6, 18, **nahu**, p. 70; 'surely' -**nāma**, p. 4, **hu**, p. 6, **dhua**, 6 times, e.g., p. 64, **avasa**, p. 60, **avasao**, p. 4, 26, **brthā** 'uselessly', p. 20, **ati** 'very much', p. 36, 40, 70, **sasarā** 'noisily', p. 36; 'why' -**kai**, p. 98, **kini**, p. 82, **ki**, p. 112, 'with' -**saṅga**, p. 84, **saththē**, p. 112, 'et cetra' -**prabhṛti**, p. 86.

### 36. Conjunctions.

(a) cumulative—'and' -**avarā**, p. 100, **aru**, 10 times e.g., p. 8, **avarū**, 18, 22, 28, 106; 'moreover' -**avi a**, p. 28, **api**, 66.

(b) alternative—**varu**, p. 22, **ki**, p. 22.

(c) adversative—'but' -**pai**, p. 20, 64, 72, 42, **pae**, p. 50, 'but not' -**na ūna**, p. 22, **na ūna**, p. 22, **na ūna**, p. 22, **na ūna**, p. 20, **na ūna**, p. 20;

'if' -jai, 8 times, p. 6, je, p. 100, jañō p. 22, jo, p. 74, jau, p. 42, nam, p. 112, ñam, p. 22,

'then' -atha, p. 16, 56, tā, p. 6, tam, p. 62, tau, p. 70, tōv,i p. 102, tō, 6 times, e.g., p. 60, tai p. 112, tañō, p. 100, 'therefore' -taisana, p. 6; 'as if' -jani, 8 times, e.g., p. 48.

(d) subordinative -ke; p. 74.

### 37. Emphatic forms.

- (a) -hu, -o, -u are added after nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs to give an inclusive sense, e.g., dhruvahu 'of Dhruva also', p. 34, baddeo 'big men also', p. 26, biggahau 'battle also', p. 72. There are about 30 such forms in the text. These terminations go back to khalu>khu>hu>u : o.
- (b) -hi, -i is added to the nouns, pronouns, adjectives and adverbs to expressive a restrictive sense, e.g., dhamma pasārai 'extension of virtue itself', p. 72, padhamahi 'at the very first', p. 82. There are about a dozen such forms in this text. The termination possibly goes back to ēva, -h being emphatic.

## THE SIBILANTS IN THE BUDDHIST DOHAS.

*Prabodh Chandra Bagchi.*

Mahāmahopādhyāya Harapraśād Śāstri published, a few years ago, a number of Buddhist songs (*caryas* and *dohās* which he discovered in Nepal. He characterised the language of thees texts "old Bengali". Dr. S. K. Chatterji, however, after a more detailed study of these texts came to the conclusion that the songs only are written in what can be called "old Bengali" but the *Dohās* according to him present a dialect "which is a kind of Western (Śaurasēni) Apabhramṣa as its -*u*- nominatives, its -*aha*- genitives, its -*iija*- passives and its general agreement in forms with the literary Western Apabhramṣa amply indicate." (*The Origin and Development of the Bengali Language I*, p. 112). This dialect according to him played the same role, as the Brajabhākhā did in later times, in relation to the Eastern languages. He however admitted that though it was a Western dialect some old Bengali idioms and words had crept into it.

M. Shahidullah has recently made an intensive study of these texts, (*Les Chants Mystiques de Kanha et Saraha*, Paris, 1928) and has tried to establish that the language of these *dohās* is an Eastern Apabhramṣa. In phonology he notices the preservation of palatal ś. It is the most important characteristic of the old Bengali and, according to Mārkanḍeya, of the Odhri dialect too. In Sarvānanda's commentary to the Amarakoṣa (1159 A. D.) the two sibilants are found and an occasional confusion of the two sibilants is attested in some of the inscriptions of the Pālas.

The text published by H. P. Śāstri is very corrupt and the large number of mistakes, it seems to me, is to be attributed to the fault of the copyist. As the *Mss.* of the *Dohās* on which H. P. Śāstri based his edition are now lost, M. Shahidullah had to depend only on the Tibetan translation for making his emendations, which are very valuable. But such emendations are helpful in making out the sense of the text but are not so useful for determining the forms of the words.

During my last stay in Nepal in 1929 I came upon a fragmentary palm-leaf *MS* of the Dohākoṣa of Saraha. In the same *MS.* I found two more fragmentary *dohās* which were not known hitherto. The *MS.* contains the date 220 Nepal Era *i.e.* 1100 A. D. I discovered another *MS.* in a private collection which contains two *dohās*, one of Tillopāda and the other of Saraha. The text of Saraha's *dohā* is the same as published by Śāstri and emended by Shahidullah. The *dohā* of Tillopā was hitherto unknown. My edition of these *dohās* will be shortly published by the Calcutta University. But on collating the two *mss.* of the Dohākoṣa of Saraha I find that there is only one sibilant in the text and *it is always dental*. The two fragments of the other *dohā* of Saraha and the *dohā* of Tillopa present the same characteristics. Therefore the main phonological ground on which Shahidullah characterised this Apabhramṣa as Eastern is baseless.

It is in the following cases in the Dohākoṣa of Saraha that Shahidullah found the palatal sibilant preserved. In the following list I will mention in order the number of the stanza in Saraha's *dohā* (text as published by Shahidullah), the word as established by Shahidullah and then its correct form as found in the newly discovered *MS* of the Dohākoṣa.

3 besē (but in 5, 6, 10 besa) = besē

7 śunaha = sunaha

śiālaha = siālaha

19 śattha = sattha

(but in 58 and 70 sattha)

27 śasi = sasi

pabeśa = pabesa

ubeśa = ubesa

36 biśuddho = bisuddha

37 dosē (Śāstri's text dośē) = dosē

46 sai (Śāstri's text śai) = sai

65 deſa = desa

66 bisaa (*Sāstri*'s text *bিশায়া*) = bisaa

(but see 69, 72, 94, 103 where it is bisaa)

68 *aṇimisa* (*Sāstri*'s text *অণিমিষা*) = *aṇimisa*

73 *bishayāsatti* = *bisayāsatti*

76 dosa (*Sāstri*'s text *দোষা*) = dosa

86 *deśahi* = desahi

92 *bisariaü* (*Sāstri*'s text *বিশামাই*, = *bisariaü*)

96 *kuliṣa* = kulisa

99 *duriasesa* (*Sāstri*'s text *দুরিাশেষা*) = duriāsesa

In all other cases in the *Dohākoṣa* as published by *Sāstri* and as emended by Shahidullah it is consistently the dental *s* that is used instead of *ś* and *ṣ*.

*saalāsesa* (61), *sakai* (54), *sakkai* (17), *saranta* (66), *sarisa* (50, 78, 86), *sarira* (91), *sallatt* (77), *sambara* (59), *siri* (56, 68), *sisa* (+), *suaa* (95), *sukka* (100), *sunñā*, *sunā* (16, 72), *sudda* (48), *suddha* (108), *sunai* (75), *sunahu* (57), *sojha*, *Sojhu* (5, 3, 101), *sosa* (10, 51, 93), *sohai* (85), *sohia* (40), *pasu* (23), *pāsa* (87), *baisī* (2, 4), *biṇasai* (55), *parisahu* (57), *paḍabesi* (86, 88) *bisarisa* (86, 88), *bisuddha* (72), *bisama* (27).

*Saraha, Fragment I*, *ase*, *darisanē*, *sissa*, *paissai*, *paisai*, *biṇasai*, *bhuanāsi*, *paisi*, *aise*, *bisahi*. *Saraha Fragment II*, *barisantē*, *disai*, *paissai*, *disa*, *kīsa*.

*Tillopada*—*sunñā*, *disai*, *kīsa*, *bisohahu*, *bisahi*, *dosa*, *ubaēsē*.

These are sufficient to indicate that in the *Apabhramṣa* of these Buddhist *dohās* the use of sibilant was regularly confined to the dental *s*. The confusion that appears in the text published by *Sāstri* is certainly due to the modern Nepalese copyist who can hardly distinguish between the dental and palatal sibilants in old manuscripts. Though I have not been able to discover any new manuscript of the *Dohākoṣa* of Kanha we will now be quite justified in reconstructing the few words which contain the palatal *s*: *sasi* (5), *sattha* (12), *asesa*, *besa* (21), *sihara* and *sabasa* (25) as even in these *dohās* of Kanha we see some regular use of dental: *s* instead

of the palatal siriphala (2), sunna (8), sosa (14), pasa (23), and sijjhāi (24).

It therefore follows that there is nothing in the phonology of the dialect used in these *dohās* which would justify us in considering it to be an “Eastern Apabhramṣa” if we understand by it some dialect from which Bengali is descended. Prof. Jules Bloch is quite clear on this point in his preface to the book of Shahidullah: “We may call it oriental because it is found in Eastern texts and because there are some Eastern influences but it is not so if we wish to find in it the base of the modern Eastern languages”. Under these circumstances we can still consider the language of these *dohās* as Western Apabhramṣa which was adopted by the Buddhist scholars of the Magadhan School for writing these texts sometime between the 8th and 10th centuries A. D.

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## THE PERSONAL PRONOUNS FIRST AND SECOND PLURAL IN THE DARDIC AND KAFIR LANGUAGES.

G. MORGENSTIERNE.

In an instructive article<sup>1</sup> Professor J. Bloch and Dr. H. Smith have recently discussed the treatment of Skt. **sm**, **ṣm** in middle and modern Indo-Aryan, and have added considerably to our understanding of the conflicting tendencies which have determined the development of these groups of consonants.

Yet many difficulties remain, especially in Dardic and Kafiri, as will appear from a survey of the forms of the personal pronouns, first and second plural, in these dialects. And, apart from the development of **sm**, **ṣm**, many other problems will meet us at every step of our investigation.

In Lhd we find [as(s)ī], [tus(s)ī]<sup>2</sup>, derived, with **sm**, **ṣm** > s(s), from **asma-**, **tusma-**, like most other modern I-A forms.

The same is the case with Kshm. 1. [as̪], gen. [sōn̪]; 2 tōh̪, [tuhondu]. Note, however, that the treatment of -ṣm- does neither coincide with that of -sm-, nor with that of -s- (*cf.* noš ‘daughter-in-law’, haš ‘mother-in-law’), but with that of -ś- (*cf.* hūhur ‘father-in-law’).

In Shina, too, the same type prevails, apart from the 1 pl. nom. **be**, about which further down. The Gilgit forms are: 1 obl. [āso], 2 nom. and abl. [tsho]. Regarding the aspirated **tsh**, *cf.* [bātshār] ‘calf’ etc. I heard tsāh ‘you’ in the dialect of Pales in the Indus Kohistan.

Further developments to the abl. forms appear in the dialects of the Indus Kohistan:

|        |        |       |        |       |      |        |
|--------|--------|-------|--------|-------|------|--------|
| Gauro  | 1 gen. | [asā] | 2 nom. | [tus] | gen. | [tusā] |
| Chilis | „      | [azā] | „      | „     | „    | [tsā]  |
| Maiyā  | „      | [zā]  | „      | „     | „    | [sā].  |

1. Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique, XXIII, pp. 261-73.

2. Forms not noted by myself are given within square brackets.

The more archaic forms, found in Gauro, have also been preserved in Palola, a dialect spoken in Ashred and other villages in Southern Chitral, and closely related to Sh., and its offshoot Savi, from the Kunar valley near Asmar. *cf. e.g.* Pal. 1 dat **asām**. 2 nom. **tus**, dat. **tusām**.

In Sh., and connected dialects, too, the development of -**sm-** differs from that of -**s-**, which generally remains. Likewise in Torwali and Bashkarik (= Garwi), the westernmost dialects where the type **tuṣma-** is found, the forms are **twa** (< \**tuha*) [Stein *tō*, *thō*], and **tha**. But *e.g.* Torw. [**muš**] (prob. = **mūṣ**) 'mouse', **paiṣ** 'mother-in-law', Bashk. **mūṣ**, **čiṣ**, and **čāṣ** 'lea' (< \***praṣ-**), *cf.* Torw. **kəṣən**, Bashk. **kīṣin** 'black' <*kr̥ṣṇa-*. In fact, in no Dardic dialect does **s** n result in **ṣ**, and the development to **s**, **h** can scarcely have passed through a stage \***ṣṣ**.

The **sm** of **asma-** becomes **m** in Torw. **ma**, Bashk. **mā**; and among all the dialects further west Prasun is the only one which presents the development **sm>s**.

In most of the Western Dardic dialects we find **sm>s**. Thus Dameli<sup>1</sup> 1 obl. **amā**, Gawar Bati **amō** 'we' Kalasha **hāma**, **hōma** (abl.) Kati **emo**, Waigeli **amī**, **yāmā**, Ashkun **ima**, Pashai (**h**)**amā** etc., Tirahi **mā**.

To a great extent the same dialects have also **m < <sup>2</sup> sm\***: Dam. **mayā** 'you' (obl.), G. B. **mē**, Kal. **mēmi**, **mīmī** (obl.), Ashk. **yōm - ba** (gen. ; one sub-dialect has nom. **yā**). Pashai **ima**, (**h**)**emā**, **myā**, **mōmā**, Pras. **muū**, **mju**.

Ashk is the only dialect which, if appearances do not deceive, has preserved the **y-** of **yuṣma-**. But **myā**, **mū**, **mē**, **mē mī**, **ima** etc. must probably be derived from **\*ymī**, syncopated from **\*yum (h)a**. **h** is not a Kafiri sound, so it is very doubtful whether **sm** (**sm**) in these dialects has passed through a stage **\*mh**.

1. Dam. is a dialect with Kafiri affinities which is spoken in one village in Southern Chitral, near Arandu.

2. Or **\*sm**. In Kafiri us apparently did not become **uṣ**.

Kati šo 'you' is very difficult to explain. A derivation from \*šya (or \*syā) < \*š<sup>m</sup>ya- (s<sup>m</sup>ya) < \*y(u)šma- (yusma-) seems possible. But it would presuppose either a preservation of šm(sm) till after the contraction of \*yušma- > \*yšma- > \*šmya- had taken place, or a development of šm (sm) to 's (s) in this word, while sm resulted in m in 'emo' (we)<sup>1</sup>. Another possible derivation would be from \*yūša- (yūsa-) > \*ȳsa- etc

N. W. Pashai mōmā, Kal. mēmī, mīmī seem to have been formed through reduplication, in order to obtain the same number of syllables as hamā, and hāma, hōma 'we'.

Prasun, the most isolated among the Kafir dialects, has s < sm in nom. ásē 'we'. gen. as cf. e. g. Mahrāṣṭrī nom. amhe, gen. amha (m). 2 gen. as-en might possibly be derived from \*usma-, cf. Singh. umba, oba, explained in this manner by H. Smith (l. c. p. 272). I cannot make any guess at the origin of the suffix -en; But Munji mox 'we' (\*ahmaxam), mof 'you' (\*yušmašya) show how different case endings can be utilized for the purpose of distinguishing between the 1 and 2 pl., when the stems have become homonymous.

But Pras. miū 'you' with m < šm, and original y- is difficult to reconcile with an eventual development of as- < \*usma-. On the other hand, miū can scarcely be borrowed. At any rate none of dialects adjoining Pras. present a similar form.

Khawar, which is the dialect where the development of sv, šv into sp, šp has been carried out with the greatest regularity, has ispa 'we' < \*spa < asma<sup>2</sup>.

(1) A development šm > s is not probable. Kati garīš, Ashk. gerés, Waig. garáš 'midday' cannot, as proposed by Bloch (l. c. p. 263), be derived from grīšma, which would result in Kali \*grīš, Ashk. M. \*glīš, or similar forms. gəriš etc. < \*gha asya- cf. Khaw. grāniš, Pash L. lyenī < \*ghraṇasya-, formed from I. E. \*g<sup>w</sup>horos, and g<sup>w</sup>hrenes- (cf. Skr. ghraṇsa- 'heat of the sun', Breton groez < \*g<sup>w</sup>hrens- etc.). \*ghraṇasya- might possibly result in Kati \*grīš > \*gəriš but not in gəriš.

(2) Wakhi (i) spā 'our' has been borrowed from Khaw.

There remains a number of forms containing **v** (**w**) and **b**.

The **bē** 'we' of Shina, Palola, and the dialects of the Indus Kohistan, Bloch (l. c. p 264) 'hésite à faire remonter à **bhe** attesté (assez mal, il est vrai\_\_\_\_) en prakrit, et remontant hypothétique-ment à '**ambhe**'. This hesitation is well founded. The coexistence of **be** < '(am)**bhe**' < \***asme**, and **as-** < **asma-** in the same dialect would be surprising, and, besides, Palola regularly preserves the aspiration of mediae. On the other hand, a derivation from **vayam** is phonetically legitimate, and several Prkrkit dialects have 1 pl. nom. **vayam** etc., while generalizing the base \***tusma-** in the 2 pl.

But Shumashti <sup>1</sup> **ābē** 'we' cannot be derived from **vayam**, but probably from \***a(m)bhe**. The obl. bases, **ama** and **ima**, have been borrowed from Pashai. Kalasha **ābi** 'we' one is inclined to explain in the same manner. The loss of aspiration in intervocalic position is not impossible in Kal<sup>2</sup>. Besides, there is a possibility of \***ābhē** and \***bē** having been contaminated.

The different treatment of \***mh** in **ābi** 'we', and **hamā** 'us' may, perhaps, be due to an original difference of accent, \***āmhe** (**ām-he?**) resulting in **āmbhe** > **āb(h)i**, and \***ambā-** (**ānbā-?**) in **(h)amā**. At any rate a derivation of **ābi** from **vayam** seems to be excluded.

If the explanation proposed is correct, **ābi** 'you' in its turn ought to be derived from \***umbhe**. But Kal. is not so eccentric in its vowel changes as Prasun, and the development **u- > ā-** seems very strange.

1. Shumashti is spoken in a side-valley of the lower Kunar, and is surrounded by Pashai dialects, by which it has been influenced. Its nearest affinities are with Gawar Bati; but the personal pronouns differ in the two dialects.

2. I know no certain instance of the treatment of aspirated mediae in a similar position in Kal. Neither **gūbum** 'wheat', nor **jip** 'tongue' present exactly the same phonetical conditions as **ābi**.

The homophony between Kal *abi* 'we' and *abi* 'you' can be tolerated in the nom., where the verb will show which person is meant. In the oblique cases we find the two distinct bases *hamā* and *mēmī*.

Khowar *bisa* 'you' is the more archaic form. The more usual *pisa* has probably got its *p* from *ispa*<sup>1</sup>. These forms cannot be derived from *yusma-*, which would have resulted in Khow. *\*ispa*, *bisa* points to *\*bsa* < *\*v(a)sa*. Bloch (I c p. 263) has shown that an initial labial in some cases dissimilates a following *sm* into *ss*, and it is possible that *\*vasma-* (formed on the analogy of *asma-*, with the initial of *vah*), *\*vusma-* resulted in *\*vas(s)a*, while *asma-* developed into *\*aspa-*.

Shumashti nom. 2 pl. *vī* must be derived from an older from *\*vē*. In this dialect ancient *vi-* becomes *i* (*isi* '20', *ire* 'man'), but *vē- > vī* (*vīu* 'willow'). Now several Dard dialects present traces of the development of -as into -e, known also from the dialect of the Kharoshthi inscriptions<sup>2</sup>. Waig. *se*, Torw. *sē*. Shumashti etc. *ase* 'that', are probably derived from *\*sas*. Consequently *vī* can be derived from *\*vas*. Regarding the use of the enclitic pronoun for the nom., cf. Parachi *wā* 'you'.

Ashk., Waig. *vī*, Dam. *bi* 'you' (nom.) must be explained in the same way. All these dialects belong to the same geographical area as Shum. In Dam *v-* regularly becomes *b-*. The genitives in the various Waig. dialects are: *vāmə*, *imbā* - *ivimbā* (-*bā* being the suffix of the gen.). Here, perhaps, a contamination of the types *\*y়umhe* and *\*ve(< \*vas)* may have taken place.

In Dam, the 1 sg. *ai* is used for the pl., too. The reason for this may be a wish to avoid a homophony between *\*bi* 'we' and *bi* 'you'. In Tirahi the sg. *tu* is used for the 2 pl.<sup>3</sup> but the 1 pl. is *mā* < *\*ahmā-*.

(1) Or dialectically *\*psa* < *\*bsa*?

(2) Konow, CIL. II, I, p. CXII.

(3) Or *tu* < *tuh* < *tus*?

The suggestions offered here regarding the derivation of the personal pronouns 1 and 2 pl. in the Dardic and Kafir dialects do not pretend to solve all the difficulties. In many, perhaps in most cases, the lack of material from older stages of the development of these dialects does not permit us arrive at any certain conclusions, and too much remains mere guess work. Still I hope that these pages may contribute a little to the knowledge of a most interesting group of Aryan languages, for the study of which Sir George Grierson has laid the firm foundation.

The following table gives a survey of the forms appearing in the Dardic dialects of the personal pronouns, 1 and 2 pl. The arrangement is approximately geographical. The forms of the 1 pl. in each dialect are given in the first line, those of the 2 pl. in the second. Where distinct bases for the nom. and oblique bases exist, the nom. is given first. Dialect forms are put within brackets.

| Prasun            | Kati         | Kalasha                             | Khowar       | Shina     | Gilg.  |
|-------------------|--------------|-------------------------------------|--------------|-----------|--------|
| āsē, as           | emo          | ābi, hōma, (hāma)                   | ispā         | [bē, áso] |        |
| mīū, asen         | šo           | ābi, mīmī, mēmī                     | pisa, (bisa) | [tsho ]   |        |
| Ashkun            |              |                                     |              | Waigeli   |        |
| ima, imba, (imōa) |              | amī, (yāmū), amēbə, (yōmō, yamumbə) |              |           |        |
| vī, (yū), yumba   |              | vī (ivī), vāmə (īmbū, ivīmbə)       |              |           |        |
| Palola            | Gawro        |                                     |              |           |        |
| be, asim          | be, as̄      |                                     |              |           |        |
| tus, tusim        | tus, tus̄    |                                     |              |           |        |
| Pashai N. W.      | Pashai N. E. | Shumashti                           | Gawar        | Bati      | Dameli |
| hamā              | ama          | ābə, ama                            | amō          | ai, a mā  |        |
| mōmā              | ima          | vī, ima                             | mē           | bi, myā   |        |
| Bashkarik         | Maiyā        | Chilis                              |              |           |        |
| mā                | [be, zā]     | [be, azā]                           |              |           |        |
| tha               | [tus, sā]    | [tus, ts̄ā]                         |              |           |        |
| Pashai W.         | Pashai E.    | Tirahi                              | Torwalik     | Kashmiri  |        |
| amā               | hamā         | mā [ao, mēn]                        | ma [mō]      | [as̄i]    |        |
| myā               | hēmā         | tu [tao]                            | twa [t(h)ō]  | tōh̄i     |        |

## THE OLDEST GRAMMAR OF HINDUSTANI.

*Suniti Kumar Chatterji.*

§ 1. Johannes Josua Ketelaer, who was born at Elbingen in Prussia and served in India under the Dutch East India Company during the first two decades of the 18th century, wrote, in Latin, the first grammar of Hindustani. The exact date when the work was prepared is not known; it was published from Leyden in 1743, being incorporated in a volume of dissertations on Mohammedan, Biblical and other oriental subjects written and edited by David Mill (Millius),—but it was evidently written before 1716 when Ketelaer went to Persia, where he died. The tentative date suggested for the work is c. 1715.

§ 2. Signor Emilio Teza first brought the work to the notice of modern scholars, in January 1895, when he read a paper (' Dei primi Studi delle Lingue indostaniche alle note di G. A. Grierson ') before the Reale Accademia dei Lincei of Rome, supplementing the article which Sir George A. Grierson wrote on the ' Early Study of Indian Vernaculars in Europe ' which appeared in the JASB. for 1893, Part I. In the proceedings of the ASB. for May 1895, an abstract of Signor Teza's paper was given by Sir George, in which he included a note on the life of Ketelaer by W. Irvine. Signor Teza evidently had not seen Ketelaer's book, but he had found a mention of it in the Preface of the Hindustani Grammar by B. Schultze, published from Halle in Saxony in 1744; and Ketelaer's Version of the Lord's Prayer in Hindustani quoted by Teza (and then by Sir George) seems also to have been taken from Schultze. In the LSI., Vol. IX (Western Hindi and Panjabi), pp 6-8, the biographical note on Ketelaer has been given, together with a brief account of Mill's work and Ketelaer's Grammar, some peculiarities of which have been noted by Sir George. The Lord's Prayer as translated by Ketelaer has also been reproduced, in which one or two misprints have crept in. This is the fullest description of the work I have seen:

§ 3. The value of the work of Ketelaer in studying the development of Hindustani is quite apparent. The formation of Hindustani is one of the yet unsolved problems of New Indo-Aryan Linguistics. Ketelaer's grammar is a rare document giving an early observer's record of a current form of the language while it was still in a fluid stage. European missionary and commercial activity working under the stimulus received from the spirit of curiosity roused by the Renaissance, had naturally to take into note the languages of the land, in India and elsewhere. Already in the 17th century grammars of Tamil and Goanese were written and published by the Portuguese missionaries. Bengali seems also to have been studied with some care during that century; but the first grammar and vocabulary of the language to see the light was that by Padre Manoel da Assumpçāo, which appeared in 1743 from Lisbon, in Portuguese and in the Roman character (a reprint of this grammar, with a Bengali translation, and with considerable extracts from the vocabulary, has been published by the Calcutta University under the joint-editorship of Mr. Priyaranjan Sen and myself). The first Hindustani grammar, going back to over two centuries from now, is well worth a detailed consideration.

§ 4. In 1921 while I was in England I was fortunate in accidentally securing at a second-hand bookseller's a copy of Mill's entire work (the full title of which is given in the LSI, IX, p. 7, and I do not repeat it), and this has enabled me to study Ketelaer's work. In addition to the Hindustani grammar (*De Lingua Hindustanica*, forming the first chapter, pp. 455–488, of the *Miscellanea Orientalia*), Ketelaer seems also to have been responsible for *three* Hindustani vocabularies in Mill's work. It may be mentioned that Ketelaer's authorship of the Hindustani grammar is acknowledged in Mill's Preface; and there mention is made of his writing the Hindustani miscellanies in the 'Belgic' idiom (Dutch is obviously meant) which were translated into Latin by Mill. The Hindustani grammar is followed by the 'Rudiments of the Persian Language of to-day, as in use in

Hindustan, and in the Courts of the Mohammadan Kings of India', forming Section I of Chapter II of the *Miscellanea Orientalia*. This grammar is a very short one (pp. 489—503) and in all likelihood it is from Ketelaer, too. Added to the grammar is a list of some 140 verbs (pp. 503—509) given in three columns, in Latin, Hindustani and Persian; and a vocabulary of some 650 words, in Latin, Hindustani, Persian and Arabic (pp. 510—598); and following this, forming Section II of Chapter II of the *Miscellanea Orientalia*, is a collection of what appeared to Ketelaer to be homonyms or slightly different words from Hindustani (pp. 599—601). This last should have come along with the Hindustan grammar, forming Chapter I of the Miscellany. The Persien and Arabic words are given in the Arabic character, but tha Hindustani is everywhere in the Roman. In the above-mentioned quadrilingual vocabulary ('Etymologicum Orientale Harmonicum'), there is in the foot-notes a learned lexical and comparative commentary on the Arabic words which is evidently from Mill himself. Mill gives references to the occurrence of the Arabic words in the Arabic verson of the Bible, and quotes Hebrew equivalents. In considering Ketelaer's work, these Hindustani vocabularies have also to be taken into account.

§ 5. Ketelaer's grammar begins with a note on the Devanagari Alphabet which is illustrated by a plate opposite p. 456, the text referring to the Devanagari letters in this plate by means of numerals written under them. The letters as reproduced in this plate are in a very indifferent hand, and are based on the script as employed in Western Hindustan and Rajputana. There is a heading—Om Šrī Gaṇeśāi namah. Then follow from the second line the letters of the Devanagari script, with numbers under them for reference to the pronunciation given on the page opposite. The letters go on in the usual order, after the benedictory om nama siddhah. The following forms are note-worthy,—  
 हि ई for i ī, उ ऊ = u ī, रि री लि ली = r ī l ī, and ए ऐ ओ औ for ē ai o au. The vowels end with अः (in the plate occurring as

अ घा:). The pronunciation as indicated seems to have been written down by some one with a very bad ear for foreign sounds and a worse way of representing them—it may be that Ketelaer himself was not responsible for it. For example अं अः printed in the plate as अ घा: are indicated in the pronunciation tables as **ang gha** (for [Aŋ Aɦə] = **am ah**). This is how the pronunciation of the Devanagari letters is sought to be expressed:

क = **k** ('like keph of the Arabs'), ख = **k** ('like kaph of the Arabs'), ग = **gha** ('pronounce like گ of the Arabs'), घ = **dgja** ('like Arabic ڇ'—evidently the Egyption value of ڇ was known to the writer), ङ = **nia**, च ڙ ज झ = **tgja, tscha, dhea, dgja,** ञ = **nia** ('does not differ from letter No. 6 = अ'), ट ठ ड ढ = **tha, tscha, dha, dhgja, ण = nrha** (this is an attempt to indicate the value of ण = ڻ), त थ द ध न = **ta, tha, dha, da, na, प फ ब भ म = pa, pha, ba, bham, ma, य र ल व = ja, ra, la, wa, श ष स ह ठ = sjang, k'cho, ſja, ha, lang** (the North Indian value of ष as **kh**, indicated as **k'cho**, is interesting to note), and ञ = **k'cha**. Then follow the consonant conjuncts with vowels—**pa, pā, pi, pī** etc. In two other plates the Devanagari letters are given again three times, with Roman transliterations along with the letters on the plates. In the plate opposite p. 458 are given the Devanagari letters twice, under headings *I. Devanagaram* and *II. Balabandu*, and they figure again in a following plate. *I. Devanagaram* is badly copied out for the plate, and uses ञ for the ठ: this would seem to be taken from some North Indian *pandit*. *II. Balabandu* evidently comes from *Mahārāshtra*, judging from the style of the letters. The two transcriptions in this plate differ from each other, and although the aspirates and the cerebrals have not been properly rendered, they are on the whole much better than the absurd equivalents given in the text. In this plate, अं अः are transcribed as **am aha** (for [Am Ahə]) and ञ as **itza** and **stshae** (for a ڙ = **ch** pronunciation). The last plate of Devanagari reproduces a beautiful Benares hand, and the transliteration is much better done, with the aspirates

properly differentiated from the pure stops by **h**; the values of the letters were taken down from a Bengali— perhaps an East Bengali **pandit**;—they are almost identical with the transliterations given for the Bengali letters (equally beautifully written and reproduced) in the plate following: in both of these, ঔ ঘ ণ are transcribed as **oua ya ana**, following the Bengali names of these letters [ūwō, ijō, anō], চ ছ as **sa sha** (or **scha**), corresponding to the East Bengali values [tsə, sə], য as **sja** (*i.e.* ja, Bengali pronunciation of য being **j**), স as **sha**, ক্ত as **kha**, and অং অঃ as **ang ach** (in North India অঃ would be pronounced as **aha**). These various transcriptions of the Devanagari alphabet during the first half of the 18th century have some slight interest in New Indo-Aryan phonetics. In addition to the above, K.'s grammar includes another plate giving the *Lanisha* and Tibetan alphabets, as well as the Mongol equivalents of these, with Romam transliteration. These plates of alphabets, together with the notes and references in this introductory section,—it may be the entire section on the letters—seems to be Mill's addition; but K. might have brought the alphabets written on sheets of paper from India.

§ 6. The grammar proper begins from the third page of the work. There is nothing said about the pronunciation of Hindustani—the author seems to take it for granted that his Dutch values of the Roman letters are known to his readers, and he starts at once with the *Declinationes Linguae Hindustanicae*. K.'s attempt to render the Hindustani sounds he heard is quite interesting, and is not without significance in the study of Hindustani phonology.

§ 7. The *vowels* which K. heard seem to have been the same, or very much the same found in Hindustani of Western Hindustan.

ା is represented by **a** commonly, by **e** frequently and by **o** rarely: *e.g.* **sachti** (**saxtī**), **bandoech** (**bandūq**), **karta** (**kartā**); **tsjenga** (**caṅgā**), **carres** (**xaraj**), **telle** (**talē**), **gea** (**gayā**), **der** (**dar**), **nenga**

(*nangā*), *kesmet* (*xizmat*, *xidmat*), *benaje* (*bančī*); *koo r̄at* (*kahō mat*), *somsje* (*samjhe*), etc.  $\text{æ}$  in *hæddi* (*haddī*), *karromæt* (*karāmāt*) etc is exceptional.

§ 8. *ā* is represented by *a*, *aa*: *beetha* (*bētā*), *-ka* (*-kā*), *boedia* (*buñiyā*) *admi* (*ādmī*), *ank* or *anck* (*ākh*), *kja* (*kyā*), *kiswaste* (*kis wāstē*); *baab* (*bāp*), *maa* (*mā*), *nimaas* (*namāz*), *jaad* (*yād*), *peaar* (*pyār*); etc. Exceptions are—*ao* in *naom* (*nām*),  $\text{æ}$  in *gæli* (*gāli*), *ay* in *kay tsjoeke* (*khā cukā*), *boeray* (*burā*; or ? *burā'*), *auw* in *derriauw* (*daryā*), *o* in *karromæt* (*karāmāt*). Finally, *-ā* is often denoted by *-e* or  $\text{-æ}$ , especially in the verb forms: *e. g. degge* (*daqā*), *poeranne* (*purānā*), *teere* (*tērah*, 13) beside *teera* (*tērā* = thy), *me packerte* (*maī pakārtā*), *me paetste* (*maī puchtā*) *me dounte* (*maī dħūrħtā*), *ayæ hoeæ* (*āyā hū'ā*), etc.

§ 9. *i* = *i*, rarely *ie*: *gin* ( $\sqrt{gin}$ ), *sicheghe* (*sikhēgā*, *sikhūgā*), *tiesra dien* (*tisrā din*); in *duwanna* (*diwāna*), we have *u* for *i*. [*ie*, is often written as *je* especially at the end of a word].

*ī* = *ie*, also *i* : *tier* (*tīr*), *darie* (*dārħī*), *nietsje* (*nīcē*), *alamgiere* ('*ālam-gīrī*); *teeri* (*tērī*), *patsjayi* (*pātšābī*), etc. In a few instances it seems finally *-e* indicates *-ī*: *e. g. alamgiere* ('*ālamgīrī*). Final *-ī* also = *y* (*i.e. ii*): *bhay* (*bħāī*), *koy* (*kōī*), *dsjamway* (*jawāī*), *boeray* (*burāī*).

§ 10. *u* is represented by *u*, *o* and *oe*, and *ū* generally by *oe*: *sust* (*sust*), *poeranne* (*purānā*), *bod* (*but*), *moft* (*muft*), *Godda* (*xudā*), *hunga* (*ħuñgā*) *poeroeb* (*pūrub* for *pūrab*), *pokkar* (*pukār*), *dsjoeroe* (*jōrū*), *toesjæ* (*tujhē*), *boellonga* (*bħuluñgā*), etc. The digraph *oe* (= *u*, *ū*) is peculiarly Dutch.

§ 11. *ē* is generally indicated by *ee*, also by *e* : *beethæse* (*bētā-sē* for *bētē sē*), *teeī* (*tel*), *andeer* (*andhēr*), *deete* (*dētā*), *tsjyē* (*cāhiyē*) etc. Transcriptions like *toesjæ* (*tujhē*), with  $\text{æ}$  for *ē*, are exceptional.

§ 12. *ō* is indicated by *oo*, also by *o*: *dhoobi* (*dhōbī*), *doost* (*dōst*) *toop* (*tōp*), *ankkon* (*ākh-kō*), *gorra* (*ghōrā*), *me dsjoetboltethæ*

(maī jhūṭh bōltā thā), tsjoori (cōrī,), koo (kahō), soo (sō'ō), hougea (ho gayā), etc. We have oe in dsjoeroe (jōrū), Cf. auw, kauw' dsjauw = āō, khāō, jaō.

§ 13. From the frequent use of e and o for short i and u, it is likely that these short values of e and o were actually heard: e.g. tommare (tumhārā), sāheb (sāhib'), goelam beside golammi (gulām, gulāmi), hoekem (hukm).

§ 14. ai: it seems that K. heard the modern sound of [æ] or [ǣ], and this he indicated by e, ey, æ and also in a weak position by a: e.g. me (mai), he (hai), medda (maidā), peyssa (paisā), beth, betth (baith), kensch (khaīc), sethan (śaitān), paedda (paidā); ghoebha (xub hai), bhel (bail), kapprel (khāprail), innekom pakker-taja (inhē kō or inkō pākārtā hai), etc.

§ 15. au: the modern values of [ɔ] or [ɔ̄] seems to be indicated by K.'s transcriptions o, oo and ou: kən (kaun), tsjockje (caukī 'watch'), oor (aur) loondi (laundi), tsjoute (cauthā), hathorie (=hathaurī), doure (dauṛō), etc.

§ 16. The present day Hindustāni modification of vowels—especially of ā—in connexion with a following h seems also to have characterised the language heard by K. The group ah then as now = [æ]: e.g. bhen (bahin: the pronunciation heard by K. was probably [b'ɛ:n]), pelle (pahilā), dhaina haat beside dana haat (for [dæhna: fia:t̪h] = dahinā hāth), penne (pahinē), ney (nahī), tsjoeprea (cūp rahā), ree (rahe), (but cf. ro = rah, imperative 2 sg.), reena (rahīā), gerra (gahrā, gahiā) etc. In tsjyé, tsjeyte we have doubtless an attempt to represent cāhiyē, cāhtā [c̄jœie, c̄jœta:], which we after hear for cāhiyē, cāhtā. Cf. also merwan = mihrwān.

§ 17. Loss of vowel: an unaccented short vowel is often dropped: brabber (bārābar), frusta for \*frista (fērišta), għlas (xālās), bras (bāras).

The converse process of vowel insertion also is noticed: boellana (bhulhā), isseka (iskā), innekon (inkō).

§ 18. Nasalised vowels: at times the nasalisation is dropped, but generally there is an attempt to indicate it by an **n**: **me** (**mai**, also **mē**), **hastæ** (**hástā**), **ghawar** beside **gemaer** (**gáwär**); **oenth** (**út̪**), **ontsjata** (**?úcátā** = 'height'), **ank** or **anck** (**ákh**), **oeanse** (**wahá-sé**); the propositions **-kon**, **-son** (**-kō**, **-sō**), **aandhoe** (**áñrū** = 'juvencus'), **kenschna** (**khaícnā**), etc. Cf. **bhaina haat** = **báyá háth**.

§ 19 The **consonants** are those now found in Hindustani. The foreign sounds of **q**, **x**, **f** and **z** seem already to have been commonly heard— at least in court circles—for K. attempts to indicate them. The case of **q** is not so sure, and it is quite likely that ordinarily **k** was substituted for it.

**k** is denoted usually by **k**, and frequently by **kk** and **ck**; e.g. **kaam** (**kám**), **kar** (**kar**), **akkele** (**akélā**), **hockum** (**hukm**), **lackrie** (**lakrí**), **poekkar** or **pokkar** (**pukár**), **-kon** (**-kō** = **-kō**), **tsjoeke** (**cuká**), **paak** (**pák**), **karnekon** (**karné kō**), **uska** (**uská**). Cf. **taxier** = **taksir** (for **taqsír**).

**kh**, the Indian aspirate, presented a difficulty to K. Usually he writes **k**, specially initially; but **kh**, and even **kgh** are employed, as well as **kk** and **ch** (the value of the last was [x], the velar fricative). Thus **-kapprel** (**khaprail**), **rak** (**rakh**), **rakkena** (**rakhná**), **sukka** (**súkhá**), **dichaya**, **sichaya** (**díkh-**, **síkh-**), **khaoungæ** (**kháúgá**), **kghattæ** (**khátā**), **kaytsjoeke** (**khá cuká**), **duchie** (**dukhi** = sick), **kensch** (**khaíc**). In **raag** (**rákh** = ashes), we have **g** with the usual Dutch value of [x] for **kh**.

**g** is usually transcribed by **g**: **girre** (**gírá**), **gied** (**gít**), **gautatha** (**gáwtá thá** = **gátá thá**), **dilgien** (**dilgín**), **gona** (**gunáh**). **g** certainly had the present value of an unvoiced spirant **g** — [g], or [x] — in Dutch of the 18th century, as we can see from the treatment of [x] in Hindustani words (see below). To represent the stop sound with this spirant **g** of Dutch, it offered some difficulties to Ketelaer. In one instance we have the use of **ch** — [x] for **g**: **jachte-jágtá**: here the use of **j** (which has the sound of **y** in Dutch) for the palatal fricative (= **j** as in English) also is inexplicable.

**g** is sometimes represented by **gh**: **ghir** beside **gir** (**gir**), **ghai** (**gāē**), **ghawar** besides **gemaer** (**gáwár**), **gherden** (**gardan**), **aagh** (**āg**), **me sicheghe** (**mai sikhegā** for **sikhūngā**). The interchange between aspirates and unaspirated stops is exceedingly common in K, who seems to have appreciated the difference, but could not always successfully note them, and frequently made mistakes. See note below, under § 37.

For **gb**, K. uses **g**: **gora** (**ghōrā**), **gaas** (**ghās**) ; also **gh**, e.g. **ghe**, (**ghar**) beside **ger**.

For the guttural nasal **n̄**, occurring in Hindustani only before (**h**) and **g(h)**, **n** is employed: **ank** or **anck** (**ākh**), **hassonga** (**hāsega**, **kbásūngā**), **tsjenga** (**cañgā**), etc. Final **nḡ** = **ngh**, as in **rengh** (**rañg**), **singh** (**siñg**).

§ 20. The foreign sound of **q** might have been heard, but it could not have been common: it would seem that [**k**], or [**x**] was substituted for it in India, at least among the people in some parts. We have no attempt at consistency : e.g. **khalm** (**qalam**), **nachara** (**naqqāra**), **bandoech** (**banduq**), **ghasie** (= **xāzī**, for **qāzī**) **wacht** (**waqt** : **vaxat** for **waqt** is common in the Panjab), **carres karres** (**qarz**), **kanuna** (**qānūn**) etc.

Hindustani seems to have already adopted the foreign sound of [**x**], and Ketelaer has taken pains to indicate it. He uses **g** (with its Dutch value of [**x**]), **gh** and **ch**, as well as **k** for this sound : e.g. **godda** (**xudā**), **gesmet** beside **ghesmet** and **kesmet** (**xizmat**, **xidmat**), **ghallie** (**xālī**), **ghoen** (**xūn**), **ghabber** (**xabr**), **chartajeraa** (**xarc-ě-rāh**), **biandighanna** (**bandīkāna**), **ghoɔsjali** (**xuš-bālī**), **sachtie** (**saxtī**), **dosek** (**duzax**), **baksnese** . . (**baxšnē-sē**), etc. The spelling **Godda** = **xudā** may have been partly due to Ketelaer's fancied connexion with the Dutch word **God** [= **xod**].

[**g**] : this sound would seem not to have been common—probably it was pronounced, as now, as **g**, except among learned circles. Ketelaer writes **g**: **golami**, **goelam** (**gulāmī**, **gulām**) **garieb** (**garib**), **deggabasi** (**dagābāzī**), **deggəə** (**daqā**), **tsjegglie** (**cugli**), **morga**, **morgi** (**murgā**, **murgī**), etc.

§ 21. **c, ch, j, jh** presented difficulties to K., and we find a number of curious devices employed. For **c**, we have usually **tsj** (*i.e.* **tš**), but **tsch** (as in German), **ts**, **sch** and **s** are also used: **tsjockjedaar** (**caukīdār**), **moetsje** (**mūlīcī**), **tsitter** (**cittar**, **citr = citra**), **mirritsch** (**miric**), **kenschte**, **kenste** (**khaīctā**), **tsijand** (**caud**), etc. **tsjettia = tsjettja** (**caccā**) shows the Dutch use of **tj** for **c**.

**ch** is represented by **tsj** (like **c**), as well as **ts**, **s**: **poetsjonga** (**puchūngā**, **puchēgā**), **tsjorre** (**chorā**), **poetste** (**puchtā**), **tsjoekna** for **tsjokra** (**chōkrā**), **tsjinaal** (**chināl**), **ries** (**rīch**), **t'sjain** (**chāē** = Skt. **chāyā**), etc.

**j**—by **dsj** (the proper way, = **dž**), and by **sj**, **ds**, **dz**, **dj**, and **s**: *e.g.* **dsjieve** (**jīw**, **jī**), **dsjieuv** (**jibh**), **dsjate** (**jātā**), **ne dsante** (**na jāntā**), **dzamah** beside **dsjamma** (**jāma**), **sjawaab** (**jawāb**), **sjad** (**jad**), **sjagghe** (**jāgāh**), **sjoanna** (**jawānā**), **madzmaa** (**majmu'a**), **dzeladie** (**jaldī**), **wadzudi** (**wajūdī**), **hadjam** (**bajjām**), **pässierte** (**paśījtā**) etc. Quite contrary to Dutch (and continental) pronunciation is the use of **j** in **jokoy** (**jō kōl**), **jachte** (**jāgtā**) and **jutte** (**jutā**).

**jh**: **dsj**, **s** are used: **dsjoet** (**jhūth**), **somsjē** (**samjhē**), **boos** (**bōjh**) **toesjē** (**tujhē**).

§ 22. Ketelaer has not been able to distinguish, at least in his transliteration, between the cerebrals and the dentals: and the aspirates and pure stops are also confused. Thus—**tapoe** (**tāpū**), **rootie** (**rōtī**), **pethie** (**pētī**), **koetonga** (**kūtūngā**), **koethena** (**kūtnā**), **tookrie** (**tōkrī**), **beetha** (**bētā**), **moetha** (**mōtā**); **djoet** (**jhūth**), **beth**, **betth** (**baith**), **oethoute** (**uṭhautā** = **uthātā**); **dhoeba** (**dūbā**), **der** (**dar**), **tidda** (**tīddā**); **dounte** (**dhūṛhtā**), **loondi** (**laundi**), etc.

§ 23. **r ḫh**, derived from intervocal and final single **q**, **qh**—the so-called cerebral **r** and its aspirate—are represented in a number of ways: **lerreghe** (**laṛēgā**), **dourr** (**daur**), **karwa kerwa** (**karwā**), **barra** (**baṛā**), **toorte** (**tortā**), **garriwan** (**gāriwān**), **aandhoe** (=‘juvencus’, **śṛū**), **raand** (**rāṛ**), **gora** (**ghōrā**), (beside **gorra**), **cerre** (**saṛā**); **boedia** (**buṛhiyā**), **boedha** (**burhā** or **buḍḍhā**), **lackrie**

(lakṛī), orrhega orre orrhena (ōṛhēgā, ōṛhā, ōṛhnā), darie (dāṛhī), etc.

§ 24. The dental t th d dh are represented by t th d dh, but there is interchange of the aspirated and non-aspirated forms in Ketelaer's transliteration: tom (tum), tier (tīr), doost (dōst), touttha (tuthiyā), haat (hāth), tha (thā), tannadaar (thānādār), patter (paṭṭhar), hathorie for hatherie (hathaurī), mothie (mōṭī), koettha (kuttā), batthie (battī), hatti (hāthī), deete (dētā), also dithe, faidah (fa'ida), andeer (andhēr), gedde (gaddhā, gadhā) (also gheddā), koedhe (kūdē), dhimer (dhīmar), dooe (dhōwē), dhoed (dūdh), dhoela dhoelen (dulhā dulhan), doel (dhūl), ghido (= gīdh), dhee (deh = body), etc. etc.

n is represented by n (in printing, frequently n has been put in for r): nischan (niśān), gonna (gunāh), noen (nūn, dialectal for lōn = salt), etc. .

§ 25. p ph b bh: there is confusion between pure stops and asp rates: parwet (parwat = parbat), peyssa (paisā), kappra (kaprā), pethie (pēṭī), oeper (ūpar), patsjai (pāṭsāhī); pharte (phāṛtā), phergte for phengte (phēktā), phitkeri (phiṭkārī), poslaute (phuslāwtā = phuslātā); beetha (bēṭā), baab (bāp), bod (but), boed (bhūt), bhay (bhāī), boelle (bhulē), gabroe (gabhrū), etc. The use of v in dsjieuv = jībh is curious. For m, the transliteration is m: maa (mā), kham (khām), sjamidaan (śama'dān), etc.

§ 26. f occurs in words of non-Indian origin, and K. writes them f, differentiating from the native ph. Examples are copious. In one place it seems we have f for ph in a native word: tsjolte serte for tsjelte ferte = cōltā phirtā. In court circles at least, f seems to have become established.

§ 27. y is indicated by j—jaad (yād) kjon (kyō), gaija (gāiyā = gāyā) and by y—sichaya (sikhāyā); cf. tsjyé = cāhiyē for cāhiyē.

§ 28. r and l are represented by r and l, sometimes doubled: beakarre (byāb karē), sjullaab (julāb), gullaab (gulāb), etc.

§ 29. Hindustani *w* is represented by *w* and *v*, and *uw*: *lakriewala* (*lakṛīwālā*), *haweli* (*hawelī*), *hauwa* (*hawā*), *dsjieve* (*jīw = jī*), *karwā* (*karwā*), *meyuwa* (*mēwa*), *auwe* (*āwē*), *ewwel* (*awwal*), *mervan* (*mihrwān*), *khavigæ* (*khāwēgā*); *oeaanse* = *wahāsē*, *soorrauri* = *zōrāwarī*, give *oe* and *u* for *wa*. A nasalised *w* is indicated by *mw* and by *w*: *dsjamway* (*jāwāē* = son-in-law), and *ghawar* beside *gemaer* (*gāwār*). After *-ā* in certain forms, a *w* sound occurred in Ketelaer's time: this is dropped now: e.g. *kauéna* (= *khāwənā*, now *khānā*), *me gauta tha* (*mai gāwtā thā* for *gātā thā*), *gauwena* (*gāwənā*, cf. Bengali *gāonā*, for *gānā*), *aiwena dsjauwena* (= *āwənā*, *jāwənā* = *ānā jānā*), etc. The groups *wōh*, *wē* are represented by *whe*.

§ 30. *s*: the following will illustrate K.'s transliteration: *isseka* (*iskā*), *paroosje* (*parōsī*), *tisra* (*tisrā*), *soei* (*sūī*), *cissa* (*sīsā*), *peyssa* (*paisā*), *circa* (*sirkā*), *cir* (*sir, sar*), *cerre* (*sarā*), *doost* (*dōst*), *hasse* (*hāsē*), etc. etc.

The word *sac* (= true) occurs as *tjets* and as *tsjets*: did this simple form prove a jaw-breaker for Ketelaer?

*z* was no doubt naturalised in Standard Hindustani, certainly in court circles. K. indicates it by *s*, rarely by *z*: *kesmet* (*xizmat, xiðmat, xidmat*), *nimeas* (*na:nāz*), *tierendaa:* (*tīrandāz*), *dosek* (*duzax*), *soorrauri* (*zōrāwarī*); *hazaar* (*hazār*), *darāzje* (*darāzī*), *filsoos* (*fīlsōz = fatīlsōz*), *dzazia* (*jizya*).

§ 31. *š* does not belong to the sound system of Vernacular or Prakritic Hindustani—it was an imposition from without, from Persian, reinforced by Sanskrit. K. seeks to indicate it by *sj* and *sch*, but often writes simple *s*: *sjamidaan* (*šama<sup>c</sup>dān*), *patsjayi* (*pātšāhī*), *baksnese* (*bax̄nē sē*), *nischān* (*nišān*), *na'asch* (*nāliš*), *ghossjali* (*xuš-hālī*), *baxus* (*bax̄siš*), *sahanai* (*shahnāl*) etc.

§ 32. *h*: the Arabic *h* [*h*], pharyngal sound (unvoiced fricative) had fallen together with the Hindustani *h* (voiced glottal fricative), and this Hindustani sound is initially represented by

**h:** hass- (*hās-*), haat (*hāth*), hiera (*hīrā*), hatti (*hātī*), bazaar (*bazār*), hædjæm (*hajjām*), hockem, -um (*hukm*), he (*hai*), etc. Medially and finally it is usually dropped: bea (*byāh*), ghossjalī (*xuš-hālī*), oeaanse (*wahā-sē*), nanna jutte (*nanhā jutā* = sandals) chartjeraa (= *xarc-ě-rāh*), pakkertaja (*pakartā hai*), sja (*śah*), sjay (*syāhī*), patsjayi (*pātśahī*), loy = lou (*lōhū*) etc. In this matter, it is clear that K.'s pronunciation was modified by that of the outlying dialects, by perhaps Gujarati. In *sabanai* (*śahnāī*), the -*h*- is retained, prop- ped a vowel on either side. Final **h** (*hā-i-muxtafi* of Persian) is at times shown: *salselah* (*silsila*), *hakmah* (*hakmah*), *faidah* (*fā'iда*), etc.

The loss of **h** in the middle of a word, with attendant modifi- cation of a preceding **a**, has been noted before (§ 16).

§ 33. '= the Arabic sound of 'ayn (voiced laryngal fricative — voiced form of **h** [h]) seems to have been ignored, as now: pronunciation of ' in Hindustani is found as an affectation among the educated classes. K. does not seek to indicate it in *malum* (*mā'lūm*), *dua* (*du'ā*), and in words like *taeta* (*tā'at'*), *taalima* (*ta'lim*); *memaar* (*mimā'r*), *madzmaa* (*majma'*), *saata* (*sā'at*), the *aa* obviously indicates a long ā sound. (The final -*a* in the above- indicated Arabic words is to be noted).

§ 34. A final -*t* and -*p* occasionally figure as -*d* and -*b*, following German and Dutch pronunciation of final voiced con- sonants as unvoiced: *bod* (*but*), *gied* (*git*), *haadse* for *haatse* (= *hāth sē*), *keamed* (*kiyāmat*), *boed* (*bhūt*), *baab* (*bāp*). Con- versely there occur *ferriaat* (*faryād*), *madet* (*madad*), *mart* (*mard*).

§ 35. In *doen-* (= *dhūrh*) and *phergte* = *phengte* (*phēñktā*) we have assimilation of a following consonant to a preceding nasal.

§ 36. Ketelaer frequently doubles consonants: - *oepper* (*upar*) *moessaffer* (*musāfir*), *brabber* (*barābar*), *telle* (*talē*), *aggi* (*āgē*), *dsjennē* (*janā* = 'born'), *hassaab* (*hisāb*), *gonna* beside *gona* (*gunāh*), *karringe* (*karēngē*), *reddi* for *neddi* (*nadī*; also found as *naddī* in Hindustani), *passarie* (*pasārī*), *kissān* (*kisān*), *jutte* (*jutā*), *walia* (-*wālā*), etc.

The doubling in Hindustani is as often correctly represented as not:—**dsjoemma** (*jummā*), **batthie** (*battī*), **tsitter** (*cittar* = *citra*); but **matsie** (*macchī*), **iset** (*izzat*) do not show doubling.

§ 37. The above, in which words are taken both from the grammar and the vocabularies, indicates the character of the transliteration occurring in Ketelaer, with its phonetic and phono'logical implications. The third list of words gives some Hindustani vocables which appeared to Ketelaer (as a German and Dutch speaker) to be difficult to distinguish from similar words. He appreciated the semantic value of the aspiration of stops, but his frequent inability to distinguish the aspirated and the unaspirated sounds in his transcription, which has been indicated before, might partly be due to his being more familiar with a Gujarati habit of employing the glottal stop for the aspirate. He distinguishes between **bāg** ‘garden’, **bāgh** ‘tiger’ and **bhāg!** ‘flee!’, but writes them respectively as **baagh**, **bhagh**, **bag**, putting the aspirate in the wrong place in the last two words; and he gives as similar words **dhaal** (*dhāl* = ‘shield’), **daal** (*dāl*) = ‘pulses’, and **dall** (*dhāl* = low ground); **dhatie**, elsewhere printed as **darie** (*dārhi*), and **darroe** (*dāru*).

§ 38. From his grammar, it is plain that Ketelaer does not describe the standard Hindustani language. His is a popular *Lingua Franca* which he seems to have first picked up at Surat, and then probably he improved his knowledge of it during his stay at Lahore, Delhi and Agra. Here, too, he could have got the best Hindustani only in the royal entourage, the local dialects (except at Delhi) being forms of *patois* differing considerably from Standard Hindustani. Ketelaer became familiar with some of the special grammatical forms of Hindustani, but his grammar shows he could not use them, he was largely content with the *Bāzār* dialect with which he managed. His knowledge of the common grammatical forms of this, too, was not very deep; and his stay at Surat did not help him to retain any correctness of his Hindustani, if he had at all acquired it in the north. At times it looks as if he

wanted to compensate his want of positive knowledge by theorising. The grammar that he could prepare is very meagre indeed, and wanting in both completeness and system. It is based rather on the haphazard notes of a busy man of the position of Ketelaer, than on a scholar's detailed and leisurely study. Local Gujarati influence from Surat is noticeable—in the treatment of the **-h-** in the interior of words (*e.g.*, forms like **bhen=bahin**, **pelle=pahilā**, **gher=ghar**, in the use of **āp-** for the first personal pronoun (already noticed in the LSI., IX, p. 8), in the use of **-ṅgā** for the future 2nd and 3rd persons (see below, § 45) and in a few words which have non-Hindustani forms (*e. g.*, **ghido = gIdh**).

### § 39. The Declension of the Noun in Ketelaer.

The two genders masculine and feminine are recognised, but Ketelaer ignores the feminine form of the genitive and the adjective, and he does not give anywhere the feminine forms of the verb. He notes, however, the pronominal genitives **meeri**, **teeri**, **hammari**, **tommari** (= **mērī**, **tērī**, **hamārī**, **tumhārī**) in qualifying feminine nouns, in a special paragraph under pronouns. He writes—**rootie hammare**, **uska londi** (= **rōtī hamārī**, **uskī laundī**) etc. This non-recognition of the feminine forms of the genitive, the adjective and the verb is an important characteristic of *Bāzār* Hindustani outside the Western Hindi area.

For the number, Ketelaer gives rightly the nominative plural form of the masculine **-ā** nouns (= **-ē**) and of feminine nouns ending in a consonant (= **-ē**). But in other nouns he gives plural forms not found in present day Hindustani. He ignores the oblique case for **-ā** nouns, and his use of the oblique for the plural is peculiar. It is clear that Ketelaer wanted to reduce his Hindustani declension to a system—nouns in **-ā**, nouns in **-I**, nouns in **-ū**, nouns in consonants, both masculine and feminine—and merely supplied a regular set of inflexions which had some agreement merely with current forms.

Of the post-positions he notes the following:—Genitive **-ka** (**-kā**; he also once gives **-ke**), Dative **-kon** (**-kō**), Accusative **-kon**

(-kō), Ablative -se (-sē; he gives also, though not in his paradigms, other forms of it as -sem = -sē and -ssoe = -sū, sū). In his texts, he gives the locative -mē (as -me), and the dative wāstē (waste). But he does not mention the agentive -nē. This is another point showing that his Hindustani is not the standard speech.

### Paradigms.

#### (i) beetha (=bēṭā).

|      | Singular.           | Plural.               |
|------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Nom. | beetha              | beethe.               |
| Gen. | beethaka            | beethonka (=bēṭō kā)  |
| Dat. | beethakon           | beethonkon (=bēṭō kō) |
| Acc. | " "                 | " "                   |
| Voc. | e beetha (=ai bēṭā) | e beethe              |
| Abl. | baethase            | beethese.             |

(ii) boedia (burhiyā): pl. nom. boedien (= burhiyē), pl. obl. boedion (burhiyō).

(iii) admi (ādmī). pl. nom. and obl. admion (ādmīō).

(iv) beethi (bēṭī) pl. nom. and obl. beetia (bēṭiā = bēṭīā?).

(v) aandhoe (āṛū 'juvencus'), pl. nom. and obl. aandoeon (=āṛūō).

(vi) dsjoeroe (jōrū), pl. nom. and obl. dsjoeroeon (jōrūō).

(vii) baab (bāp), pl. nom. and obl. baabé (= bāpē?)

(viii) ank (ākh), pl. nom. and obl. anké (= ākhē).

### § 40. The Pronouns

Ketelaer notes the difference in number between **me** and **ham** (**mai**—**ham**), and **toe** and **tom** (**tū**—**tum**): Gujarati and Marathi which he had occasion to know at Surat, evidently helped him to find out this distinction in Hindustani (Gujarati nom. sg. hū, obl. sg. mē, pl. a nē: Marathi mī — āmī). Elsewhere (p. 463) he has remarked on the use of **ham**—**hammare** and **tom**—**tommare** for the is singular also. The LSI. has noted that **apre** for the first person due to Gujarati influence : Gujarati gen. pl. is **apado**, **apano**—and the **r** in **apre** is probably the result of an attempt to represent the **-d-** (= **-r-**) or the **-n-** (resembling **-r-**).

## First Person.

|      |                                   |                                 |
|------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| N.   | <b>me—ham</b>                     | <b>toe (tū)—tom (tum)</b>       |
| G.   | <b>meere (mērā)—apre (= apne)</b> | <b>teere (terā)—tommare</b>     |
| D.   | <b>mukon (mōkō)—ham kon</b>       | <b>teerekon (tērekō)—tomkon</b> |
| Ac.  | <b>meera—hammare</b>              | <b>teera—tommare</b>            |
| Voc. | <b>e me—e ham</b>                 | <b>e toe—e tom</b>              |
| Ab.  | <b>mese—hamse.</b>                | <b>toese—tomse.</b>             |

In addition he brings in **mujhe** and **tujhē** (**misjæ**, **toesjæ**) later under the Verb.

The third Personal Pronoun is given as nom. sg. **whe** (= **wōh**), plural nom. and obl. **inne** (= **in**). The oblique sg. form are given as **isseka**, **issekon**, accusative **whe**, ablative **isse**.

The Interrogative Pronoun is thus illustrated:

**kon he** (**kaun hai**), **kon heoeder** (**kaun hai udhar**), **kon dourte**, **bolte** (**kaun daurta bōltā**), **kja ghabber** (**kyā xabar**), **kja tsjeyte** (**kyā cāhtā?**), **kjon ney** (**kyō nahī**), **kiswaste**, **kjon** (**kyō**), **kitte** (= **kittā**).

The Relative and othor pronouns are omitted. The feminine forms **meeri**, **teeri**, **hammari**, **tommari** are illustrated.

§ 41. The Pronoun is followed by a note on the negative particles **na**, **mat**, **ney**; and illustrations of the use of **mat** are given, like **mat dsjauw** (**mat jāō**) and **girre mat** (**girē mat**).

§ 42. We have then a paragraph illustrating by examples the formation of abstract substantives in **ie** (-ī), e.g. **ghoeb—ghoebje** (**xub—xubī**), **alla—allahie** (**allāh—allāhi**), **andeer—andeerie** (**andher—andherī**), etc.

§ 43. *Comparison of adjectives* is next taken up: **kalla—issoe**, **kalla** (**kälā—isse kälā**) and **sabsoe kalla** (**sab-sō** for **sab-sé kälā**), **karwa—issoe karwa—sabsoe kerwa** (**karwā, karwā**), etc.

§ 44. Word-formation is illustrated once again, the affixes **-gār** and **-dār** and **-är** (**gonna—gonnagaar**, **dsjimien—dsjimidaar** = **zamīn—zamīdār**, **sonna—sonnaar** = **sōnār** etc.), the

affixes -cī, wālā (toop—tooptsie = tōp, tōpcī, karnai—karnaitsjie, lackri—lackriewalla etc.) being given. Tierendaas (tīr-andāz) and deggedaas for deggebaas (daqā-bāz) are wrongly explained as showing an affix daas (= \*dāz). The feminine-forming affix -en (= -ən) is noted, as in dhooben, malen, mootsjen (dhōban, mālan, mōcan).

Next, Ketelaer seeks to explain the suffix of endearment -jī, which he gives as dsjieve = jīw: he thinks,—from baab dsjieve, saheb dsjieve, maa or bhen or bibi dsjieve (bāp, sāhib, mā, bahan, biwī, +jī), that beetha dsjieve, beeti dsjieve (= bētā-jī, bētī-jī) are allowed in addressing, in the sense of ‘dear son, dear daughter’.

The employ of the word fallaan (*fulān*) is explained, and then comes a further note on comparison, with two sentences—admi gorasoe ghoobha (ādmī ghōṛā-se xūb hai and hāthī bhelse barrahe (hāthī bail sē barā hai).

§ 45. The rest of the grammar is taken up with *Conjugation* (pp. 466—485). Ketelaer’s treatment of the verb makes it quite clear that his Hindustani is the ‘ungrammatical’ *bāzār* dialect. The feminine forms of the verbs are unknown to him, and he gives no hint about the passive construction of the past tense of the transitive verb. The three persons have only *one* form, in both the singular and the plural. One interesting point is that in the future the form for the first person singular is extended to the second and third persons, and the nasal from the first person singular infects the other persons and number. In the *bāzār* Hindustani of Bombay and of Gujarat towns, one hears ham jāēngā, wōh jāēngā, we lōg karēngā, sēthjī kal āēngā etc. A similar usage is seen to characterise Ketelaer’s Hindustani; and the form without the -n- and that with the -n-. Ketelaer through mistake differentiates as being two types of the future (e. g. in giving the paradigms for root *kar*, he gives first, as *Futurum*, singular *me*, *toe*, *whe karonga*, plural *ham*, *tom*, *inne karonge*, and then, as *Futurum Secundum*, singular *me*, *toe*, *whe karregā*, plural *ham*, *tom*, *inne karrige*).

Some of his **paradigms** are given below:

(a) Substantive verb **he**:

Present, sg. **me, toe, whe he**, pl. **ham, tom, inne hoe** (*i.e.* **hai, hū**).

Imperfect, sg. **hoea**, pl. **hoeé** (**hūā, hūē**).

Perfect, sg. **hoeétha**, pl. **hoeéthe** (**hūéthā**, for **hūā thā**, and **hūē thē**).

Pluperfect, sg. **hougea**, pl. **hougee** (**hō gayā, hō gayē**).

Future, sg. **hunga**, pl. **hunge** (**hūngā, pl. hūngē**).

Second Future, sg. **hoónga**, pl. **hoónge** (= **hōwūngā, hōwūngē**).

Imperative, sg. **toe ro**, pl. **tom ree** (**rah, raho**).

Infinitive, **hoea, hoeé** (**hūā, hūē**).

(b) Root **kar**.

Present, **kartə, pl. kartē (kartā, kartē)**.

Imperfect, **ka·tatha, pl. kartethe (kartā thā, kartē thē)**.

Perfect, **kartsjoekə, pl. kartsjoeke (kar cukā, kar cuke)**.

Second Perfect, **kia, pl. kie (kīā, kīē: active construction)**.

Pluperfect, **kiathā, pl. kiethé**.

Future, **karonga, pl. karonge (= honorific?)**.

Second Future, **karrega, pl. karrige**.

Imperative, **toe karro, tom karre**.

Infinitive, **karre, karne**.

Roots **kgha-** (**khā**), **pie** (**pī**), **gau** (**gāw = gā** ‘to sing’), **həs-** (**hās**), are similarly conjugated. There are some inaccuracies, and discrepancies. A further number of verbs—some 50—follow, with some of the tenses indicated. The **Passive Verb** comes next: the following instances will indicate the treatment:

Singular, **misjəo sichtē, toesjəo sichtē, ikkon sichtē**, plural **hamkon sichtē, tomkon sichtē, innekom sichtē** (**mujhē, tujhē, ēkkō, hamkō, tumkō, inkō sikhta** for **sikhātā**)=I am taught, thou art taught etc.

So, **misjəo poslaute** (= **mujhē phuslāwtā, phuslātā**)=I am deceived; **toesjəo galli deete** (= **tujhē gāli dētā**)=you are abused;

The proper passive apparently is not known or understood by the author.

Other forms (*e.g.* Causatives, Compound Verbs' etc.) are not treated. The conjugation—and the grammar—ends with illustration of a compound tense—the future conjunctive, as it is called—of some verbs in the three persons and both numbers: *e.g.* sjad or tab me sichaya hoëë (= 'postquam doctus fuero', jad or tab maï sikhäyä huä), sjad toe moëë hoëë (= jad tū muä hūä), sjad whe hadjam kar hoëë (jad woh hajäm kar [for kīä] hūä—'postquam tonsus fuerit'), sjad tom bea karre luä (= 'postquam atrimonio juncti fueritis' = jad tum byäh-kīä huë), etc.

§ 46. Hindustani texts in the shape of translations of the Ten Commandments, the Creed, and the Lord's Prayer which come next complete the grammar. The translations are devoid of any merit, and are specimens of what was later derided in India as 'missionary vernacular.' It is a pioneer's work, and is therefore often difficult to follow, at times even unintelligible. The ordinal forms of the numerals are found in the Ten Commandments:

pelle hockum (= pahilä bukm), dusra, tisra, tsjoute, paansme, tsjæme, saatme, aathme, noovme and desme. The Lord's Payer has already been given in the LSI.; here I quote one of the commandments: tom koy bod (=but) oor usse bjabber mat benauw, sjon (=jyō) asmaan me oepper he, oor nietsje (= níçé), sjimien me = zamín-mē) he, oor sjimien-mē telle (= zamín-kē talé) he, oor panime sjimien me nietsje he (= zamín-kē níçé hai), tom inneka (= inká) aggi (= ägē) issed (= izzat) mat karro, oor inne (inhē) gesmet (= xizmat, xidmat) mat karro; waste, me saheb tommara all'a he (= is wästé, ki maï sahib aur tumhärä alläh hū), we jo gonna ginte baab ka usse beeta kon (= wa jō gunäh gintä, bēp-kā usse bētä ko), tisre oor tsjoute kabilia, we gonnie karte, oor delassa kar, hazaar se, we jo ham peaar karte oor meera firmaas rakte (= rakhtä).

§ 47. It would appear that the vocabularies are in some respects more useful than the grammar. Despite a number of misprints—and it must be said, to the credit of the editor and the

printers, their number is much less than what could be expected—we get from them a faithful enough picture of the nature of the elements of spoken Hindustani of two hundred years ago—its *Sprachgut*. It is already fairly highly Persianised, but a good many old Hindi words still are in common use. Some of these latter have become obsolete now; others, including the foreign Persian and Perso-Arabic vocables, have slightly altered their meanings. These vocabularies are well worth a special study.

§ 48. Inspite of some inevitable errors of omission and commission, Ketelaer's Hindustani grammar throws a good sidelight on popular Hindustani of the early part of the 18th century, when we have a speech which, inspite of a few archaisms which are to be expected quite naturally, is in singular agreement with the typical *bāzār* Hindustani as current as a *Koinē* or *Verkehrsprache* at the present day in all the towns of North India, and in most of the towns of the South.

[Note. The above paper was written in March 1931. In October 1932 I received a communication from Dr. J. Ph. Vogel of the Kern Institute, Leyden, Holland, in which he very kindly gave me some particular about Ketelaer's Grammar. The original was written by Ketelaer in Dutch, when he was in India. A Ms. copy of Ketelaer's original Dutch work is preserved in the State Record Office at the Hague, Holland. This copy was made by a clerk at Lucknow in 1698. The title of the document is:

*Instructive oft onderwijsinge der Hindoustanse en Persiaanse talen, nevens hare declinatie en conjugatie, alsmede vergeleijkinge, der hindoustanse med de hollandse maat en gewichten mitsgaders beduydingh eeniger moorse namen etc. Door Joan Joan Josu: Ketelaar, Elbiyensem. En gecopieert door Isaaq van der Hoeve, van Uytreght. Tot Leckenauw. Ao. 1698.*

(Instruction or Teaching of the Hindustani and Persian Languages, also their declension and conjugation, together with a comparison of the Hindustani measures and weights with the Dutch, moreover the meaning of some Moorish names etc. By

John Joshua Ketelaar of Elbing [a town on the Baltic, not far from Dantzig, where K. evidently was born]. Copied by Isaac van der Hoeve of Utrecht. At Lucknow, A. D. 1698).

It is quite clear that the grammar was written before 1698, —at the end of the 17th century.

Dr. Vogel thinks that Millius, who was professor of ancient languages in the University of Utrecht, translated the work from Dutch into Latin. The original Dutch work has never been published. (S. K. C. 10 October 1934).

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# The Linguistic Society of India.

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to 31st January 1935.*

| INCOME.                          |       |    |            | EXPENDITURE.                 |     |    |         |
|----------------------------------|-------|----|------------|------------------------------|-----|----|---------|
|                                  | Rs.   | A. | P.         |                              | Rs. | A. | P.      |
| Opening balance                  | —     | —  | 654 3 7    | Printing                     | —   | —  | —       |
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| Total                            | 1,647 | 3  | 7          | Postage                      | —   | —  | 4 15 0  |
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31-1-35.

GAURI SHANKAR,  
*Honorary Secretary,*  
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# MATERIALS FOR A SKETCH OF TULU PHONOLOGY

BY

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## GENERAL

Tulu or Tuļuva <sup>1</sup>bhāṣa (as it is called by native speakers) is a Dravidian dialect spoken by nearly half a million people inhabiting the central portion of the district of South Canara in the Madras Presidency, between the river Kalyāṇapuri and Chandragiri. The area where Tuļu is spoken is bounded on the north and the east by Kannada regions, while to the south lies the Malayāḍam-speaking district of Malabar. Within the Tuļu-speaking area, the Indo-Āryan dialect Koṅkaṇi and the cultivated Dravidian speech Kannada are spoken by a not inconsiderable element of the population. As Tuļu is not a written dialect, the official language of the localities is Kannada. Though the influence of Indo-Āryan on the one hand and of the Dravidian speech Kannada on the other, has led to the borrowing by Tuļu of a fairly large number of words from these speeches, the Tuļuva bhāṣa has kept up its dialectal individuality in a remarkable measure in the spheres of Phonology and Grammar.

The people who speak this dialect belong to different castes and communities, but the non-Brahmin Baṇṭs among them appear to keep up even to-day the social traditions of the Tuļuva people as exemplified by the Aliya-Santāna system of matriarchy still prevalent amongst them. The Brahmins, however, form to-day the chief custodians of Indo-Āryan culture. Udupi, the centre

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(1) The term [ tuļuve ] possesses a meaning "soft" in expressions like (tuļuve gujjzæ) soft jack-fruit. Whether indeed there is any connection between this word and the name of the people, one cannot say.

of Tuļuva culture, is the seat of eight important religious māṭhas where Brahminical learning is fostered. The religious zeal of the Tuļuva Brahmins had from a very early period brought them in contact with the Nambūdīri Brahmins of Malabar. It is a very remarkable fact that the Tuļuva Brahmins have from an early time commanded respect throughout the Malabar country as being fitter to perform the function of the temple priest than any other group of non Malayālī Brahmins. From the point of view of spiritual eminence, the Malayālis have accorded to the Tuļuva Brahmins very much the same recognition and homage that they have been according to the native Nambūdīri Brahmins of Malabar. Cf. in this connection the terms embirān 'my spiritual lord' and pōt't'i 'worthy of praise' 'the praised one', names by which the Tuļu Brahmin settlers in Malabar are called by the Malayālis. As I have said, this apparently has been a direct result of the cultural intercourse that has existed from an early time between the Brahmins of Malabar and of Tuļuva nādu.

The Tuļuvas appear to belong to an ancient stock of people as their name is referred to in the ancient Tamil<sup>1</sup> classics. History tells us that they may once have been the subjects of Sātiyaputra. Notwithstanding this fact, the Tuļuvas have not cultivated their language as a literary dialect. Apart from a few Pauranic and Sanskritic legends and religious songs preserved on palm-leaves in the Brahmin families and also folk-songs current among non-Brahmin Tuļuvas, there exist no records (literary or inscriptional) of the past condition of this dialect. The Paurānic legends and songs do not seem to be very ancient; yet they are useful to us in elucidating a few dialectal variations, and also the peculiar changes undergone by Tuļu borrowings from Sanskrit

(1) Cf. the verse in Aganānūru, one of the oldest of extant Tamil classics :

pāgalārkai-p-paraikkat-pili-t  
tōgai-k-kāvit'-trūļunād-anna

"\_\_\_\_The Tuļuva country famed for its arbours filled with peacocks feeding on the pāgal fruits."

(and probably Prakrit also which at one time was current in South India). So far as the folk-songs are concerned, they are invaluable to the student of the history of the Tulu language, as they preserve some very old forms of Tulu words.

Valuable material regarding the grammatical and glossarial features of the present-day condition of the dialect has been collected by the Mangalore missionaries whose unique pioneer zeal in the exploration of the languages of these parts deserves to be recognised with gratitude. A Tulu translation of the New Testament (1859), a grammar containing the outlines of morphology and syntax (1872), and a Dictionary which is fairly exhaustive (1886) are some of their publications which furnish the student with rich linguistic data. These works, however, were all written several decades ago, and were primarily aimed at imparting to missionaries a working knowledge of the language. To the modern linguist interested in details and minute dialectal variations, they are inadequate. Particularly in Phonology and in Grammar where the dialectal differences vary on a communal as well as a regional basis, the modern linguist has to depend on his own independent investigations for the requisite information.

As the dialects of the Madras Presidency did not fall directly within the scope of the Linguistic Survey of India, Tulu was omitted from the list of Dravidian dialects described in the Fourth Volume of this series.

The present writer whose interest in Dravidic studies led him to the study of Tulu also, happened to spend some time in the Tulu-speaking talukas of South Canara, and he utilised his visit to observe the phonetic and the morphological peculiarities of some of the sub-dialects of Tulu. He has subsequently also been able to verify his observations carefully by comparing them with the views of Tuluvas resident in the Cochin State. He has embodied all these observations of his in the following sketch.

The alphabet originally employed by Tuluva Brahmins in writing out the legends on palm-leaves was a modification of the

Malayālam script. The reason for this preference was apparently the intercourse that existed between the Tuluvas and the Malayālis from an early period. The Mangalore missionaries, on the other hand, printed their Tulu works in the Kannada script, and this was probably more in the fitness of things, in view of the close proximity of the Kannada-speaking areas to Tuluva naḍu and of the large influence exercised by the former on Tulu, particularly in vocabulary.

### TULU PHONETICS.

The symbols employed in this sketch for the representation of Tulu sounds are adapted from the notation of the International Phonetic Association. They are mostly the same as those which the present writer has used in his "Brief Account of Malayālam Phonetics."

#### Tabular representation of Tulu Sounds. VOWELS.

|             | Front. | Central or Mixed. | Dorsal. |
|-------------|--------|-------------------|---------|
| Closed      | [i]    | [ɪ] [ü]           | [u] [u] |
| Half-Closed | [e]    | [é] [ö]<br>[ə]    | [o]     |
| Half-Open   | [ə]    | [ɛ]               | [ʌ] [ə] |
| Open        | [a]    | [ä]               | [ɑ:]    |

Non-syllabic [ɪ] and [ü].<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>These sounds approach the values [j] and [v].

| Position on the mouth-roof,<br>according to<br>Jespersen's<br>notation. | Bilabial<br>— <i>b</i> | Labio-<br>dental<br>— <i>d</i> | Inter-<br>dental<br>— <i>d</i> to <i>e</i> | Alveolar<br>— <i>f</i>       | Post alveo-<br>lar and<br>Palatal<br>— <i>g</i> | Retroflex<br>or<br>Caucuminal<br>— <i>h</i> | Velar<br>— <i>i</i> to <i>j</i>           | Glottis.                           |          |
|---|------------------------|--------------------------------|--|------------------------------|---|---|---|------------------------------------|----------|
|   | Lip.                   | Lip.                           | Teeth                                      | Teeth<br>with<br>fore-blade. | Upper<br>gums with<br>tip of<br>tongue.         | Front<br>palate<br>with blade.              | Palatal<br>dome with<br>tip of<br>tongue. | Back plate<br>with<br>after-blade. | Glottal. |
| Plosives —  | [p], [b]               |                                | [t], [d]                                   |                              | [k' <sup>†</sup> ], [g']                        | [t], [d]                                    | [k], [g]                                  |                                    |          |
| Affricates —  |                        |                                |  |                              | [ç], [ʒ]  |   |   |                                    |          |
| Nasals —  | [m]                    |                                |  |                              | [n]   | [n]   | [ŋ]                                       |                                    |          |
| Laterals —  |                        |                                |  |                              | [l]   |   | [l]                                       |                                    |          |
| Rolled —  |                        |                                |  |                              | [r]   |   |   |                                    |          |
| Fricatives —  | [v]                    |                                | [s]  |                              | [ʃ]   | [j]   | [ʃ]                                       | [h], [f]                           |          |

The number of "phonemes" in Tuļu is thirty only, these being represented in this sketch by the following I. P. A. symbols: [p], [b], [t], [d], [ʈ], [ɖ], [k], [g], [ç], [ʐ], [m], [n], [ɳ]. [l], [ɻ], [r], [v], [s], [ʂ], [ʃ], [j], [ħ]—[i], [e], [æ], [ɑ:], [o], [u], [ɯ], [ʌ].

Owing to the large influence exercised by Sanskrit on Tuļu lexicology, Tuļu borrowings from Sanskrit show also the aspirate consonants. It may be noted here that, while the proportion of Sanskrit words in the dialect of the Tuļuva Brahmins is exceedingly high, the number of Indo-Āryan adaptations in the common people's dialect is also not negligible.

There occur in Tuļu a number of other sounds also which can only be described as "phones" or speech-sounds, belonging as they do to one or other of the above phonemes. The most prominent among these are the following:—

[v], [ɳ], [ɳ]—  
[ɻ], [ü], [e], [ö], [ə], [ɛ], [ə].

The contexts in which these occur are alluded to below in connection with the description of the phonemes themselves.

The phonation of Tuļu sounds, generally speaking, shares many common features of south Dravidian enunciation. In the present sketch I shall point out only the unique peculiarities of Tuļu while, for information about the common features, I would refer the reader to my "Brief Account of Malayālam Phonetics."

1. [p] This bilabial surd occurs initially and intervocally in Tuļu words:—['pudə] dove; ['po:di-] or ['po:di-] to fear; ['adəpu] closing.

Intervocally, the short sound is quite stable and pure particularly in secondary or derivative positions; contrast with this the intervocal enunciation of Tamil surds which become voiced mediae.

Tulu [p] involves no aspiration normally, but its phonation is accompanied by greater muscular tension than in Tamil or in Malayālam.

2. [b]—In initial positions this plosive is devocalised a little, but it can never be mistaken for [p]. Intervocally [b] does occur in Tulu in a stable form. ['baŋjzi] belly; [baṛ-] to come; ['Adeba] adulteress; ['ubi-] to swell.

3. [t] This is an interdental surd, in the production of which sometimes the tip of the tongue may be spread not only over the teeth but over the teeth-ridge also.

Tulu lacks the alveolar plosives [t] and [d] of Tamil-Malayālam. The voiced alveolar [d] in the Tamil consonant group [ndr] and in Malayālam [nd] is produced with the tip of the tongue on the fore-gums while the voiceless alveolar [t̪] of Malayālam is produced farther backward in or immediately behind the region of the back-gums.

Historically, Tulu has changed the old alveolar group [ndr] to [n̪jz]—

| Tulu             | Tam        | Kann      |
|------------------|------------|-----------|
| ['oŋjzi] one —   | ['on̪drw]  | ['oŋdu[   |
| ['kaŋjzi] calf — | ['kand̪rw] | ['kaŋdu]. |

4. [d] This sound occurs initially in native words:—['dāvər-] to become loose); ['dall-] to beat.

Compare Kannada and Telugu.

Medially, [d] in Tulu may in some cases be the result of secondary changes peculiar to this dialect. (Vide Phonology below).

5. [t̪], [d̪] : These are genuine cacuminals produced with the tip of the tongue on the dome of the palate.

They are not found initially in native Dravidian words.

The consonant group [ṇṭ] in Tulu, like the consonant groups [ṇcf], [ṇt], [ṇk] and like intervocal surds in derivative positions in this dialect, is quite stable, unlike in Tamil.

6. [k] : The phonation of this velar plosive calls for no remarks, except that when compared with Tamil [k], the muscular tension is greater and that the sound shows less tendency to become weakened intervocally than in Tamil.

[k] in connection with front vowels becomes slightly "frontalised" in its point of articulation though it never reaches the position of the palatal plosive [c], e.g. ['Aḍi-k'əi] palm of the hand; ['k'ippi] small; ['Akki] rice.

7. [g] : The voiced velar plosive can occur initially in native words, e. g., [ 'ga:vü ] heat ; [ 'guli ] or [ 'guri ] pit; [ 'ga:nü - ] to glow.

Though not unstable in modern enunciation intervocally, a few instances illustrate the older process of "weakening" e. g.; [ugərur] beside [ubərur], [uərur], brackishness.

A frontalised [g'] in connection with front vowels is found in words like the following:—[mAg'ə] son; [g'i:rü] to scratch.

[çj], [jz] : These are affricates as in the other south Dravidian speeches, the plosive element being partially present in the initial contact, and the fricative element in the immediately following continuant sound.

These affricates in Tulu are produced at a slightly more forward position than in Malayālam or Tamil, especially when they are in contact with front vowels.

Compare the phonation for instance of Tulu ['cʃu:qü] heat and [çjikkə] dwarf.

[jz] occurs initially in native words e. g., ['jzʌdər - ] alternating with [çʌdər - ] to be dispersed; ['yza:r - ] to slide; ['jzirə] small; ['jzo:vu] child.

[m] calls for no remarks.

10. [n] : This is an alveolar produced at the fore-gums in connection with front vowels and at the back-gums in connection with back vowels.

It is distinct as a phoneme from [ɳ].

In connection with dental plosives it becomes dental, involving as its production does the spreading of the fore-blade, e. g. ['pon<sup>d</sup>-] to rise; ['unt-] to stand up.

It may be interesting to note that while the dental nasal occurs in Malayalam initially and medially, Tulu (like modern Tam; Kann. and Tel.) possesses [n] only in the consonant groups mentioned above.

11. [ɲ] : A "palatal" nasal produced at about the same position on the mouth-roof as for [ç] and [j̪]

Besides being a common sound in the consonant groups [ŋç] and [ŋj̪], it occurs initially in a very few native words e. g. [ŋarkæ] alternating dialectally with ['narkæ] bark, rind.

12. [ɳ] This cacuminal nasal characteristic of Dravidian is being displaced by the alveolar [n] in the common dialect of Tulu; nevertheless, it is conspicuous in the speeches of certain areas and communities:—

[mennur] spark, [mennur].

[kʌnnur] eye, ['ponnur] or ['pənnur] girl.

As in other Dravidian dialects [n] does not occur in initial positions of Tulu words.

13. [ŋ] : This velar nasal never occurs in its short form, nor is it found initially. It is found in the consonant groups [ŋk] and [ŋg]. In the adaptations [ 'Aŋŋənə ] courtyard and [ 'kʌŋŋənə ] plate, [ŋŋ] stands for Skt. [ŋg] Cf. also [ 'Aŋŋəŋŋōlə ] limbs, a native plural of Skt. [ 'Aŋgə ].

14. [l] : The alveolar lateral when in connection with front vowels is produced at the fore-gums while the articulation is slightly more backward i. e. near the back-gums, when influenced by neighbouring back vowels.

[l] does occur in Anlaut-positions of **Tulu** native words as the result of Accent-shift and Aphesis, e.g., ['lʌmb] to wash beside ['ʌ,ləmb-]; ['lepp-] beside ['vɔ,lep-p-] to call, etc.

15. [l]: The individuality of this characteristic Dravidian cacuminal is conspicuous still in **Tulu**, though the colloquial favours a tendency to decerebralise the sound:— ['ʌləv-] to measure; '(a:lū) person ('kalla) deceitful; ('ba:lū) sword.

16. [r]: The points of articulation vary slightly with different speakers. It is only post-dental (i.e. articulated at the edge of the upper row of teeth) in some instances, while it is fully alveolar in others. The most forward limit is the teeth-edge and the most backward is the region of the back-gums. The rolled or trilled r of Tamil and **Malayālam** is not found in **Tulu**. Historically, it had undergone peculiar modifications.

17. [v]: Initially, the current bilabial fricative of the common variety of modern **Tulu** is developed from an original non-syllabic [v̥] occurring initially before dorsal vowels of native words. The representative of initial [v] of Tamil, Telugu, Kūi and **Malayālam** is [b] in **Tulu**, as in the other b- dialects of Dravidian viz., Kannada, Brāhūi and Kurukh. **Tulu** [v] involves a slightly greater acticity of the lips than Tamil or Malayalam [v].

Some speakers (probably influenced by the enunciation of Indo-Aryan) give a labiodental value to this sound especially in Sanskrit words.

Medially, [v] occurs in radical and derivative positions:— ['a:vəlu] yawning; ['ka:və] theft [cə:luvə] handsome.

18. [s]:—The interdental sibilant is a very conspicuous development in native **Tulu** words. It is found both initially and medially:—[su:] to see; [suli] eddy; [pası] boy, child.

Note that Tamil and **Malayālam** do not generally possess [s] in native words.

The voiced variety [z] does not exist in **Tulu** or in any other Dravidian dialect for that matter.

19. [ʃ]: This sound is produced in Tuḷu with the tip of the tongue forming a slight hole-like passage somewhere on the alveolar region. The fricative element in the affricate [tʃ] of Tuḷu is produced at a slightly more backward position.

[ʃ] in Tuḷu is found in initial positions as a variant of [t] and alternating with [s]:—[ʃird-] to correct, beside [tird]; [ʃi:] sweetness, beside [ti:].

For the inter-relationships of these sounds, see Phonology below. Medially [ʃ] is very rare in native words, the sound having changed to [s] in this position as regularly as in Kannada.

20. [h]: The glottal fricative is a conspicuous secondary development in native words of certain communal dialects of Tuḷu: [hudərū] lamp; [hāi-] to die; [hudæ] river.

For the circumstances in which the glottal fricative has cropped up in Tuḷu, see Phonology below.

Ordinarily the sound is partially voiced, but the Tuḷuva Brahmins give the voiceless value to the sound in Sanskrit tatsamas and tadbhavas. Medially, a voiced [h] appears only in borrowings from Kannada, like [arihu] knowledge.

### Vowels.

21. [i]: The phonation is the same as in other south Dravidian speeches. When followed in the next syllable by short consonants and open vowels, [i] changes to [ə] or [e]:—[idæ] place, beside [edæ]; [ilæ] leaf, beside [elæ].

In unaccented positions, a centralised variety of this sound occurs; this is symbolised in this paper by [₁]:—[kudikæ] fox; [madipu] folding.

22. [e]: In unaccented positions, [e] changes to [ə], and in some instances where the character of [e] is distinctly marked off, to [ɛ]. Finally, a more open [ɛ] is also found.

23. [æ] : This sound occurs in final positions of nouns which in Tamil have terminal [ai] or [əi] and in Kannada [e], e. g. [ba:læ] plantain ; [mʌræ] screen.

It is also found as a colloquial variant of [ʌ] or [ɑ:] in connection with the palatal [ŋ], [ç] and [jz]:—[æjzæ] footprint; [çædər-] to disperse; [çæ:ræ] coconut palm; [ŋærk-] to slice

24. [ɑ:]: This, as in other Dravidian speeches, is the value of the long à sound.

25. [o] : [o] in Tulu is not always so close as in Malayālam or in Tamil. In the speeches of the common masses, I have heard the value of [ɔ] being given to this sound by some speakers e.g in [bo:jir-] to become pale; [bo:d-] to wish; [bokkà] and.

In unaccented positions, a centralised variety [ö] appears with less lip-rounding, e. g. [dinödu] in a day; [märöku] to the tree etc.

Normal [o] of Tulu alternates in some speech-varieties with another sound which is allied to [e] and characterised by lip-sounding, in words which in other south Dr. dialects have [e]:—[ponnu] beside colloquial [pønnu]; [po:di-] to fear, colloquial [pø:di]. cf. Tam. [pen] girl and Mal. [pe:di] fear.

26. [u] : Lip-rounding is very conspicuous.

An original glide [ü] before initial [u] of native words has now developed into [ø] in some speech-varieties.

In unaccented positions [u] may frequently appear with a centralised value [ü]:—[kʌdü-vaji] a kind of fish; [ku:dükət̪w] association; [kʌdüpə] excessive.

[u] changes to [o] in the same circumstances in which [i] changes to [e] mentioned above:—[onəngəlur] dry, beside [unəngəlur]; [todæ] thigh, beside [tudæ].

27. [ɯ] This is a close, back sound somewhat similar to [u] but without lip-rounding. cf. Tamil [ɯ]. This sound (replaced sometimes by [u], see 'Phonology') occurs as an enunciatice of Tuju words after final consonants. It is noteworthy that it is found not only after some terminal plosives and fricatives but also invariably after [l], [n], [r] [l], [n], [m] and [j], while in literary Tamil and Malayalam the enunciatice need appear only optionally after the last-mentioned sounds. [e:ɖɯ] sheep [pa:lɯ] division; [ka:rɯ] leg; [e:lɯ] seven [a:nɯ] boy; [mi:nɯ] fish.

[ɯ] in Tuju is also found in declensional endings and conjugational terminations. (see below). The dative ending [kɯ] or [gɯ], Acc. [nɯ], Loc. [dɯ] etc. appear only with final [ɯ] unless influenced by a back vowel in the stem, in which case [u] appears instead of [ɯ]. cf. [pu:ku] to the flower and [Amməgur] to the mother. Among the conjugational forms, the endings of the past participle, the perfect participle, the third person imperative etc. show [ɯ] or [u] according to this rule.

28. [ʌ] : This is the short a-sound of Dravidian: Medially in unaccented positions it changes to [ə] e. g., ['bɪrəlɯ] finger; ['Adəpu] closing, etc.

[ʌ] in final positions becomes slightly more open and probably a little "frontalised." This value is represented in this essay by [ä]

[ʌ] sometimes alternates with [ə] or even [e] after the voiced plosives, affricates and fricatives:- [jʌʌdi-] [jʌedi-] tor am; [cʌʌræ], [cʌeræ] head; [dʌntæ], [dentæ] stick.

[ʌ] changes in certain varieties to [ɔ] or [o] under the influence of neighbouring bilabials:- ['tɔppu], ['tɔppu], ['soppu] mistake; ['pʌr-pü-] beside [por-pü-] to pluck.

### Phones.

**Consonants** :— [ṛ] — This is the value of [r] when in contact with the retroflex sounds. As it is not a “significant” sound in Tulu, it may be considered to be member of the [r] phoneme.

For [ŋ] and [ɳ] and [l̪] the dental varieties of [n] and [l], see above under the remarks for the latter.

**Vowels** : A number of these have already been referred to above. Apart from these, I have noted an open mixed obscure [ə] in the Gerundial Infinitives of Tulu - [paŋjərə] for speaking [tinjərə] for eating, etc. This [ə] also crops up in the rapid utterance of final [ə] in connected sentences.

### Diphthongs.

The following falling diphthongs are current in Tulu in rapid enunciation. Deliberate utterance may lead to the disappearance of the diphthongal value:—

[Ai], [əi], — ['kAi] hand; [mAi] body.

[a:i] — ['ka:i] fruit

[Au] — ['Aulū] there; [ʌŋkü-] to press].

[oi] — ['koi] to reap; [oilü-] to reel.

### Consonant Groups.

1. The native consonant groups (apart of course from long consonants), found in other Dr. speeches, occur in Tulu also:—

(a) Nasals and plosives : [ŋk], [ŋg], [ŋčʃ], [ŋjz̩]’ [nt̩] [nd̩] [nt̩], [nd̩], [mp], [mb] — For illustrations see below under “Phonology”

(b) [l̪] [l̪] [r], [n̪] and consonants : [nilk-] to peep, stand on tip-toe; [mulpu] here; [tird-] to mend; [tirkə] settlement; [ta:lmə] patience; [unkelw̩] night-meal; [paŋp-] to speak, etc.

2. Apart from these, there occur in Tulu certain consonant groups like the following, consequent on the disappearance (in

rapid colloquial enunciation) of an intermediate vowel : [çʃʌdpu] leanness; [ʌdgæ] near; [çʃigrʊ] sprout; [nesru] morning [pʌspu] tender, etc. [oðka] end, broken; [kʌðtelu] what is broken.

### Dialectology.

The sub-dialectal varieties of Tulu appear to have both a communal and a regional basis. Of the regional divergences I have not been able to make a proper study yet. The communal variations are all interesting and significant; but among them all the widest cleavage is met with between the sub-dialect of the Tuluva Brahmins and the speech-variety current amongst the most prominent community of Tulu nādu, viz. the Bants who are cultivators and non-Brahmins. I am told that there are some divergences (of a less significant character, however) between the dialect of the Bants on the one hand, and that current among other non-Brahmin communities like the [mənse] or a class of Holeyas and the [birvæ] or toddy-drawers on the other. These differences and the regional variations have yet to be investigated through a systematic linguistic survey of the entire Tuluva country. In the following sketch, I have dealt with only the variations (in Phonology, Grammar and Vocabulary) between the Brahmins' sub-dialect and what I describe here as the folk-speech *i.e.* the language employed by the Bants who form the largest community in Tulu nādu.

### Phonology.

(i) Initial [s] of the Br. dialect corresponds to [t] of the mass-dialect in instances like the following :—

| <i>Br.</i>         | <i>Folk-dialect.</i> |
|--------------------|----------------------|
| to see [su:p-]     | [tu:p-]              |
| to appear [so:jz-] | [to:jz-]             |
| to leak [sɔ:r-]    | [tɔ:r-]              |
| to die [sʌj-]      | [sʌj-] and [tʌj-]    |

|                      |          |
|----------------------|----------|
| to be obtained [sik] | [tix-]   |
| to wear [sutt-]      | [tutt-]  |
| underneath [sittw]   | [tirtur] |

(ii) In a few, Br. [t] corresponds to certain regional forms of the folk-dialect [s]:—

|                   |                  |
|-------------------|------------------|
| sweetness [ti:pæ] | [sipæ] or [ʃipæ] |
| torch [tu:tæ]     | [suptæ]          |
| river [tudæ]      | [sudæ]           |

(iii) Initial [h] is found in Tuļu in two strata of words: (a) Borrowings from new Kannada of words with initial [h] < older [p]; (b) [h] in native words corresponding to initial [t]. Of these, the borrowings from Kannada are found in varying measure all over the country and amongst all communities; but [h] or sometimes voiceless [h] corresponding to [t] and [s] is more frequent among the Jains and others in the eastern and south eastern taluks of the Tuļu country.

| [h] words          | — corresponding to [s] or [t] words |
|--------------------|-------------------------------------|
| to see [hu:-p-]    | — [su:-p], [tu:-p-]                 |
| river [hudæ]       | — [sudæ], [tudæ]                    |
| to appear [ho:jz-] | -- [so:jz-], [to:jz-]               |

(iv) Borrowings from Kannada with initial [h] (derived in Kann. from older [p]) are preserved in the Br. dialect with the initial aspirate, generally speaking; but in the mass-dialect, the [h] disappears.

| Br.                 | Folk-dialect |
|---------------------|--------------|
| ship [fiʌdəgu]      | [ʌdəgu]      |
| gold [fionnū]       | [onnu]       |
| adulteress [hʌdəbē] | [ʌdebē]      |
| much [fi:rela]      | [e:rela]     |

(v) Initial [jz] of the Br. dialect answers to [d] of the folk-speech in the following:—

|                              |             |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| what ? [jza:næ]              | [da:næ]     |
| why ? [jza:jegw], [jze:gw] — | [-da:jegw]  |
| to be filled [jzipjz-]       | — [-dipjz-] |
| crab [jzepjzi]               | — [-depjzi] |

cf. the adaptation [jezi-] to *wini*, which preserves *yz* in the Br. dialect but appears with [d] as [deji] among certain non-Brahmins.

(vi) Br. [iddi] not, answers to folk-sp. [igzi]

(vii) the sound corresponding to the peculiar voiceless continuant [ɻ] of Tamil, Mal., old Kannada and Badaga is in intervocalic positions, [ɻ] in the Br. speech, but [r] in the folk-dialect:

|                         |             |
|-------------------------|-------------|
| fowl [ko : li]          | — [ko : ri] |
| pit [gułi]              | — [guri]    |
| to fall [bu : l]        | — [bu : r-] |
| plantain tree [ba : læ] | — [ba : ræ] |

This correspondence Br. [l] = folk [r] exists only in cases where the short sound appears intervocally; when it occurs in consonant groups, it assumes the value of [r] in all sub dialects in *Tulu*:

Ripe fruit [pʌndur], black gram [urdw], dust [burðæ], etc.—corresponding to Tam. [பாஞ்சம்], [உருங்கு], [புஞ்சி], etc.

(viii) The retroflex [ɻ] [ɳ] appear to be more common in the Br. dialect.

|                         |   |           |
|-------------------------|---|-----------|
| to shine [menək-]       | — | [menk-]   |
| should be done [ʌmpɔli] | — | [mʌlpɔli] |
| to do [ʌmpuṇa]          | — | [mʌlpuni] |

(ix) Inter-vocalic plosives in derivative and indexional positions appear more often unvoiced in the Br. dialect.

(x) Aphoreresized forms are, so far as I can see, fewer in the speech of the Brahmins than in the folk-speech.

|                        |   |                     |
|------------------------|---|---------------------|
| to call [wolep]        | — | [lepp-]             |
| to wash [Aləmb-]       | — | [lamb] or [lumb]    |
| left [edəŋgur]         | — | [dʌŋgur] or [dʌŋgw] |
| spot, stain [kʌləŋkwi] | — | [ləŋkwi]            |

(xi) The tadbhavas from IA appear on the whole to have undergone fewer modifications in the Br. dialect.

### Grammar.

#### (a) Post-positional terminations.

(i) The Acc. ending in the Br. dialect is (-ni-), while in the folk-speech it is (-nu-) or (-nu), the character of the enunciative

depending upon vocalic harmony with sounds of the preceding syllable in each case—

rice (*Ari*), (*Ari ni*) — (*Ari-nu*)

country (*u:ru*), (*u. rü-ni*) — (*u:rü-nu*)

(ii) The Abl. sing ending of the Br. dialect is (-*ttui*) or (-*tu*), while the folk speech has (-*ddui*) or (-*du*).

from the table (*me:jzi-ttui*) — (*me:jzi:ddui*)

from the garden (*to:tłö ntu*) — (*to:tłəddui*)

(iii) The Genitive sing. affix of the Br dialect is (-*to*), (-*do*) when preceded by a dorsal vowel in the previous syllable, while it is (-*tä*), (-*da*) when preceded by a front vowel in the preceding syllable; in the folk-dialect the affix is generally always (-*tä*). (-*dä*).

of tree (*mArö nto*) — (*mArö da*)

of water (*ni:rüdo*) — (*ni:rüda*)

(iv) the sing. Gen of words denoting human beings may have [-*no*] in the Br. dialect:

of the mother [*Appano*] — [*Appä-da*]

of the boy [*ma:nı-no*] — [*ma:nı-dä*]

(v) A nasal appears in certain post-positional terminations in the Br. dialect in words which (whether native or adaptations from IA) correspond to those which in Tam., Mal. and other speeches have a final [-m]—

at the tree [*mArö-ñtu*] — [*mArö-du*]

of the people [*jzAno nto*] — [*jzAnə-dä*]

[Note:—[*mara*] tree (a native word) and [*jzAna*] people (IA) correspond to [*mare-m*,] [*jzanem*] found in Tam., etc.]

The nasal has been carried over, in the Brahmins' sub-dialect, to the post-positional endings of some words like [*unəsnu*], as in [*unəsonu*], etc., though the bases of these words cannot have had an original nasal as in [*marem*] etc.

## (b) Demonstratives and Interrogatives.

(i) The aphoresized inflectional forms of [indur], [undur]

[nekkur] to this,

[nettä] of this,

[nedduri] from this,

[netturi] at this,

[nekulu] these

are not commonly found in the Br. dialect; on the other hand, the non-aphoresized

[undekur] or [indekur] to this;

[undettä] or [indettä] of this;

[undetturi] or [indetturi] from this;

[undeturi] or [indeturi] at this;

[undekulu] or [indekulu] these;

are met with.

(ii) The following differences are noteworthy in the Interrogatives:

| Br. dialect       |      | Folk-speech |
|-------------------|------|-------------|
| [jza:næ] what?    |      | [da:næ]     |
| [jza:jegw]        | why? | [da:jegw]   |
| [jze:jegw]        |      |             |
| [jza:la] anything | —    | [da:la]     |
| [ojikw] what for? | —    | [da:jegw]   |
| [e:rui] who?      | —    | [ja:rw]     |

## (c) Personal Pronouns.

| Br. dialect | I. | Folk-speech |
|-------------|----|-------------|
| [e:nw]      | I  | [ja:nw]     |

[imbje] he (here)—[imbe] (the “oblique” forms show [imbj-] in the folk-speech)

[imboļu] she (here) — [moļu] [Note Aphæresis]

[inkuļu], [inikuļu], [ni:kuļu] you — [iru]

Honorific [me:rui] he, she (here) is found only in the folk-dialect; in the Br. speech [arui] or sometimes a:klu (he, she (there) does duty for both the proximate and the remote forms.

(d) Verbs.

(i) The Infinitive ends in [-ná] in the Br. dialect, while in folk-speech it may be [na] or [-ni]:

Br. [ampūnā] to make — [malpūni]

(ii) The third person singular neuter ending of all primary tenses except the future is [-nui] or [nu] in the Br. dialect, while in the folk-speech it is [-ndui] or [ndu], e.g., it speaks [papruipu] or [papruipu] — [papuundu] etc.

(iii) the third person singular neuter ending in the negative of the Future and the Future Perfect tenses is in the Br. dialect [-anui], but [-andui] in the folk-dialect.

(iv) The first person plural ending of all tenses has [o:] in the Br. dialect, but [-a] in the folk speech.

(v) One type of causatives is formed with [-a:] in the folk-speech but with [-o:] in the Br. dialect:

Br. [ampo:] to cause to make — [malpa:] etc.

(vi) Negative verb-forms show some divergences. While in the Br. dialect the infinitive of the particular tense-stem is combined with [iddi] not, and the pronominal ending, the folk dialect shows base plus [igzi-] plus pronominal ending:

[i : barpūṇiddja] thou hast not come or dost not come – folk-sp. [i.barpījze].

[a:je bāttūṇiddje] he did not come – [a:je bātti<sup>j</sup>ze].

B. In the negatives of the present and sometimes in the present perfect tense the Brahmin dialect sometimes shows forms constituted of bas- plus [iri] plus pronominal ending

[bāpirje] he does not come.

[bāpirjalur] she does not come.

V. Certain popular negative forms show divergences:

|             |             |
|-------------|-------------|
| Br. dialect | Folk-speech |
|-------------|-------------|

|                      |  |
|----------------------|--|
| [bo :tri] not wanted | [bo :dij <sup>j</sup> zi], [bo :dice <sup>j</sup> i] |
|----------------------|--|

|                   |                        |
|-------------------|------------------------|
| [itri] it was not | [itti <sup>j</sup> zi] |
|-------------------|------------------------|

|                           |                              |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|
| [a:tri] it did not become | [a tij <sup>j</sup> zi] etc. |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|

(vii) The present relative participle shows [-i] in the Br. dialect, but [-a] in the folk-speech: [bāpi] — [bāpa]

### VOCABULARY.

|                             |                                    |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Brahmins' dialect           | Folk-speech.                       |
| [gepp-] to take             | [depp-]                            |
| [kijipi] young (as an adj.) | [elija] (kijipi occurs as a noun). |
| [bigə-da-kaj] key           | [tarko:lu]                         |
| [pəss-] to catch            | [patt-]                            |
| [ess-] to raise a fund      | [ett ]                             |
| [end-] to stand up          | [unt-]                             |
| [tenŋŋei] coconut           | [taraji]                           |
| [mā:ni] boy                 | [a:nui]                            |
| [jze:vü] girl               | [jzorvu] child, [ponnu] girl.      |
| [gi:r-] to scratch          | [jzi:r]                            |
| [pə:pu] enough              | [i:jəvu]                           |
| [a:tui] not-it              | [attux]                            |

|                              |  |
|------------------------------|--|
| [ʌmp̪], [mʌmp̪.] to make     | [mʌlp̪]  |
| [mʌnta] all                  | [mʌ:ta]  |
| I A [puruṣe] husband         | [kʌndene]  |
| I A [ʌʃəna], [a:ʃia:ra] food | [uimpu], [nuppu]   |
| [onəsū], [tinəsū].           |  |
| [kol-p̪] to give             | [kor-p̪] in Bant speech, but<br>[ta:nk̪-] in the speech of<br>the holeyas. |
| [lʌka] like                  | [lekka]  |

### Unique features of Tulu Phonetics.

1. The absence of the cacuminal [ṛ], of the peculiar Tamil retroflex continuant [ɻ] and of the alveolar plosives [t̪] and [d̪] found in Tamil.
2. The existence of [cf], [s] and [ʃ] alternating in initial positions of native Tulu words is a contrast to the uniformity with which one or other of these more or less uniformly occurs in the other Dravidian dialects.
3. The frequency of the occurrence of [s] in initial positions of native words.
4. The development of an initial secondary [h̪] in certain communal and regional dialects.
5. The conspicuous development of on-glides before initial vowels of native words in certain varieties of speech.
6. For other unique features of Tulu, see end of the section on Phonological Correspondences.

### INDO-ARYAN ADAPTATIONS.

I have already referred to the presence in Tulu of a fairly large proportion of Sanskrit words and adaptations. A good number of these words have been adapted with characteristic modifications in the parlance of the non-Brahmins also. Generally speaking, the tatsamas used to be evaluated more or less correctly

by the Brahmins till about a generation or two ago; but when the number of *laukikas* among the Brahmins began to increase, and Sanskrit ceased to be systematically studied by them, the modifications introduced into the popular dialects also began to be accepted by the lay element among the Brahmins.

It is possible that some among the following adaptations were made through the varieties of Prakrit current in south India in an ancient past. No attempt is made here to distinguish the two strata—Sanskritic and Prakritic. I seek only to give here a conspectus of the phonetic modifications as they appear today.

These modifications are very prominent in connection with

- (a) Sanskrit consonant groups.
- (b) Sanskrit initial [v], [s], [jz] and [j] in certain instances.
- (c) Sanskrit aspirate consonants
- (d) Sanskrit [h] both initial and inter-vocal.
- (e) Some miscellaneous instances.

Without seeking to evolve any rules, I shall briefly give a few instances under each heading.

- (a) Sanskrit consonant groups.

(i) Anaptyxis is found in the adaptation of Sanskrit consonant groups of which the second component is [r] and the first a plosive.

| Sanskrit                | Tulu adaptations                  |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| [kriamā] order          | [keremä]                          |
| ['gr̥haC]a:r] curse     | [gerēc]a:ra]                      |
| ['gra:mā] village       | [gerēma]                          |
| ['gr̥hasta] householder | [gerettæ], [gerestæ] or [gareste] |
| [pr̥a'jatna] labour     | [pe'restənæ]                      |

(ii) In the following instead of swarabhakti we find that [r] is dropped: [dr̥ṣti] sight, [ditti]; ['śringarā] beauty, ['singurā]; ['mṛga] animal, [migä]

(iii) Sanskrit consonant groups in which the first component is [v] have lost this [v] in the following : ['vɪ:ndə:vʌnə] Brindavana, ['rundə:ræ] or [rundə:vʌnæ]; [vjɑ:rt̩ə] futile, ['jert̩ə] or [jertæ].

In the following instances, [v] which is the second member of the groups has disappeared : ['dvi:pə] island, ['di:pə], ['dɦvʌni] sound, ['dʌni]; ['dvɑ:rə] door, [do:rə]; ['jzə:l] to glow, ['jzʌli-

(iv) The Skt. group [vj] loses its [j] element in the following : ['vjɑ:rt̩ə] futility, ['vert̩ə]

[vja:jzjə] accusation, ['vejzja]

[vja:t̩ja:sə] difference, ['vet̩ja:sə]

[vja:pə:rə] trade, ['be:pə:rə] or ['be:ra]

(v) Among the other Sanskrit consonant groups, the treatment of the following is interesting :

['kʌs̩t̩ə] trouble, [kʌt̩tə] - ['sthiti] situation, ['titi] or ['c̩iti] ['ʃʌs̩thi] a 'tithi', ['ʃʌt̩ti] - [sthala] place, ['tala]

['du:s̩t̩ə] wicked, [dutta] - ['jzpn:pəkə] recollection, ['jza:pəka] or ['pn:pəga].

#### (b) Certain Sanskrit initial consonants.

(i) [v] : Tuļu has not preserved or tolerated [v] initially as Tamil, Tel. or Kui. it has [b] in the place of this [v] or it has dropped it altogether. The modern [v] of some varieties of Tuļu is from [ü]. This intolerance of initial [v] probably accounts for the following :—

['vʌjzrə] diamond, ['o:jzira]; ['vʌrṣə] winter, ['ɔrɔ:jə]

['vʌrjz-] to cast off, ['ɔrjzu]; [vibhuti] sacred ashes, ['i:bhuti]; ['vʌrnə] colour, ['ɔrnə] or ['bʌnə:]; ['vistə:rə] extent, ['ista:rə], ['vʌkra] perverse, ['bokra]; ['vi:nə:] musical instrument, ['i:nə:]

(ii) [s] appears as [t] in the following :—

['sʌndfja:] evening, ['tʌpjza]; ['svʌrə] sound, [tɔrə]

['sʌŋcfi] bag, [tʌŋcfi]; [so:mə] [to:má];

['sukra], ['tɔkrə]

(iii) [d] appears as [jz̪] in the following :—

[d̪a:k̪inj̪A] benevolence, [jz̪a:k̪inj̪á]; [vAjd̪j̪A], [bAj̪z̪á];  
[d̪anta] tooth, [jz̪anta] —

(iv) Skt. [j] as Tuļu [jz̪] :— [jAntra] machine, [jz̪Antrá];  
[jAtna] effort, [jz̪Atna]; [juvAnA] youth, [jz̪AvAnA]

(c) Sanskrit Aspirate consonants.

The Tuļu Brahmins usually give correct values to Skt. aspirate consonants. The carefulness with which the aspirate is incorporated by them has resulted in the conversion of certain initial non-aspirate surds of native words into corresponding aspirates :— ['cʃali] cold, ['cʃhali]; ['oʌndi] cart, ['bfiʌndi]; ['tʌt̪ügä] ladle, [thaṭṭuga].

But in the dialect of the common people, Sanskrit aspirates lose their aspiration completely : ['gʌndhA] smell, ['gəndá]; ['gArbhA] pregnancy, [gerbā]; [ʌ'sa:dfijA] not possible ['ʌsɔ:djä]; ['kAṭhInA] hard, ['kAṭina];

(d) Sanskrit initial and medial [h] or [ɦ].

Though modern Tuļu shows a stable [ɦ] in certain contexts, the older treatment of Sanskrit [h] reflects the general tendency of parent Dravidian to avoid [h]:— ['ʌɦiʌmati] egotistic audacity, ['ʌmbotu] or ['ʌmottu]; ['ʌɦiʌŋka:rA] selfishness, [a:ŋgara]; ['a:ɦa:rA] food, ['a:rdi]; ['bʌɦiʌlA] many, ['ba:jä]

(e) Other peculiarities.

(i) Metathesis is observable in

['ʌt̪essä] from Skt ['ʌʃvʌt̪hA]

['ʌrkəma] from Skt. [akrAma].

(ii) SYNCOPE.

[bɦra:ɦmʌnA] brahmin, ['bř:ne]

[bɦra:ɦmʌnA] stri: brahmin woman, ['bra:n̪ti]

(iii) Miscellaneous.

['upAdrAva] trouble, ['upədrä] or ['upe,jz̪edra];

[mʌhɑ:nAvAmi] a sacred day, [ma:xno:mi];

['ʃma:ʃa:nA] cremation-ground, [ma:ʃa:nä]

[*'vʌndhjʌ*] barren woman, [*'mʌŋjzə*]  
 [*pr̥thvi:*] earth, [*'podəvɪ*] or [*'pədəvɪ*]  
 [*ʌvʌsʌrʌ*] — [*ʌməsərə*] necessity.

### PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTIONS.

#### I. *The North Wind and the Sun* [Brahmin's dialect]

*'bʌd̥ikɛpʌda 'ga:lila· 'sa:dipo:pənə:jēla·|| 'oŋjzɪ dinönǖtu ||*  
*ori 'tirügönditti ,sa:dipo:pənə:jēni su:tū || 'su:rjede:vərla·*  
*'va:jude:vərla· ! a:ja mittu : opjzɪ 'panta pa:dondérw||Avu*  
*'jzɑ:jegənnəga | a:jɪ mejtu 'vʌstrəni irüvərēderw geppo:péra: |*  
*a:kulu a: 'pʌntön̥tu jzʌjitenə:kul̥ntəla· | niçſejəm antérw||*  
*dumbutdā : ga:lide:vərw səmön̥tu bi:sjeræ (e) suruvantérw||*  
*a:ndəla· ! a:ja vʌstrəni 'geppo:jeræ(e) sa:ddhjɑ:niddi|| 'etw*  
*għal:lidw [or jzorru] , galibisjera: ! a:tugħattidw a:je*  
*vʌstrəni 'podétōnde|| unduni su:tū : 'su:rjede:vərw | səmön̥tu*  
*,pr̥akax:ʃə(v) a:jerw|| ondu sa:jrənæ : a: sa:dipo:pənə:je | 'sikæ*  
*(sixæ) 'tʌd̥everæ(e) 'ti:rəntæ | vʌstrəni mejtu gette||*  
*unduni su:tū | 'va:jude:vərw pʌntön̥tu 'so:təna:kul̥ntəla· |*  
*'su:rjede:vərw jzʌjitenə:kul̥ntəla· | niçſejentutw | a:kul̥*  
*irrərla· pera po:jerw||*

### LITERAL TRANSLATION.

#### North wind-and wayfarer-and

One day-in one wandering-being way-farer (Acc.) having seen, sun-god-and wind-god-and him over a wager made. That what-for-it asked-if, his body-from cloth (Acc.) two-persons of who fling-off-nakes he (honorific Plural) that wager-in won-has-he decision made-they. First wind god well blow-to beginning-made. Yet his cloth (Acc.) fling make to power-there-was-not. How much force-with wind blew indeed, so much force-with he the cloth (Acc.) wrapped up This (Acc.) seen having, sun-god

(1) Long bars indicate pauses, the double ones marking full pauses and single ones half pauses.

Short bars (placed on the left side of words or of syllables) indicate accent, those marked on the top showing primary accent and the others placed on the bottom showing secondary accent.

strength-with shine-became. A-little hence that way-farer heat (Acc.) resist-to able-not-being, cloth (Acc.) body-from took. This seeing wind-god wager-in defeated-one to-be-and, sun-god won-and settled-having, they both away went.

*Short notes regarding the sounds.<sup>1</sup>*

(1) The relationship between dynamic stress and 'musical' pitch in the south Dravidian speeches requires to be experimentally investigated. So far as I can see, accent in these speeches is constituted of both elements. The accent-marks (strong, medium,) given in this essay only symbolise a perceptible rise in stress or in pitch. Generally speaking, accent falls on the root-syllables of native words when separately uttered. In connected speech, two degrees of accent may be demarcated thus roughly: the strong accent which falls on the initial root syllables of important words of each breath-group, and a less strong accent on the root-syllables of other emphatic words in the breath-group.

Statements or exclamations expressive of strong feelings of course involve different degrees and varieties of accent in which pitch or intonation completely submerges the stress element.

[eŋčɔŋjzi kaʃṭappa:] what a calamity!

[a:je batte:] he came!

[i: po:jəna:] Did'st thou go?

are statements which could be differently intoned according as the feeling underlying each is sorrow, surprise, anger, etc.

(2) I might draw the reader's attention to the neutral or mixed vowels cropping up in these passages. (a) When [A] occurs at the end of a word, it has a slightly more or open and frontalised value which I have represented with the symbol [a], as it is neither so dorsal as [ɑ], nor so open and so frontalised as [æ].

When [a] is rapidly uttered in connected sentences, it may become [ə].

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(1) For full phonological and grammatical notes, on a comparative basis, of a few Tulu passages in both the dialectal varieties, see my "Tulu Texts in Two Dialects" in BSOS, IV.

(b) [ʌ] in unaccented syllables has the value of [ə]; but sometimes when for certain grammatical differentiations, [ʌ] has to receive a little stress or accent, then it has the value of [ɐ] which is a mixed vowel slightly more open than [ə]. For instance, in the Second Person Plural tense forms, the ending is [-Arui] as distinguished from [-erui] of the Third Person forms. Here [ʌrui] becomes [-ərui], and [-erui] becomes [-ɐrui].

(c) Similarly, [e] in unaccented syllables becomes [ə], except when as in the third person plural tense endings (Masc and Fem.) or in the Acc. terminations, the sound is definitely marked out with the value of [ɛ], e.g., pAnt<sup>a</sup> pa:döndérui, made wager; sa:dipo:pənā:jénui, wayfarer (Acc.)

(3) For the use of [-u] and [-w] as enunciatives, see below under Phonology.

(4) Except the enunciative u of old monosyllabic bases, the sounds u and w appearing as enunciatives in Tulu words are elided in sandhi positions (*i. e.*, in breath-groups) before other vowels: [iruveérud-éruw] who of the two, [a:kul-iruverw] they-two both, [tirugond-itti] wandering-remaining, etc.

(5) Note the use of [a:kuļu] as the honorific plural in this text; some Brahmins prefer [a:rui], the form employed as the honorific plural in the folk-speech.

(6) I have very rarely heard [indu] employed by Brahmins who use [undu] instead.

(7) Within breath-groups, when vowels appear contiguously (without elision), the glides y and v appear according to the front or dorsal nature of the hiatus created.

(8) [tirügond-] wandering, and [podötönđe] wrapped himself up: Note [-ond] and [onđ] which have the value of conferring a particular "reflexive" nuance on the verb concerned. These "reflexive" bases are found in other south Dr. speeches

with [kond] the past stem of Dr. [kol], annexed to the past stems the simple bases of the verbs concerned. In Tuļu (as also in Mal. colloquial), the initial [k-] has disappeared; in Tuļu there has also been decerebralisation of [nd] in some cases like [tirügond-].

(9) Some of the peculiarities of the Brahmins' speech reflected in this passage may be noted down here:

(i) Inflectional: The Acc. ending -ni of the Br. dialect corresponds to -nu or -nui of the folk-speech.

The Abl. [mejttui] from the body answers to the folk-speech [mejjdu].

The Locative [dinöntu] at the day, [samöntu], [pantöntu] in the wager, show the infix [n]; the forms of the folk speech would be [din-du], [pant-du], etc.

(ii) [jza:jegənnwga] 'why-as.. if', because, corresponds to the folk-speech [da:jegənnwga].

(iii) [su:tu] having—Folk-speech [tu:du].

(iv) [nişčejəm-entēru] decision made:

[Anteru] is the past tense of Brahmins' [Amp.] to make, corresponding to the folk-speech [Alp.] of which the past tense stem is [Alt-].

(iv) [iddi] not, as in [sa:dhja:niddi], would be [ijzzi] or even [icči] in the folk-speech.

(v) The causative forms [geppo:purui] cause to take away and [geppo:jæræ] for causing to take away, correspond to the mass-dialect [deppa:vērui] and [deppa:væræ] respectively.

[gepp-] take, of the Br. speech answers to [depp-] of the folk-dialect; the causative base is formed from these with [-a:u].

## II. The Fox and the Grapes [Brahmins' dialect].

'kudikælo: 'dra:kſila:||

bʌ'du:yüdu jza:lä tirənti opjzi 'kudikæ | opjzi dinöntu |  
tinjeræ(è) 'jza:la sikkünaptui | 'sumarui dikkuidui nədettuitui |  
kʌtəbudiuitui | kʌdékui | opjzi 'dra:kſeda ,tortontu portu  
se:rinui || ,takka mat̄t - 'e:ppərəjitt- opjzi maröta ,kombödu |

dra:k̄ši nelo:nittē-ni su:tū ! auni 'la:gitu pʌtjæræ(è) |  
 kudikæ ,bʌfielä 'kʌ:t̄ebudije || 'suma : rui sArti la : gitu  
 ,su:nunda:nđela : | a: kudik̄egut dra:k̄ši 'sikn iddi || Aŋča:nđela : |  
 kudikæ | plkkənæ nira:sä-j-a : pi jzAntu-v-attur || tanet-a : pi  
 kelesa 'mant-ʌmpəntæ pirəpo:pən iddi-ntur niʃčljejenturtu |  
 kudikæ 'betla ,la:gipræ(è) suru ū Antumur || ,bʌfielä 'upa:ja-ū-  
 itti jzAntu-ū a:nenda:nđela : | 'o:v-upa:jenta:v-erla - | kudik̄egut  
 dra:k̄ši sikn-'iddi || kʌd̄e-kur ,bʌfielä 'vjasənöntu | avu to:t̄töntu  
 'pa:rwpomu || pa:rwpoməga | " 'pulijitti dra:k̄ši ,enku 'bo:tri-  
 -ntur" pa:ndöntu po:nu || 'a:ja:jeno : -ū-i:šta nʌdəpp,əntæ(è)  
 bannəga | jza:nanđela ,sama:dfia:na | 'a:lo:čəna mampu:nä |  
 ,sa:dha:ren è 'kʌtlæ(i)tteno-!|

### LITERAL TRANSLATION.

#### Fox-and Grapes-and

Hunger-with at-all suffer-not being-able one fox one day-in eat-to anything getting-not-having all-places-in walked-having trouble-felt-having end-in one grapes-of garden-at gone having reached. Somewhat tallness-being one tree-of branch-in grapes having-remained-that having seen, then jumping catch-to fox much trouble took. Many times jumped-having seen-yet, that fox-for grapes obtain-not-was-possible. Yet fox suddenly disappointment having creature was-not. Self-from becoming work all making-not away-going not-thus decided-having, fox again jump-to beginning-made. Many tricks having animal it was-though, whatever tricks-with-yet fox to grapes obtain-was not. End-in much sorrow-with he garden-from away-ran. Away-running-while "sour-being grapes me-to want not". thus said having went. Each-each-to hopes fulfilled-being-not happen if, some one-or-other consolation feeling common is-indeed!

**III A Conversation [Brahmins' dialect].**

Subra:jən — 'sva:mi! 'sva:mi!||

ṣri:dhi:ra:n — 'sva:mi! na:məskarā!||

su.—in:kulu | 'mələja:löntu | 'epə:lur 'batterur?||

ṣri.—e:n-idæ batturur | mu:jzi din—o:nur||

su. 'jza:jegur batterur?||

ṣri.—e:n-oduppura:da 'lakṣədi:pəla | ena:jzvənəkūl-nila |  
'su:jəræ(é) bo:dettu battæ||

su. - 'e:tur dinöntə 'tadəv updu?||

ṣri — na:nä pattu dinöntə tadəv uppu.

su.—ittæ | 'devəsta:no:nṭu | pu:jzæs uṇḍa: iddjæ?||

ṣri.—ittæ 'iddi || 'po:ji tingə:lāduri muginur||

sn.—au:lu | ba:fie:lā 'bollā batnuidæ!|| aita:vərə | inku:le  
u:rud 'e:tur 'na:ṣteka:ṣṭā batnur?||

ṣri — na:ṣteka:ṣṭānēkūl-oṇjila : pāṇjer-iddi|| u:rū purā kṣam  
batnur!||

**Translation.**

subrāya : Hail! swami! (A usual form of greeting)

ṣrīdhara : Namaskara!

snbr : When did you come from Malabar?

ṣrī : It is three days now since I came here.

su : Why have you come?

ṣrī : I came here for witnessing the Lakṣa-dīpa ceremony  
at Uḍipi and also to see my relations.

su : How long do you intend to stay here?

ṣrī : For ten days more.

su : Do you still officiate as temple priest (in Malabar)?

ṣrī : Not now. My term of office expired last month.

su : I hear of great floods (and rains) there (in Malabar)!

How much loss has been caused by this in your locality?

ṣrī : The losses and troubles are better imagined than  
described ! The whole place was stricken with famine !

IV. A passage in the dialect of the Non-Brahmin cultivators  
called Bants

The evils of the Aliya-santāna (matriarchal) system of inheritance prevalent among the Telugu Non-Brahmins.

'Alījā kātturidā 'dō:ʃo:lū||

'pā:kṣinā 'kannēda jzilledu | 'Alījēsantāna kuḍumbēda  
'ejzēma:né | 'krāmēprekāra | a:tudūmbēda a:stidā jza:vā:bda:ri  
Adūppū:ee|| naḍepüdu | ori 'parēbæ : 'ejzēma:n a:pe||  
a:jegw | kuḍumbēda a:stiddw | tānā 'oodēdi ba:lōlēnu mallā  
malpūnā manēs - uppundi | a:inēdām a:je maltina pārēdinölēnu  
| 'raddw malperæ(e) | bokka a:ṣenā:rthā pa:de:jcræ | vja:jzölu  
malp:ni | a:reji kuḍumbölēdu bñfela- u:ndu|| Akremögwi  
'vja:jzjā maltutdw | a:jenu dettw pa:doli|| Avu | a:ja Akremö:  
ddw 'pa:d'kæ| Avu 'pagæla. lada:jila | u:ndumAlpündu | bokka  
'feccjī karçjida vja:jzjödu kuḍumbēda 'netter-'a:jza:ji lekā |  
a:sti 'karēd a:pündu||

**Literal Translation,**

South Kanara district in aliyasantāna family-of manager rule-according-to that family-of property-of holder becomes-well. Practice-in an old-man manager becomes. Him-to family-of property-from his wife and-children (Acc.) big-to-make mind (desire) exists. This-on-account of he-made-which alienations (Acc.) back-restore-to and maintenance obtain-to suits filing such families-in frequently exist. Mismanagement-for suit made-having, him (Acc.) removed-sent-has-to-be. It his mismanagement from worse. It enmity-and quarrel-and causes, and great cost-of litigation-from family-of blood squeezing-like, property waste-becomes.

**Connected Translation.**

The manager of an Aliyasantāna family is according to law a trustee of the family properties. In practice an old man becomes the manager, and his desire is to enrich his wife and children out of his trust-properties. On account of this, suits

are frequently instituted for restoring his alienations and obtaining maintenance. He has to be removed from trusteeship through a suit. This is worse than the mismanagement itself. It causes enmity and quarrels, and the family assets are squandered, like one's life-blood.

#### **A Brief Account of Tulu Phonological Correspondences,**

The following brief sketch aims only at visualizing the correspondence of *Tulu* sounds to those of other Dravidian dialects as they appear in closely allied cognates. No attempt is made to propound theories, but the illustrations are made to speak for themselves. Wherever possible, the cognates are so selected as to be representative of the southern (*Tamil*, *Kannada*, *Telugu*, etc.,) the central (*Kūi* and *Gōndi*) and the northern (*Kurukh* and *Brahūi*) groups of the Dravidian family.

It may be observed here that the ancient primary bases of Dravidian are chiefly monosyllabic being constituted of

- (i) a vowel alone, or
- (ii) a vowel + a consonant, or
- (iii) a consonant + a vowel; or
- (iv) a cons. + a vowel + a consonant;

the dissyllabic and the rare trissyllabic bases are all perhaps derivatives formed from the primary bases with the aid of secondary affix-morphemes.

In the following sketch, therefore, I have found it practical to take up the question of sound-correspondences according to the following scheme. [Note:—The symbols I have used in this chapter are those of the R. A. S. scheme of transliteration with two IPA symbols *w* and *ə*.]

#### **I. Consonants.**

- (i) In initial positions.
- (ii) In terminal positions of primary bases.
- (iii) In Morphemes of secondary bases.

#### **II. Vowels.**

- (i) In initial or radical positions.
- (ii) In derivatives.
- (iii) Enunciatives.

[In the following sketch – word bases alone are considered, as nearly all of the striking correspondences and relationships between Tuļu sounds and non-Tuļu Dravidian sounds would be covered thereby; there are a few cases of interesting parallelisms and divergences in the post-positional endings and conjugational terminations. These are dealt with by me elsewhere.]

## I.

## (1) Consonants in initial positions.

[The following consonants appear in initial positions of native Tuļu word-bases.

k, g, c, j, t, d, n, p, b, m, r, l, s, ś, h and y and v.

(1) k. Initial k- of Tuļu answers to k- of other dialects or to the fricatives or affricates of yet others. A rough cleavage is found in Dravidian between those dialects which preserve an ancient k before front vowels and those which have changed this k before front vowels to fricatives and affricates. Tuļu belongs to the former group, as illustrated by the following :

Kittu (fire) — Kodagu cicci, Tel. ciccu; cf. also Gōṇḍi cicc, Kurukh cic.

Kila, kela (some) — Tam. śila, śela.

Kebi (ear) — Tam. śevi, Mal. cevi, Tel. cevi.

Kir- (small) — Tam. śīru, Mal. cer-.

(ii) Tuļu k- before dorsal vowels corresponds to k- of the southern and central dialects and to x- of the north :

Kai (hand) — south Dr. Kai, gei (but Tel. ceyya).

Kālu (leg) — south Dr. Kāl, Kūi kālu,

Koy- (to reap) — south Dr. Koy-, Gō. koy, Kur. xoy-

(2) (i) g- corresponds to g- or k- of other dialects in certain instances :

gandu (male) — cf. Tel. gand ḥad- (to copulate), Kann. gandu (strength, male)

gatti (firm, strong) — Kann. gatti, Tam. katti, Tel. gatti

Kir- (to scratch)- Kann. Tel. gir-, Tam. kir-.

gâvu, kâvu (heat, glare) — Tam. kây-vu, Kann, kâv.

guri, gûli (hole, pit) — Tam. kuli, Kann. Kuli, kuji, Tel. groyyi.

(3) c- (i) In a very few instances, the affricate c- corresponds to the fricatives and affricates :

cadapu (leanness) — Mal. cadappu

cûdû, sûdû (heat) — Tam. sûdû, Mal. cûdu, Kann. sûdu

Cali, sali (chill) — Kann. cali, Tam. sali.

(ii) In some instances. Tuļu c- is a rare sub-dialectal variant existing beside t- (and s- in some cases). The cognates in other dialects generally show t- —

Candi (wetness), beside } — cf. Tam. tan (cold, wet)  
sampu, tampu } Kann. taṇ, Tel. tsan.

Câræ (coconut tree) beside } — cf. Tam. tâlai ('coconut tree')  
taræ, tâlæ } in old texts.

cû, beside tû, sû (fire) — see below.

cêlû (scorpion), beside } — Tam. têl, Kann. cêlu, Tel.  
têlû, sêlû } têlu, Br. telh.

caræ (head), taræ — south Dr. tala, Kûi tlâu, Gô. talâ.  
Also cf. caila (oil) for Skt. taila.

4. j- (i) This sound corresponds to c-, s or j- of other dialects in a few cases :

jari (slope) — cf. Tam. ūari- (to incline), Kann jari, Mal. cari-  
jiræ (small) — cf. Tam. ūru, Tel. ciру.

jadar- (to be scattered), beside } — Tam. sidar-, Kann.  
cadar-, kedar- } cedar-, kedär-

jêvur, jôvu (child) — cf. Tam ūemmal (child)

(5) ñ- is not a very common sound in Tuļu, but the influence of the neighbouring Mal. is responsible for the sub dialectal ñ in a very few words like the following :

(1) The influence of Malyâlam is probably responsible for c- in these forms.

ñonñui (shriveled) — Mal. ñaluñiñ- (to be shriveled)  
 ñekk-, ñakk- (to crush) — Mal. ñekk-

(6) t- (i) In a large number of instances, t- answers to t- of other dialects :

teri- (to be known) — south Dr. teri-

tèy- (to be rubbed) — „ téy-

telur (scorpion) — „ tel, Br. telh

tôd- — „ tôd-

(ii) In the following and other instances, t-<sup>1</sup> alternates sub-dialectally with s- and h ; the cognates of other Dr. dialects generally show only t-<sup>2</sup>.

tû, sû, hû, cû (fire) — cf. Tam. tû (bright), Br. tûbe (moon), south Dr. tî (fire)

tôj-, sôj-, hôj- (to appear) — Tom. tônd'r. Kann. tôr-, tôr-, Tel. tôns-, Kûi tönj-.

teli-, seli-, heli- (to become clear) — south Dr. teli- (to become clear).

(iii) In a very few cases, t- appears to correspond to s-, etc. c- etc. of other dialects, derived from an original k- ; these t- forms are sub-dialectal :

tett-, beside sett- (to rot) — cf. Tam., Mal., Kann. ked- (to become rotten), Tel. ced (to be spoiled).

tutt- (to wear dress), } — cf. Tam. sut't'r- (to go round),  
 beside putt } Mal. cutt'-, Kann. putt-.

(1) For the classification of the conditions in which some affricates and fricatives are related to k- on the one hand and others to t- on the other, see my papers on "Ancient Dr. k-", "Tulu Fricatives and Sibilants" and "Dr. Affricates and Fricatives".

(2) I may point out here that (i) t- forms are generally more common than their variants with s- and h-; (ii) in some instances the Brahmins use s- forms, while others use t- forms. (iii) in some others the "low-class" communities use s- forms, while others (including Brahmins) favour t- forms; and (iv) the Jains and others in the eastern parts of Tulu nadu use the h- variants.

(7) d- (i) The voiced sound d- corresponds to t or d- of other dialects in many cases; the voiced d- corresponding to t- is found in southern dialects like Telugu and Kannada and in the central and northern dialects also occasionally.

daver- (to become loose) — Tam. tavār- (to slip off)  
Kann. tavār-, davar-

diñj- (to be crowded, crammed). — cf. Tam. ting- (to beside  
jiñj- [sub-dialectal] (to be crowded), Tel. cikk- (dense)

(ii) In the following instances with initial d-, the sound owes its initial position to the operation of Aphæresis consequent on Accent-shift. As pointed out elsewhere by me, the change here involved the conversion of an original initial \*d-to d in the mass-dialect of Tuļu. The aphæresized forms are popular in the folk-speech, while the full forms are retained in several cases in the Brahmins' dialect.

|  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| da-mma (left side)                         | { | cf. south Dr. eda(m) (left),<br>Tel. eda and dā<br>[For the conversion of d-to d- initially, cf. Tuļu adaptations<br>dambha from Skt. dambha, dabbi<br>from dabbi, etc. and cf. also<br>the Tel. alternants like dig-,<br>dig- (to descend)] |
| da-ttū (,,),                               |   |  |
| beside eda (left),                         |   |  |
| eda-mbu (left side),                       |   |  |
| eda-ttu (,,),                              |   |  |
| eda-nkū (on the left)                      |   |  |
| dabbū (crack) — [cf. adar to crack]        | { | cf. Tam. -(adar-vu (crack)   |
| dapp (to plough),                          | { | —cf. Kann. aḍak- (to press down)   |
| beside adapp                               |   |  |
| daræ (fence) beside adurū (boundary limit) | { | — Mal. adir boundary, limit,<br>fence  |
| de-k-katti (arecanut -cracker)             | { | - cf. Mal. aḍekka-k-katti, Kann aḍegatti<br>aḍekottu, aḍakegatti; Tel. aḍakottu,<br>aḍottu   |
| de-k-kârū (space between the legs),        | { | —cf. south Dr. eda(m) (space, room)  |
| beside ada-k-kâlū                          |   |  |
| dakk— (to cast away),                      | { | —cf. Kann. aḍe (to throw or strike<br>with finger)   |
| beside Br. s' dialect                      |   |  |
| aḍakk-                                     |   |  |

daṅg-. deng (to be) } — cf Tam, Mal. adaṅg-(to be hidden ), beside adaṅg } contained, etc.)

(iii) In the following Interrogatives we find an initial d- (which in some cases alternates sub-dialectally with j-) : dāññæ, beside janæ (what?)—cf. Tam (y)én, (y)énnæ, Kann. (y)énu da (which)—Tam. ya-d, ya-v-ad, Kann yàd, yàvad.yavad etc dà-la, jalä (anything) dā-y-egur, jayegur (why?) base ya

(8) n (i) This sound generally corresponds to n- of other dialects:

nîrū (water)—south Dr. nîr, Kûi nîr; nil-p- (to stand, stay) —sound Dr. nil, Kûi nil. netterū (blood)—Kann. nettar, Gôndi nettar, Br. ditar.

naḍu (middle) — south Dr. nadu.

(ii) the following words (from the mass colloquial) with initial n-seem to be the result of Aphæresis:

nuppu (food, meal), beside } —cf south Dr. un- (to eat, take Brahmin's un-pu or umpu } a meal).

nung (to be dried up)—cf. Tam. unaṅg-, Mal. unaññ-, Kodagu onaññ-

nungelur, beside unangelur } —unaṅg-above.  
(what is dried)

netta (of this) beside indetta

neddū (from this) „ indeddū

nettū (at this) „ indeṭṭū.

(9) p- corresponds to p- of other dialects:

puli (tiger)—south Dr. puli, Gô. puli.

puri (worm) — cf Tam., Kann.. Mal. pulu, Tel. purugu, Kûi priu, Gô. purî

paru (tooth) —south Dr. pal

(10) b (i) This sound corresponds to v of some dialects (Tam., Tel., Mal., Kûi. Gôndi) and to b- of others (Kann., Kurukh Brâhûi).

bar- (to come) — Tan. var-, Kûi va-, Kann. bar-, Br. bar-, Kur bar-,

bâyi (month)—Tam, vây, Kann. bây, Tel. vay-i, Kur bây.

bâlæ, bâræ (plantain tree)—Tam vâl ai, Kann bâle

(ii) In a few instances, Tuļu initial b- also corresponds to p- of other dialects.

bodedi (wife) — cf. old Kann. pendati, Tam. pendattî.

bordw, beside } — cf. Tam., Mal., Kann. pôr  
pordw (battle) } (battle), porud- (to fight),  
Tel. pôru,

(11) m-. (i) m- generally corresponds to m- of other dialects:

mara (tree) — south Dr. mara(m), Tel.  
mrânu, Kui mrâhnu, Gô. marâ,  
Kur mann.

min- (to shine, glitter) — south Dr. min.

murk-, mulk- (to sink, } — Tam. mulug-, Kann. mulg,  
to be immersed) } — Kûi muñj-, Kur-mulk.

(ii) m- in mêli (marriage) corresponds to v-. Cf. Mal. vêli (marriage), Tam vêl- (to desire to marry), Kur beñj- (to marry).

(iii) (a) In mûlu (here) we have Aphæresis (consequent on Accent-shift) and change of v- to m-\*i-v-uļu, [a formation exactly like avuļu (there) which is retained in Tuļu without Aphæresis] >vûļu >mûlu,

(b) mérw, beside } cf. Tam., Mal. Kann. iwar, used as  
sub dialectal imberw } an honorific plural beside its other  
meaning of normal plurality of number.

mérw < im(b)erw < iberw <i-var.

(c) môļu (she, this woman) } — cf. i-vaļ (she, this woman)  
beside Brahmins' imboļu }

Aphæresis is responsible for môļu .she (here), as in the instances given above.

(12) *y-* does not appear fully evaluated as a consonant except in a few words like *yān* (!), *yaḍa* (left side) of the mass colloquial; but a semi-consonantal *y* does crop up before the front initial vowels of *Tulu* words. *Tulu* speakers themselves do not notice this sound and do not regard it is an essential component of the words concerned; nevertheless, the foreigner never fails to distinguish its presence before initial front vowels as in *yenne* (oil) *yeñca* (how ?), etc. A similar *y* exists before front initial vowels in other south Dr. speeches.

(13) *r-* occurs in initial positions of a small number of native words, as the result of Aphæresis consequent on Accent-shift:

*rumb-* (to feel off) — cf. Mal. *uruv-*, Tam. *uruv-*

*renkæ* (wing) — cf. Tam. *iṛakkai*, coll. *rekka*,  
Tel. *rekka*, *iṛakka*.

*reñk-* (to roll on the  
ground), beside *oreñk-* } — cf. Tam. *orai-*, etc.

(14) *l-* also appears initially, as the result of Aphæresis; it is noteworthy that the Brahmins' sub-dialect of *Tulu* preserves in many cases the older non-aphæresized forms:

*lampu* (tender) beside } — Tam. *ila-*, *ela-*, Kann. *eḷe*, Tel.  
*elampu*, *elæ*, *elata* } — *lē-*, *Kūi la-*

*lapp-* (to measure), be- } — South Dr. *ala-* (to measure,  
side Brs.' *alapp-*) — etc.)

*lepp-* (to call), beside } — Tam. *vili-*, Mal. *vili-*, Tel. *pilits-*,  
Brs.' *(v)olepp-* — Toda *pīṣ-*

*lumb-* (to wash), be- } — Tam., Mal., Kann. *alamb-*  
side Brs.' *alumb-*

*lakk-* (to get up) — cf. Tam., Mal., Kann. *el-* (to  
rise), Tel. *lē-* (to get up).

(15) *s-* (?) *s-* corresponds to the fricative *ś-* of Tamil, the affricate *c-* of Mal. and the sibilant *s-* of Kann., in the following instances:

*suli* (eddy) — Tam. *śuli*, Mal. *culi*, Kann. *suli*, *suli-*

*sutt-* (to roll) — Tam. *śut'r-*, Mal. *cut't-*, Kann. *sutt-*

sai-p- (to die) — Tam. *śā-*, Mal. *cā-*, Kann. *sā-*.

(ii) s- alternates sub-dialectally with t- in Tuļu itself. Vide supra.

(iii) A few rare variants with ś- are sometimes heard in the enunciation of some people, alternating with s- forms: *śird-*, *sird-*, *tird-* (to mend), *śipæ*, *sipæ*, *tipæ* (sweetness), etc.

(16) h-. (i) h- alternates sub-dialectally<sup>1</sup> with t- and s- in Tuļu itself, as already indicated.

(ii) h- forms corresponding to certain Kannada h- words (derived from original p- words) are borrowings in Tuļu from Kann. (Vide my paper in Ind. Ant., March 1933).

(iii) Initial h- in the following appears to be prothetic:

*hēr-* (to climb) beside *ēr-* — Tam., Mal., Kann. *ēr-*.

*helæ* (leaf-offering) beside } — Tam., Mal., Kann. *ilai-*,  
*elæ*, *eræ* (leaf) } — *ele*.

*haitū*, beside *aītū* (at that), the Loc. of *avu* (that).

*hamar-* (to be immersed), } — Tam., Mal., Kann. *amar-*  
beside *amar-*

#### Unique Features of Tuļu Anlaut.

1. The sub-dialectal alternation of t-, s-, and h- in words, the cognates of which in other dialects show t-.

2. The partially voiced secondary glottal fricative h- in initial positions.

3. The occurrence of l and r in initial positions of words, as the result of Aphæresis consequent on Accent-shift.

4. Initial d- < d- (derived by Aphæresis).

5. The presence of the voiced sounds g-, j, d-, in initial positions.

Of these features, 1 is unique in Tuļu, 2 is met with also in Kūi, 3 is found also in Telugu and Kūi, and 4 has some parallels in Telugu. The fifth feature is shared in greater or lesser degree by many dialects of Dravidian; Tamil, Mal. and the lesser varieties

(1) It is worthy of note here that only an extremely small percentage of people use h- forms instead of the more common forms with t- and s-.

of these speeches however do not tolerate these voiced consonants in initial positions of native words.

## (2) Consonants in terminal positions of bases.

The consonants and consonant-groups (apart from attenuations like -me, -tana, etc.) appearing in Dr. word-bases are the following:

- (1) k, nk, g, ng.
- (2) t, nt, d, nd.
- (3) t, nt, d, nd.
- (4) v, b, mb, p, mp.
- (5) c, nc, j, nj.
- (6) l, ll.
- (7) r, rr.
- (8) rr.
- (9) y, s, ss, (j).

These appear in what we might distinguish here as the primary and the secondary bases.

The following points are noteworthy in connection with Dr. word-formation:

(a) Primary Dr. bases (monosyllabic) may, or may not have, final consonants. In case final consonants are found, these consonants are of the following types:

(i) In a number of ancient bases with short radical vowels, like ad-u, kad-u, ar-u, etc., short voiced plosives or other short voiced consonants are found.

(ii) In other bases with short radical vowels, either geminated surds or consonant groups formed of nasals and plosives, are met with.

(iii) If the radical vowel is long, single plosives (voiced or voiceless) and consonant groups formed of nasals and plosives are alone found, the geminated plosives (characteristic of (ii) above) being conspicuous by their absence.

(c) While Tamil (on account of its phenomenal tendency to voice inter-vocal surds and surds in contact with nasals) shows

no group formed of nasals and surds, the other dialects of the south (including Tuļu) tolerate such consonant groups

(d) The sounds and the sound-groups belonging to each of the sets listed above are related to one another. Caldwell's comments on this point to a certain extent bring out this inter-relationship, though some of his observations require modification and revision in the light of new facts and perspectives. The nasal constituents of the consonant group appear to be secondary growths in connection with the plosives with which they are respectively associated.

(e) These consonants and consonant-groups are conspicuous enough in the southern dialects to be distinguished as such, while they are present in attenuated and modified shapes in the central Indian and the northern dialects.

#### Primary Bases.

(1) tēg- (to belch) — Kann. tēg-, Tam. tigaṭṭ-, Tel. tēp-, dēv-

poṅg- (to rise) — South Dr. poṅg-

tāṅk- (to take care of) } — Tam. tāṅg- (to support)  
tāṅg (to assist) } —

agg-æ (shoot, branch) — Mal. agu- (shoot) Kūi āk-i  
(branch, shoot) Tel. āku (leaf).

(2) muṭṭ- (to knock) — South Dr. muṭṭ-

kūḍ- (to be joined) — „ kūḍ-

nāḍ-u (middle) — „ nāḍ-u

tāṇḍ-ur (stem) — „ tāṇḍ.

(3) (i) ūd- (to blow) — „ ūd-  
pond- (to rise) — „ pond.

(ii) Tuļu medial -d- corresponds to ṛ of Tamil, Mal. old Kann. and old. Tel.

tud-æ, sud-æ (river) — Kann. tur-e, Tam. tur-ai.

nūḍ-ur (hundred) — South Dr. nūṛ-u

nāḍ- (to stink) — „ nāṛ-

pāḍ-æ (rock) — „ pāṛ-ai, pāṛe, etc.

(4) This group of morphemes definitely occurs only in derivatives.

(5) (i) ây- (to select) — Tam., Mal. ây-  
ey- (to shoot arrow) — „ ey-.

(ii) s rarely occurs in Tulu as a terminal morpheme.

(iii) s is another derivative morpheme. In Tulu, s occurs in pass- beside patt- (to be attached), in ess- beside ett- (to raise a fund) and posur- beside pottur- (to kindle), isæ (now) beside itæ, less (having called) beside lett-.

(iv) j, a frequent medial sound in Tulu corresponds to *three* different sounds of other dialects :

a. -j- in the following answers to -y- of Tamil:

|   |   |                 |
|---|---|-----------------|
| kajapu, beside kayapu<br>(bitter taste) | — | Tam. kay-pu     |
| koj-e- (to reap)                        | — | south Dr. ko-y- |
| paj-i (green)                           | — | „ pøy-pas; pas- |

β. j in the following corresponds to r:

|                                  |   |                                 |
|----------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| kaj-æ (stain, blackness)         | — | Tam. kar-ai                     |
| maj-e- (to conceal)              | — | „ mar-ai-                       |
| ûj- (to percolate)               | — | „ ûr-                           |
| âj-i (six)                       | — | „ âr-                           |
| ka-ñj-i (calf)                   | — | „ kand'rur, Kann. karu.         |
| tôj- (to appear), beside<br>tôr- | — | Kann. tör, tör,<br>Tam. tond'r. |
| taj-a-p- (to cut)                | — | Tam. tar ai-.                   |

γ. Tulu -j- answers to -l- in the following.

|             |   |  |
|-------------|---|--|
| ijji- (not) | — | South Dr. il, ill-ai; cf.<br>Tam. ind'ri also. |
|-------------|---|--|

|                            |   |                           |
|----------------------------|---|---------------------------|
| pej-æ (kind of Artocarpus) | — | Tam., Mal. pala-vu, palâ. |
|----------------------------|---|---------------------------|

(6) (i) kal-l-ur (stone) — South Dr. kal.

|                 |   |        |
|-----------------|---|--------|
| nil- (to stand) | — | „ nil- |
|-----------------|---|--------|

|                |   |             |
|----------------|---|-------------|
| bâl-ur (sword) | — | „ val, bâl. |
|----------------|---|-------------|

|                     |   |        |
|---------------------|---|--------|
| kol- (to cleave to) | — | „ kol- |
|---------------------|---|--------|

(ii) -l in the Brahmins' sub-dialect of Tuļu corresponds in the following to the peculiar continuative -l- of Tam., Mal., and old Kannada; it may be observed here that in the folk-dialect of Tuļu the sound corresponding to l in these instances is -r-:

tāl æ, beside folk-speech tār-æ (cocoanut tree)

— Tam. tāl-ai ('cocoanut tree')

bāl-æ, bār æ (plantain tree) — Tam. vāl-ai, old Kann. bāl-e  
kōli, kōri (fowl) — Tam., old Kann. kōli.

gūli, guri (pit) — , kuli

būl, būr- (to fall) — Tam. vil- old Kann. būl.

It is noteworthy that generally speaking, both the Brahmins' sub-dialect and the folk-speech alike retain -r- corresponding to l- of Tamil, etc., when this sound appears as a constituent of consonant of groups :

parndūr (ripe fruit) — cf. Tam., Mal. pala-m.

portu (time) — Tam., Mal. poludu.

[beside also połtu] Kann. połtu, portu, hottu Tel. proddu,  
poddu.

urdu (black gram) — Tam. ulundūr.

(7) r- (i) This Tuļu sound stands for the post-dental r of other dialects in instances like the following :

tīr- (to be finished) — south Dr. tīr-

nīru (water) — south Dr. nīr.

ner-æ (straightness) — south Dr. nēr (straight)

(ii) In some instances r corresponds to the cerebral ḡ of other dialects, which ḡ does not exist in Tuļu now (as it has either become r or j) :

pār- (to fly), to run — Tam., Mal., old Kann. T. pāṛ-

or-æ (sheath) Tam. or-ai; Mal., Tel. or-a; Kann. or-e.

mār- (to sell) — Kann. māṛ- (to sell) Tam., Mal. māṛ (to change).

(iii) Tuļu r answers to the alveolar lateral l of other dialects in the following :

iræ (leaf), beside ilæ — Tam. ilai. Mal. ila, Kann. ele.

- paru (tooth) — south Dr. pal.  
 biru (bow) — south Dr. vil, bil.  
 kâru (leg) — south Dr. kâl.  
 kur-k- (to shake) — south kul-u-kk-

(iv) As noted above, the folk-speech shows r corresponding to l of Tamil, Mal. and old Kann.

- (8) n - (i) n corresponds to n of other dialects :

- tannu (cold) — Tam. Mal., Kann. tan-, Tel. ts-an-  
 un- (to eat, take meal) south Dr. un-, Kûi un-, Gô. und-  
 ponnu (girls) — south Dr. pen, pon

- (ii) n in the following corresponds to l of other dialects :  
 gân (to glow) — Mal. kâl- (to be ablaze), Tel. kâl- (to burn)  
 kên- (to hear) — south Dr. kel-, Gô. keñj-  
 kôn- (to hold) — south Dr. kol-, Tal. kon.

#### Derivative Positions.

- (1) ul-k- (to be sprained) — Tam., Mal. ulukk-. naða-k-æ  
 (behaviour) — Tam. naðakk-æ. kere-ng-u (root) — Tam.,  
 Mal. kilang-u

In the following, the affix is somewhat unique in Tułu : —

- pôdi-g-æ (fear) — Mal. pêdi (fear), Kann. pêdi, hêdi  
 (coward)  
 male-ng- (to recline) — Tam., Mal. malar-, Kann.  
 malag-

- (2) baradu (useless) — Tam., Mal. varadu, Kann. baredu  
 maradu (barrenness) — Tam. maladu  
 pijint- (to be twisted) — south Dr. piri-  
 kurunt- (to contract) — „ kurul-, surul-, etc

- (3) kor-nd-u (tender) — Tam., Mal. kolu nd-u  
 par-nd-u (ripe fruit) — Tam., Mal. pala-m

- (4) [The affixes are derivative]

- ur-c- (to go to stool) — cf. Tam. oll-kk- (to empty)  
 alec-, beside alek- } — Tam., Mal. alakk-  
 (to shake) }

- purñc- (to squeeze) \_\_ „ „ „ pili-
- parñc- (to prattle) \_\_ cf. Tam., Mal. parai- (to speak)
- (5) adavu (closing) \_\_ Tam. adai-vu Mal. adavu-  
 parab-æ, palab-æ cf. South Dr. pala (old)  
 (old person)
- komb-u (branch) \_\_ South Dr. kombu
- adep-u (lid, closure) \_\_ „ adai-p-u
- (6) l and l̄- (In secondary position l̄ is becoming gradually merged in l.)
- oyl- (to stagger) \_\_ cf. Tam. oy-  
 kurul-, kurul- (to be contracted) \_\_ } Tam, surul-. Kann.  
 birelu (finger) \_\_ South Dr. viral.
- udalu (belly) \_\_ „ udal (body)
- (7) r \_\_ normal
- tuder-uu (lamp) \_\_ Tam. śudar (the sun or moon),  
 Kann. eudar (lamp, the sun, moon)
- ugur-u (nail) \_\_ Tam. ugir,  
 Tel. gôru
- begeru (sweat) \_\_ Kann. bevaru.
- (8) Tuļu s<sup>1</sup> in the following is probably borrowed from Kann.
- taṇasur (chilliness) \_\_ Kann. taṇasu, taṇisu  
 tinasur (food, ) \_\_ „ tinisu, tinasu  
 unasur (food, meal) \_\_ „ unasu, unisu  
 gadusur }  
 kaḍusur } (heifer) \_\_ Kann. kadasu (heifer)
- nigasur (repletion) \_\_ cf. Kann. negasu, Kann. negi-  
 (to rise)

1. This -s- is related to -t-, -d-, etc in elidu, elasu (what is young, tender), peridu, perisu (what is big), etc. of Tamil elidu, elasu (what is young) and piridu, percu, heccu (what is big) of Kannada.

## (1) Vowels in primary (radical) positions,

(1) Tulu *a*, *ā*, *i'*, *î*, *u*, *û* regularly correspond to the same sounds of other dialects.

(2) *e* and *é* : (i) These are normal in a number of words like the following : *eri-* (to burn) *elu*, *ellu* (bone), *élu* (seven) *ér-* (to ascend).

(ii) There is a rule in South Dravidian whereby a short radical *i* (of words of more than one syllable) followed by an open vowel in the next syllable is replaced by *e* : the operation of this rule is restricted to derivative words only and, further, the change occurs only when in the above circumstances the consonant immediately following the radical vowel is a short one. The literary varieties of Tamil and Mal. show in the above circumstances the *i* forms, while the colloquials show *e*- words ; in Kann. and Tel., even the literary speeches have accepted a number of *e*- forms. Tulu shows forms with *i* and *e* side by side in some cases, and those with *e* alone in others :

*idæ, edæ* (place) — Tam., Mal. *idam*, coll. *edam*.

*ilæ, elæ, eræ* (leaf) — Tam. *ilai*, coll. Tam. *elai*,  
Kann. *ele*.

*tinasur, tenasur* (food) — Kann. *tinisu*, *tinasu*,  
*tenasu*.

*nene-p-* (to imagine) — Tam. *ninai-*, coll. Tam.  
*nenai*, Kann. *nene-*

*nela* (earth, soil) — Tam. *nilai*, coll. Tam. *nelai*,  
Kann. *nele*

**Kereñgur** (Sweet potato) — Tam. **Kilañgur**,  
coll. **Keleñgur**

1. *pili* (tiger) answering to *puli* of other Dr. speeches, and *pilæ* (pollution) corresponding to *pulai*, *pule*, pole, show *i*.

In *mennu*, *mennu* (spark), *menc-* (to shine), beside *minc*, there is an opening of the vowel in Tulu sub-dialectal forms. cf. a similar opening in sub-dialectal *tenasur* beside *tinasur*, (food).

(iii) In certain adaptations from IA of words with initial voiced plosives followed by -a-, and in a few native words with initial affricates followed by -a-, some of the south Dr speeches show in the colloquial a change of -a- to -e- or -ə-. Of course, the instances where this change occurs in native words vary with the speeches; in Tulu there are instances like the following with -a- and -e- side by side:

**taræ, caræ, ceræ** (head)

**gattæ, gettæ** (clod, lump)

(iv) Tulu -ē- in the following, corresponds to -â- of some of the other dialects:

**êdu** (goat)— Tam. âdu, Kann. âdu,  
Tel. êdu.

**êmæ** (turtle)— Tam., Mal. âmai.

**êrui** (who?)— Tam. ârui, Kann. (y)âru.

**ênu** (I) beside folk speech **yânui**—

—Tam. yân, nân, Kann. ân, nân, Tel. nenu.

(3) ō—(i) normal in words like the following:

**oñji** (one), **ori** (one person)—Tam. oru, ond'rui, Kann.  
ondu.

**ôq-** (to run) —South Dr. ôq-

(ii) In circumstances similar to those described for i>e above, there exists in South Dr. a change of u>o also. Tulu shows forms with u and o side by side in some cases, and words with o alone in others: **udelw**, **odelw** (belly)—South Dr. **udal**, **odal**.

**ugarui, ogarui** (brackishness)—Tam. uvar.

**unasui, onasui** (food)—Kann. onasu.

**oræ** (Sheath)— Tam. urai, coll. Tam. orai.

**mosalæ** (crocodile) —Tam. mudalai, modalai Kann.  
mosale

(iii) -o-or-ô- in connection with bilabials corresponds to -e (or in rare cases to -a-) of the literary speeches of South India.

ponnu (girl) — South Dr. literary pen, penñu, coll. pon.

bolpu (whiteness)—Tam. veluppu, Kann. belpu.

bôd — (to want, desire)— Tam. vend- Kann. bëd.

por-p- (to pluck)—Tam. Mal. pari—Kann. pare-.

[It may be noted that in the colloquial of Tam. itself, the bilabials have the power of changing the literary -e- to -o- ]

(iv) Tuļu -o- in the following answers to -a- of other dialects.

oreṭ—(to wrangle)—Cf. Tam. alatt—

on̄erui (moss, lichens)—,, an—(to be attached closely)

ôvu (which?)—cf. the syntactic Interr. particle-â- of Tam., Mal. and Kann., and also Kûi â (which?)

(v) -ô- in the following corresponds to û of other dialects:

môdu (cloudy)—cf. Tam. mûḍ-al  
(cloudiness)

cf. the following adaptations in Tuļu from IA:—

môrti (image) for mûrti

môdæ (fool) „ mûḍha

môtra (urine) „ mûtra

koṣṭa (leprosy),, kuṣṭa

(vi) -o- in the following few instances appears to be due to the avoidance of initial v.

odæ (round cake).

(called vadæ)— Tam. vadai.

olevu (curve)—,, valavu, base val

ole (to call)—Mal. vilī.. Tel. pil..

Tuļu regularly shows (like Kann. Kur. and Br.) b corresponding to v of Tam., Tel., Kūi and Gōndi; the above forms with o (apparently) <(v) + vowel) are possibly adaptations in Tuļu of v words from the neighbouring Mal. It may be noted, however, that ole- (to call) and its counterpart le- in the folk speech are very common and frequently used while the form bul p (to cry out) normally corresponding to Mal vili, etc ) is but rarely used in common speech.

(vi) -u- in the following, neighboured by bilabials, corresponds to -i- of other southern dialects:

bür-, bül - (to fall)—Tam. vil , vil , Kann. bül-:  
 bud- (to leave) — Tam. vid-, Kann bud-  
 bul-p- (to cry out) — „ vil-i-  
 bulæ (standing crops) — „ vil-ai

## (2) Vowels in secondary positions

### (1) -i- — normal—

er-i- (to burn)  
 ad-i- (bottom)  
 pod-i (powder)

### (2) -a- — normal-in some cases—

kad-a- (to cross), nada- (to walk), ala- (to measure), mada- (to forget.) etc.

(3) -e-in verbs corresponds to ai- of Tam., and to -e- of Kann.  
 kale - (to be lost, deducted) — kal-ai, kale-.

ade- (to shut) — ad-ai, ade.

(4) -æ-answers in nouns to Tamil-ai and Kann.—e.

bälæ (plantain tree) — vál-ai, bäl e

iræ, ilæ (leaf)—il-ai, ele

## (3) The vowels u and ü as enunciatives.

(i) As in the other south Dr. dialects, the vocalic enunciative at the end of old monosyllabic bases with short radical vowels and short terminal consonants, is -u:

kaḍ-u (hard, firm), naḍ-u (middle), puru (snail, worm), ar-u (brim, edge), etc.

(ii) Monosyllabic bases with long radical vowels or with short radical vowels followed by geminated consonants or by consonant groups, show generally (see below for exceptions) the enunciative -u in Tuḷu. Colloquial Tamil in similar cases shows -ur, Mal.-ə, Kannada and Telugu -u:

nâd u (country) — Tam. nâdūr, Mal. nâdə, Kann. nâd-u.  
kâr u (leg) — Tam. kâlur, etc.

katt-u (bond) — Tam. kattur, etc.

kann-u (eye) — Tam. kannū, etc.

Dissyllabic bases also show -ur :

pūdar-u (name) — Tam. peyar-u, Kann. hesaru, Tel. peru

ugar-u (brackish) — Tam. uvaru, etc.

barad-u (barren) — „, varadu, etc.

(iii) Exceptions in Tuḷu to the above rule are furnished by instances where labial consonants or dorsal vowels in the neighbouring syllable are found; in all these cases the enunciative is -u and not -ur :

ponn u (girl)

jōv-u, beside jēv-u (child, etc.)

bolp-u (whiteness)

ucc u (kind of snake)

morod-u (empty)

kapp-u (blackness)

(iv) Certain post-positional endings show -ur; the rule of vocalic harmony pointed out in (iii) above is applicable here too.

ari (rice) — ari-n-u [Acc.] — Br. -n-i  
 ari-k-u [Dat.]  
 ari-d-u [Loc.]  
 ari-dd-u [Abl.]

ûru (country village) — ûru-n-u [Acc.]  
 ûru-g-u [Dat.]  
 ûru-d-u [Loc.]  
 ûru-dd-u [Abl.] — Br. -tt-u.

(v) The use of -u and -ur in the following personal pronouns is illustrative of the same rule of vocalic harmony:

Honorific âr ur (they), but âkui-u, the plural proper.

Honorific imber-ur (folk-speech mer-ur) meaning this person  
 beside môkul-u (these persons) the Plural proper.

(vi) -ur or -u appears in the following conjugational forms; the rule of vocalic harmony is found here too:

(a) Third Person Sing. of the Present, the Past, the Perfect and the Pluperfect tenses:

**Compare** Third Person Present Sing. malp-undu of the folk-speech and ampunu of the Brahmins' dialect, with the corresponding Past Sing. maltund-ur, antun-ur.

(b) Past participle — (maltund) antundur, (having made), but pôtu, (having gone), sûtu, tûdu (having seen), etc.

(c) Third Person Feminine Sing., Past, etc., with -al-ur : Pr. malpuval-u[m]ampuval-u, etc.

(d) Second and Third Persons Pl. (Masc. and Fem. only) of all tenses,—with -ar ur, er-ur: - malpuvar-ur, ampuvar ur

(e) The Neg. tenses corresponding to (c) and (d) in the folk-dialect show -ur.

[Note. In (c), (d) and (e) the enunciative is -u only, as the immediately preceding syllable in these cases has no dorsal vowels]

(f) The Neuter Future Third Pers. Sing. with -p- shows -u only [note the influence of the bilabial];

malpu, ampu.

(g) Compare Third Person Imperative (having -ad ur) with the so-called Potential (having -od u): malp ad-ur, amp-ad-ur (let him, her, it make) beside malp od-u, amp od-u (it is necessary to make) and maltondu, antondu (making).

[Note: (1) Excepting the -u of monosyllabic words (see (i) above), all enunciatives (whether u or ur) are elided in sandhi in South Dr. dialects; this rule is true of Tulu also.

(2) While in Tam., Mal. and old Kann., the enunciatives need not necessarily appear after the consonants l, r, n, ñ, j, y, these enunciatives are invariably present in modern Tulu; of the condition of old Tulu we can have no direct idea as materials are lacking. See my paper on Dr. Sandhi for further information about the use of enunciatives in Dr.]

### Some significant features of Tulu Phonology.

(1) The retention of ancient k- corresponding to the k-derived affricates and fricatives of certain dialects.

(1) The sub-dialects show t-, s- and h- in initial positions, corresponding mostly to t- of other dialects.

The sub-dialectal variations are unique in Tulu.

(3) The operation of Accent-shift and Aphæresis, resulting in l, r, d (<d>), j (and some cases of n and m) assuming initial positions of words.

Some specific instances of this change in Tulu are unique; but aphæresis has operated in Kui and Telugu also.]

(4) The correspondance of some cases of Tuļu medial-j- (and d-) to-r-of the other southern dialects. [Unique.]

(5) The correspondence of Tuļu r (and intervocal l in the Brahmin's speech) to the sound l of Tamil, etc.

[This correspondence is met with in certain Kann. and Tel. words also.]

(6) The cleavage between Brahmins' speech and folk-Tuļu.

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## THE RUDHĀRĪ DIALECT.

(High Rudhārī).

**Where Spoken** The Rudhārī dialect, discovered by the present writer in 1930, is spoken in a region called Rudhār, which belongs to the Rājā of Chinenī, a jāgīr in Jammu. It is situated about 70 miles north of Jammu town and borders on the lofty peak of Śuddha Mahādeva, a place of pilgrimage with a temple of Siva flocked by thousands of pilgrims every year. Near it is also situated Gaurī Kund, a place where Pārvatī is said to have performed the penance described by Kālidāsa in his Kumāra sambhava. Rudhār is situated between two rivulets, the Raggī and the Thandā Pāṇī. The Raggī is a larger stream dividing the Khaśālī tract from Rudhār, and falling into the Chenab at a point about 10 miles west of Dodā (the dialect of which, the Sirājī of Dodā, has been described in the *Linguistic Survey of India* Vol. VIII, Part II), and about 30 miles west of Bhadarwāh town. The most interesting place in Rudhār is a village recently named Bilandpur by the late Rājā of Chinenī, but the old name of which is Zaṅgal "forest." It is situated on a lofty ridge about 7000 ft. high, with a natural grassy tableland on the top, and with dense forests on both sides. The other important villages are Drāmṛū, Rāṇkā, Kharaōth, Saṅgā Charhottā and Assar. Of these five villages, the first three are situated on the lofty ridge mentioned above, and have a dialect of their own, which we shall call **High Rudhārī**, and which will be exclusively treated in this paper. The dialect of the fourth village, Saṅgā Charhottā, (which are really two villages representing a number of hamlets widely apart) may be called mid-Rudhārī, while it is called nālerī Rudhārī "Rudhārī of the valley" by the inhabitants. The dialect of the fifth village, Assar, a place near the junction of the second stream Thandā Pāṇī with the Chenāb belongs to a region which is the lowest part of Rudhār. Its dialect is called by the inhabitants Kāṇḍhiālū Rudhārī—the

“Rudhārī of the Kāndhī or sub-montane tract” which we shall call **Low Rudhārī**.

**History.** According to local tradition, Drāmrū is the oldest village. It was originally independent, being ruled over by Rānās (petty chiefs) who were Biriān Thakkurs (and not Rājpūts) by caste. Here they had their own mintage, until they were driven out by Rājpūt immigrants from Chambā. These Chambyāl Rājpūts are said to have come from Bhaṭṭī Chawārī in Chambā. When Drāmrū was seized by the Rājpūts, the Biriān Thakkurs then made a settlement at Zaṅgal, now called Bilandpur. Later, however, the Chambyāl colony at Drāmrū was seized and annexed by Chineṇī, in which the whole region is now situated. It is important to take note of the fact that the oldest ruling caste here was the Thakkur caste and that the Rājpūts came later. Side by side with these two castes there was a third, the untouchable caste. These untouchables are called “Meghs”, and they probably came along with both the above castes from time to time. It is these castes which mainly inhabit the region at present and contribute to the characteristic features of this dialect which is pre-eminently a caste-dialect.

**Characteristic Features.** Rudhārī has the following main features:—

- I. It is a Pahārī dialect.
- II. It is a caste-dialect.

We shall consider these points in order.

I. Rudhārī is bounded on the North by the Sirājī of Dodā, on the East by Khaśālī, on the South by Seuṭī, Khaśālī and Dogrī, and on the West by Dogrī. Besides these dialects, Bhadarwāhī, being spoken by a much larger number of people, is a lingua franca of these valleys and so exerts considerable influence on Rudhārī.

The Pahārī features of Rudhārī clearly appear in the following:—

(1) the preservation of PI *ʃ*, as *dʌʃ* “ten”, *ʃuṇ* “hear”, *ʃʌʃʃu* “mother-in-law”.

(2) the preservation of PI dental surd after a nasal, cf. Rudh.  
Bhad. d<sup>nt</sup> “tooth”, d<sup>st</sup> “bullock.”

(3) The future tense in “l” cf.

|                 | Rudhārī             | Bhadarwāhī            |
|-----------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| “he will be”    | bh <sup>l</sup> ola | 'bholo                |
| “he will start” | 'cal:la             | 'cal <sup>l</sup> elo |

(4) the genitive in “r”, cf.

|                | Rudh     | Bhad.                |
|----------------|----------|----------------------|
| “of the horse” | 'ghorera | 'ghorero             |
| “of the man”   | mānuera  | mēn <sup>r</sup> ero |

In its vowel-system Rudhārī has preserved a pre-Bhadarwāhī stage in the following:—

(1) in the Static Participle:—

|                        | Rudh.   | Bhad.  |
|------------------------|---------|--------|
| “(has or had) arrived” | 'vara   | 'oro   |
| “ ”, “gone”            | 'gvara  | 'joro  |
| “ ”, “eaten”           | 'khvara | 'khoro |

(2) in the Conjunctive Participle—

|                 | Rudh.    | Bhad.                |
|-----------------|----------|----------------------|
| “having died”   | 'marita  | 'mertā               |
| “having cut”    | 'kattita | 'ket <sup>t</sup> ta |
| “having fought” | 'larita  | 'lertā               |

In its consonantal system, Rudhārī (High Rudhārī as spoken by the Rājpūts and Low Rudhārī in general) has preserved the pre-Bhadarwāhī stage of the peculiar consonants t̪, d̪, d̪h̪ so regular in Bhad. and Khaś, cf. the following—

|  | Rudh.     | Bhad. and Khaś |
|--|-----------|----------------|
| “brown bear”                             | 'bhrabbu  | 'd̪h̪lebbu     |
| “brotherless woman”<br>(a term of abuse) | nī'bherei | nīd̪h̪ai       |
| “sleep”                                  | nidd̪er   | nid̪           |
| “grass”                                  | trat̪     | t̪lat̪         |
| “thirst”                                 | tris̪     | t̪ris̪         |

|            |         |           |
|------------|---------|-----------|
| “shoe”     | træppər | ʈɻ̪appter |
| “three”    | træ     | ʈɻ̪ai     |
| “ringworm” | dʌddər  | ɖʌdɖ      |

Grammatically, its relations with the neighbouring Pahāṛī dialects may be indicated by the following examples:—

(1) “thou art”:—

| Rudh. | Khaś. | Bhad. | Seutī |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| 'esi  | 'asu  | as    | hā    |

(2) “on the horse”:—

|            |           |
|------------|-----------|
| High Rudh. | 'ghoretir |
| Low Rudh.  | 'ghorebāl |
| Mid Rudh   | 'ghoreur  |
| Khas.      | 'ghoretir |
| Seutī      | 'ghoretir |
| Sundhlāsī  | 'ghorebər |
| Bhad.      | 'ghorepur |

In vocabulary, its close relation with the neighbouring Pahāṛī dialects may be indicated by the following:—

(1) Numerals.

|         | Rudh. | Khaś. | Bhad. |
|---------|-------|-------|-------|
| “one”   | ekk   | ekk   | akk   |
| “two”   | dui   | dui   | dui   |
| “three” | træ   | ʈɻ̪ai | ʈɻ̪ai |
| “four”  | seur  | seur  | seṛ   |
| “five”  | pʌnɔ  | pʌnɔ  | pʌnɔ  |
| “six”   | jà    | jà    | jà    |

(2) Sirājī influence may be noted in the deaspiration of consonants in Rudh. hatt “hand”, hati “elephant”, het̪ “below.”.

(3) Interrogative pronouns:—

|        | Rudh.  | Khaś. | Bhad. |
|--------|--------|-------|-------|
| “what” | chə    | khjə  | kun̪  |
| “why?” | kə'tan | ki    | ki    |

The following shibboleths indicate its relation with the neighbouring dialect Khaśālī:—

|             | Rudh.   | Khaś      |
|-------------|---------|-----------|
| “my”        | màra    | 'mera     |
| “thy”       | tòra    | 'tera     |
| “died”      | 'mariga | 'mari gja |
| “above”     | ṭikkér  | bānni     |
| “hither”    | 'idi    | īra       |
| “whither?”  | kèdi    | kara      |
| “somewhere” | kērkhi  | kocch     |
| “but”       | pà      | par       |

The following words peculiar to Rudhārī have an interesting bearing on the history of Indian Linguistics:—

|        |                      |
|--------|----------------------|
| 'odqna | “to roof a house”    |
| ḍli    | “egg”                |
| 'ākhu  | “tear from the eye.” |

The above phenomena clearly establish the existence of High Rudhārī as a distinct dialect. That it differs considerably from the neighbouring Low Rudhārī may be noted from the following words:—

|               | High Rudh. | Low Rudh.       |
|---------------|------------|-----------------|
| “whither”     | kèdi       | 'kudi           |
| “above”       | ṭikkér     | 'khāṛa or upper |
| “where”       | kēri       | kūṛi            |
| “somewhere”   | kērkhi     | 'kute           |
| “in this way” | ḍembre     | īa              |

In pronunciation High Rudh. differs from Low Rudh. in the change of *j*, *jh* into *z*, *zh*. cf.

|            | High Rudh. | Low Rudh. |
|------------|------------|-----------|
| “if”       | ze         | je        |
| “root”     | zil        | jil       |
| “to sleep” | 'zhulna    | 'jhulna   |
| “to fall”  | 'zhāṛna    | 'jhāṛna   |

In Grammar, the following differences may be noted:—

(1) As noted above, the Locative in High Rudh. has the termination *tir*, but Low Rudh. has *bal* cf.

| High Rudh.     | Low Rudh. |
|----------------|-----------|
| "on the horse" | 'ghoretrī |

(2) The "potential mood" with the "can" significance in High Rudh has the root *bāt-* or *sān-*, but in Low Rudh it has *śāk-*, cf.

| High Rudh. | Low Rudh.             |
|------------|-----------------------|
| "I can be" | <i>Aū bhoī 'bātta</i> |
| or         | <i>Aū bhoī 'sānta</i> |
|            | (Rājpūt).             |

*Aū bhoī 'śānta* (Untouchables)

II. It has been noted above that there are three castes in Rudhār. The speech of each of these castes has peculiarities of its own. And then there are over-lappings, giving rise to many complicated permutations and combinations.

(1) Phonetically the following differences may be noted:—

(a) Intervocalic *n* in Rājpūt pronunciation remains unchanged, as in '*pani* "water," '*khanā* "to eat," but it has become *ṇ* in the pronunciation of the Thakkurs and the Meghs.

(b) Suffixal *k* and *t* in the Rājpūt pronunciation remains unchanged, but in Megh-Thakkur pronunciation it varies between *g, g̥, and g̥, d, d̥ and ḍ, ḍ̥*, cf.

| Rājpūt.          | Megh-Thakkur. |
|------------------|---------------|
| "from the horse" | 'ghoreka      |
| "on the horse"   | 'ghoretir     |

(c) In Megh-Thakkur pronunciation there occurs a peculiar *j* (soft *j* as in Russian *maja* "my") which lightly palatalizes the preceding consonant (for details see below p. 450). But the phenomenon does not occur in Rājpūt pronunciation cf.

|                  |          |               |
|------------------|----------|---------------|
|                  | Rājpūt.  | Megh-Thakkur. |
| “Mares”          | 'ghor̥ia | ghor̥ja       |
| “(Women) become” | 'bhōtia  | bhōtja        |

(narrow transcription गा).

(d) For “can” the Rājpūts and Thakkurs use the root *san-*, but the Untouchables use the root *chan-*, apparently derived from PI *ksam* cf.

|        | Rājpūt-Thakkur. | Megh.      |
|--------|-----------------|------------|
| “I am” | əū 'santa       | əū 'chanta |

(2) Grammatically, the following differences may be noted:—

(a) The Subjunctive Mood differs thus:—

|                    | Rājpūt   | Megh          | Thakkur.   |
|--------------------|----------|---------------|------------|
| “I may be”         | bhoū     | bhōt or bhōth | bhon       |
| ‘I may go’’        | 'gacchā  | 'gacchā       | gā         |
| “I may accomplish” | 'kēri sā | 'kēri 'chārā  | 'kēri'sārā |

(b) In the Personal Pronoun, the second pers. sg. has the stem *tu* in Rājpūt and Megh speech, but among the Thakkurs it has *ti*. cf.

|           | Megh-Rājpūt | Thakkur |
|-----------|-------------|---------|
| “by thee” | tūi         | tī      |
| “to thee” | tuiān       | trān    |

But while in the 2nd person sg. the Rājpūt and the Megh coincide, in the 2nd pers. genitive plural the Rājpūt is left alone, while the Thakkur and the Megh coincide. cf.

|                       | Rājpūt  | Megh-Thakkur |
|-----------------------|---------|--------------|
| “your”                | tu'hara | tūra         |
| Similarly “its”       | ijara   | ēra          |
| “his”                 | tr'hara | tēra         |
| “whose”               | kr'hara | kēra         |
| “which (of the many)” | kunzīna | kun'jha      |

(c) As regards the Past Participle, the Megh-Thakkur participle has “*t*” more frequently than the Rājpūt correspondent. cf.

|          | Rājpūt | Megh-Thakkur |
|----------|--------|--------------|
| “washed” | dhoa   | 'dhota       |
| “drank”  | pia    | 'pita        |

(d) Similar difference is visible in the Conjunctive Participle, the Rājpūts changing the final **a** of verbs into **ə**, to which **ita** is added, the Megh-Thakkur speech keeping the **a** unchanged. cf.

|                     | Rājpūt    | Megh-Thakkur |
|---------------------|-----------|--------------|
| "having eaten"      | 'khet̪a   | 'khāita     |
| "having displeased" | ru'ʃēita | ru'sait̪a    |

### The classification of Rudhārī.

The above complications raise a problem for general Linguistics. Is the geographical classification of languages universally applicable? Will not the name of Rudhārī (which is a geographical name) for these caste dialects be arbitrary and misleading? Among which groups of dialects should Rudhārī be classified? Until the caste complications, noted above are explained (a subject for future research), a secure classification of the dialect will not be possible.

May we not provisionally group it along with the Khaśālī dialect? No doubt there are two difficulties in the way of its affiliation to Khaśālī. In the first place, Rudhārī has no neuter gender, while all the other dialects of the Khaś group have it. Thus cf.

|                 | Rudh.       | Other Khaś dialects. |
|-----------------|-------------|----------------------|
| "a big serpent" | 'b̪ara sapp | 'b̪ara sapp (masc.)  |
| "a big house"   | 'b̪ara ghar | 'b̪arughar (neut.)   |

Again, Rudhārī has no epenthesis, while the vowel-system of all the other dialects concerned betrays a definite influence of Umlaut. Thus the Rudhārī plural of 'māchli "fish" is 'māchlia, while in the other dialects it is is 'mēchli (Khaś) or 'mīchli (Seut̪ī).

In spite of the above circumstances, it seems to be desirable to group it tentatively with the Khaśālī group, for many of the general features of this group characterise this dialect as well. For instance, (a) in Rudhārī as in all the other members of the Khaśālī group, the oblique of all non-feminine nouns ending in consonants has the suffix **a**, and of those ending in **a** has the

suffix e, cf. 'ghoraseñ "with a stone (ghor)"' but 'ghoreseñ' "with a horse ('ghora')". (b) the Dative postposition in Rudh., as in all other dialects of the Khaś. group is n or ni. (c) in Rudh., parallel to Khaś., in the oblique of all nouns and adjectives ending in i, the i is changed into ia or ja, as 'ghoria' or 'ghorja "by the mare". (d) Besides the above facts, social reasons seem to require this grouping. For marriage relations between Khāśālī and Rudhārī people are very common, and consequently the interaction between these dialects is quite natural.

### The number of speakers.

According to the estimate of the Zaildar of Rudhār, the total number of speakers speaking the various dialects of Rudhārī is approximately as follows:—

|              | Number of speakers | Number of houses |
|--------------|--------------------|------------------|
| High Rudhārī | 400                | 98               |
| Mid Rudh.    | 100                | 25               |
| Low Rudh.    | 100                | 21               |

He bases this calculation on the number of houses in which these dialects are spoken, taking four persons as the rough average population of each house.

### A description of High Rudhārī.

We shall now take up a systematic description of the dialects.

#### I. Phonetically, the following phenomena may be noted:—

The vowel-system is simple. The dialect has neither mixed vowels, as in Bhad., nor epenthesis, as in Khaś. and Bhad., cf.

|                  | Rudh.      | Bhad.      | Khaś.         |
|------------------|------------|------------|---------------|
| "four"           | çœur       | çœr        | çœur          |
| "caps (women's)" | 'jujia     | 'juji      | 'juji         |
| "fishes"         | 'mʌchlia   | 'mɛchli    | 'mɛchli       |
| "with elephants" | 'hatia-səñ | 'hethi-səñ | 'heitia sathi |

Besides the back vowels A and a, as in 'calā "start", 'ghare "pot", there occurs, in the Megh pronunciation, the front-vowel a, somewhat like French a, after the peculiar palatalized consonants, (cf. p. 445) as in the following:—

|                                   |         |           |
|-----------------------------------|---------|-----------|
| “these things (fem.) were washed” | 'dhot,a | (‘dhotjá) |
| “these things (fem.) were spoken” | 'boll,a | (‘bolljá) |
| “these things (fem.) were drunk”  | 'pitt,a | (‘pitjá)  |

Of the front vowels, there occur i, r, e and e but not ε cf.

|          | Rudh. | Khaś. |
|----------|-------|-------|
| “hair”   | keʃ   | keʃ   |
| “belly”  | peṭ   | peṭ   |
| “sister” | bèn   | bèn   |

e is a very close e and is pronounced as in English “bed”, cf.

|               |        |
|---------------|--------|
| “by him”      | 'təni  |
| “by whom?”    | 'kəni  |
| “come!” (pl.) | 'qečha |

Diphthongs are of more frequent occurrence in Rudh. than in Khaś., in which, in many instances, the corresponding sounds are monophthongs or semi-vowels followed by vowels. cf.

|                | Rudh.  | Khaś. |
|----------------|--------|-------|
| “servant”      | nəokər | nokər |
| “arrived”      | 'ʌra   | 'ura  |
| “bring!”       | nəa    | 'njà  |
| “to her”       | təən   | tjən  |
| “to this lady” | ian    | jani  |

As compared to Khaśālī and Marmatī, Rudhārī may be called A - a dialect, for it has A, a where the other two dialects have e, ε, o, o respectively, cf.

|        | Rudh.  | Khaś.  | Marm.  |
|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| “axe”  | 'makku | 'mækku | 'møkku |
| “knee” | zàpu   | zənu   | zønu   |

The high falling tone is significant in this dialect, cf.

|     |               |       |
|-----|---------------|-------|
| but | “foot ball”   | 'guli |
| but | “kernel”      | gùli  |
|     | “eat! (you)”  | kha   |
| but | “eat!” (thou) | khà   |
|     | “put on”      | la    |
| but | “saw”         | lā    |

(2) In the consonant-system, the following special features may be mentioned:—

(a) The suffixal or intervocalic plosives in the Rājpūt pronunciation remain unchanged, but in the Megh-Thakkur pronunciation they are vocalized, as has been illustrated above (p. 444). Even the initial k of the auxiliary verb 'kenna "to do" becomes g, ḡ or ḡ in the latter speech, cf.

| Rājpūt | Megh-Thakkur. |
|--------|---------------|
|--------|---------------|

"I am eating" आ॒ khae 'kēttा आ॒ khae 'get्ता, 'getta or 'gēttा

(b) Of nasal consonants, n sometimes occurs at the end of words, as kūn "what" bān, "forest", but in intervocalic position it does not so frequently occur in Rājpūt pronunciation, cf. 'kēni "by what" 'pani "water".

(c) The alveolo-palatal fricatives c and ch are of common occurrence in the Rājpūt pronunciation, but they are rare in Megh-Thakkur speech, which preserves the original c and ch, cf.

| Rājpūt | Megh-Thakkur. |
|--------|---------------|
|--------|---------------|

|            |         |         |
|------------|---------|---------|
| "to graze" | 'carna  | 'carna  |
| "any one"  | kēc     | 'kēc    |
| "fish"     | 'māchli | 'māchli |
| "calf"     | 'bāchru | 'bācchu |

(d) High Rudhārī has preserved in some instances the palato-alveolar fricative ſ for which the corresponding consonant in the neighbouring dialects is velar cf.

| Rudh. | Khaś. | Bhad. |
|-------|-------|-------|
|-------|-------|-------|

|                 |        |      |
|-----------------|--------|------|
| "Mother-in-law" | 'faffu | ſēxu |
| "poison"        | bif    | bix  |

(e) Like other Pahārī dialects, Rudhārī has changed the initial PI v to b, as in bat "wind", 'bela "time", but in the interior of words the reverse change occurs, b becoming a bilabial v, as babb "father" but 'baवरan "to the father", 'baवा "O father!"

(f) An interesting phenomenon is the occurrence of significant double consonants as contrasted with merely long consonants, cf.

|  |         |
|--|---------|
| "he will speak"                        | bòl:la  |
| but "you may speak"                    | bòlla   |
| "he will open"                         | khòl:la |
| but "you may open"                     | khòlla  |
| "to knead"                             | 'san:na |
| but "to put, accomplish<br>or be able" | 'sanna. |

(g) But the most interesting phenomenon is the occurrence of Palatalized consonants in the Megh-*Thakkur* pronunciation noted above (p. 444). These consonants somewhat resemble the Slavonic palatalized consonants, and not only the plosives, but also the nasal n and the lateral l participate in this phenomenon. Further examples:

|                         |                     |
|-------------------------|---------------------|
| "(women) drink"         | 'pit:a ('pitja)     |
| "(women) will speak"    | bòll:a (bòllja)     |
| "(women) will do"       | kèll:a (kèllja)     |
| "(we women) will start" | càln,uiā (càlnuija) |
| "(we women) will speak" | bònn,uiā (bònnuijā) |
| "(we women) will give"  | dèun,ā (dèunuijā).  |

The n, has a sound somewhere midway between French n̄ and Russian mj. The exact description of these consonants, however, is a subject for further investigation.

(h) As regards the consonant-groups tr, dr, bhr, it has been noted above (p. 441) that High Rudhārī as spoken by the Rājpūts has preserved them. But in Megh-*Thakkur* speech some words have t̄l, d̄l; d̄h̄l, as in the examples given above, but even here individuals vary.

(i) Rudhārī has great aversion to nasality. Nasality in the other dialects of the Khaś. group is an incident or often the only indication of the Grammatical Plural number, but in Rudhārī this distinctive feature of plural does not occur in oblique cases of nouns and adjectives, nor has the dialect shown any substitute for this nasality. Thus 'ghore-sēi means at the same time "with the horse" or "with the horses", and only the context will show whether one or many horses are meant. In

the nominative plural (fem.) Khaś. has *zibba* for "tongues", but Rudh. has *zibba*, without nasalitv. A striking example of this aversion is *mān* "to the black bean", dative of *mā* (Skr. *māṣa-*). In this word the vowel *a* has absolutely no trace of nasalisation, as it has in English "man".

More details regarding this will be noticed as we proceed with morphology.

II. Grammatically, the following general points may be noted:—

(1) Rudhārī, like other dialects of the Khaś. group, has a final *a* in words like '*ghoṛa* "horse", '*māra* "my", '*kala* "black", *tia* "was".

(2) Rudh. has no neuter gender, as noted above (p. 446). It has only two genders, masc. and fem.

(3) Like Bhad. and other dialects of the Khaś. group, Rudhārī shows distinction of gender even in *personal* pronoun 2nd person plural, cf.

|               | Rudh.      | Khaś.      | Bhad.        |
|---------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| "you (men)"   | <i>tu</i>  | <i>tu</i>  | <i>tus</i>   |
| 'you (women)" | <i>tūa</i> | <i>tūā</i> | <i>'tūsa</i> |

But unlike these dialects, *it does not have* this distinction in the first person, cf.

|              | Rudh.    | Khaś.    | Bhad.       |
|--------------|----------|----------|-------------|
| "we (men)"   | <i>a</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>as</i>   |
| "we (women)" | <i>a</i> | <i>a</i> | <i>'asā</i> |

(4) Rudhārī has no distinction for the plural number in the oblique of nouns and adjectives (p. 450).

(5) As in other dialects of the Khaś. group, the oblique (except the agent case) of all non-feminine nouns ending in consonants has the suffix *a*, and of those ending in *a* has the suffix *e*, (cf. p. 447); thus the instrumental sg. of the word *ghoṛ* which means "a stone" both in Khaś. (including Rudh.) and Bhad. is in Khaś. group '*ghoṛa-seī* "with a stone," but of '*ghoṛa* "horse" it is '*ghoṛeṣeī* "with a horse". In Bhad., however, '*ghoṛeṣeī* is

the form in both senses, and only the context will show whether Bhad. 'ghore-səj means "with a horse" or "with a stone". The genitive in Rudh, however, is an exception, which has e in both the senses, cf. Rudh. 'ghorera, which has four meanings— : "of the horse", "of the horses", "of stone", "of stones".

(6) As in other dialects of the Khaś group, the final i of all nouns and adjectives is, in oblique cases, changed into ia. cf.

"thy mare struck me"                      tòria 'ghoria Δū 'mara.

"he made a sign with a finger"            'təni 'Δŋgulia-səj sart ki

(7) A feature peculiar to Rudh. is the nom. fem. pl. in ia, cf.

"I ate many chupatis":—

|       |                         |
|-------|-------------------------|
| Rudh. | mī 'baṛia 'rottia khāia |
| Khaś. | mī 'bə̤i 'rottī khei    |
| Bhad. | mī 'meti 'rōttī khēi    |

III. We shall now describe the grammatical peculiarities in due order.

(1) Declension of nouns and adjectives.

(a) The nominative case of fem. nouns and adjectives ends in ia, corresponding to īd in Hindī and Panjābī, cf. 'ghoria "mares", Khaś. 'ghori, Bhad. 'ghōri.

(b) The agent case sg. and pl. of all nouns and adjectives ends in e, whether the word ends in a vowel or a consonant (cf. p. 451). Thus 'ghore has four meanings:—

(i) "by a horse" (ii) "by horses" (iii) "by a stone" (iv) "by stones".

(c) The dative case sg. and pl. has the termination n, Khaś. having ni (as in Curābī) but Bhad. Jo. If the stem ends in a consonant, preterminational a is added to it, as 'ghoran "to the stone", but if it ends in a simple vowel, ia, ua or ia is added, cf.

"to the horse or horses"                      'ghoran.

"to the oilman or oilmen"                  'telien.

"to the man or men"                          mānuan.

If the word ends in a diphthong, the alternation may be noticed from the following examples:—

- “to the rain or to the rains”                   'dewan  
 “to the crow or to the crows”                   'kawan.

Besides the Dative of Purpose, which has the termination n, the dialect has another dative which may be called “Acquisitive” according to the terminology of (European) classical Grammarians\*. It is the Dative of use or benefit, signifying “for the use of”, “for the sake of”. The termination for the Acquisitive in Khaś. group (including High Rudhārī) is interesting. It is 'kite, PI krte “for the sake of”. cf.

- “for myself”                                       'apne 'kite.

Here, according to the speakers, 'apnian (with the -n dative) will be wrong. cf.

'mika 'apnekite bi 'pura 'pēsa nēi 'q̄se “I have no money sufficient even for myself.”

(d) The genitive has the termination 'era ('q̄ra after the feminines in i) for both the numbers and genders, whether the word ends in a consonant or a vowel. cf.

- |  |           |
|--|-----------|
| “of the brother or of brothers”                    | 'bhraera. |
| “of the horse or of horses, of stone or of stones” | 'ghorera  |
| “of the man or of men”                             | mānuera   |
| “of the mare or of mares”                          | 'ghoriéra |
| “of the mother-in-law or of mothers-in-law”        | 'Jaffuera |

The dialect, in this respect, differs from both Khaś and Bhad. cf. the above with the Khaś. and Bhad forms:—

|                  | Khaś.    | Bhad.      |
|------------------|----------|------------|
| “of the brother” | 'bhrara  | 'dhlaero   |
| “of brothers”    | 'bhrara  | 'dhākero   |
| “of the horse”   | 'ghorera | 'ghorero   |
| “of horses”      | 'ghorera | 'ghorākero |
| “of stone”       | 'ghorara | 'ghorero   |

\*cf. Paley: Euripides (1874) Vol. II, p. 16.

|                    |           |             |
|--------------------|-----------|-------------|
| "of stones"        | 'ghorara  | 'ghorākero  |
| "of the mare"      | 'ghoriara | 'ghōṛēro    |
| "of the mares"     | 'ghoriāra | 'ghōrikēro  |
| "of the mother-in- |           |             |
| law                | ſexuara   | 'jikkhākero |

(e) In High Rudhārī, as in the other dialects of the Khaś group, there are two cases—the Ablative and the Allative<sup>1</sup> (the "near" case)—which have the same termination ka, thus 'gharaka means "near the house" and also "from the house." In Bhad. however, only the Allative has kā, the Ablative having 'kera cf. Bhad.

|                      |            |
|----------------------|------------|
| "near the house"     | 'gharekā   |
| but "from the house" | 'gharekerā |

The Allative case is also used in connection with the verb 'mīlā "to meet." e.g.

"Finally" all the brothers came and met Rāma":—'patta 'sare bhrd ramka 'ęcchita 'mile. Here 'ramaka is Allative, lit. meaning "near or approaching Rāma," and is used in connection with the verb 'mile "met."

The following interesting sentence, in which both the Ablative and the Allative cases are used, will illustrate the difference between them—

"I am afraid of going near Rāma":—

Rudh. आ॒ रामका गङ्गेच्नेका 'दर्ता

Bhad. आ॒ 'रामेका 'गंगेकेरा 'दर्ता

Here Rudh. has kā in both cases, Bhad. has kā in the Allative, kera in the Ablative. The Allative is also used in the sense of possession e.g.

"My brother has a hundred Rupees."—

māre 'bhājjeka ękk ज्ञा॒ रे॑प्रज्जे ęsən

(f) The Elative or "out of" case is signified by the postposition māta among the Rājpūts and māga among the Meghs and Thakkurs cf.

| Rājpūt  | Megh Thakkur. |
|---|---------------|
| "out of the well"      khuija māta  | khuija Māga   |
| In Bhad. the corresponding postposition is māz̄erā or simply<br>'erā, e.g. khue-māz̄erā or khu'erā "out of the well." |               |

(g) The Locative proper has among the Rājpūts, the postposition *tir*, but among the Meghs and Thakkurs it is *dir*. *dir* or *đir*, cf.

| Rājpūt                        | Megh-Thakhur           |
|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| "on the horse"      'ghoretir | 'ghoredir, dir or đir. |

(h) As in other dialects of the Khaś. group and in Bhad., there occurs the "down-from-up" or Delative case. The postposition used in this sense is *tīra* or *tra* (in fluent speech). In slow speech the postposition used is *tīrga* cf.

"he fell down from the horse":—

tē 'ghoretīra 'khirkī ga.

"Come down soon from this tree":—

e 'buṭṭatīra tāole 'ecca.

(i) As in other dialects of the Khaś. group, there occurs a case which may be called "Directive" case, though in another paper "the Dialects of the Khaśālī group" (unpublished at the moment of writing these lines) I have called it the "prepositional dative". The former name, however, is more appropriate, as it better gives the sense of the case. When direction is implied, many of the above cases get an additional postposition *n* "towards". Thus the following forms of the Directive arise:—

(i) Allative Directive (ii) Locative Directive (iii) Illative Directive (iv) Relative Directive.

(i) Allative Directive. In the sense of "towards near", the Allative Directive is formed by the addition of the dative postposition *n* to the postposition *ka* "near",—the whole postposition being *kan* (Rājpūt), *gan*, *gan* or *gan* (Megh-Thakkur), e.g. "ghorekan" "towards-near the horse".

So Rudh. 'ghorian 'cāla and 'ghorekan 'cāla have a shade of difference. The former means, "he moved towards the horse," the latter, "he moved towards near the horse", his object being not only to direct himself to the direction of the horse, but also to approach it. In Bhad. also the same sense is indicated by the postposition 'kājo, e.g., tē ghore-kājo 'cālo "he moved towards-near the horse".

(ii) Locative Directive. In the sense of "towards-on" the Locative Directive is formed by the addition of the Dative postposition **n** to the Locative postposition **tir** with a connecting vowel **g** between, i.e. **tirgn** "towards-on". Rudh. (and the other allied dialects of the Khaś group) will not allow an idiom like "came upon" before the coming is finally effected; it would require "came towards upon" (**tirgn**) in this sense. The following High Rudh. sentences will make this difference clear:—

'dharatir deo a

"The rain has come (lit. came) upon the mountain". Here the rain has actually reached the mountain, and so the ordinary termination **tir** is used.

'dharatirgn deo 'aorase

"the rain has come towards upon the mountain".

Here the rain has not yet reached the mountain, and so **tirgn** is used. The tense "has come" is here equivalent to "has started for".

(iii) Illative Directive. In the sense of "towards-in" the Illative-Directive is formed by the addition of the Dative postposition **n** to the Illative postposition **mā**—the whole postposition being **mān**, cf. tē' phaṭa māta 'khāḍḍa mān 'khirkā "He fell from the hill towards in the stream". The "towards-in" suggests his direction towards the stream before he is actually in it.

(iv) Relative Directive. In the sense of "behind-towards" the Relative<sup>1</sup> Directive is formed by the addition of the dative post-

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1. Vide Eliot's Finnish Grammar P. 162.

position n to the post-position 'patti "behind"—the whole post position being 'patian "behind towards." cf.

tē māre 'bhrapatian 'daura

"he ran behind towards my brother,"

sie 'gauwapatian jhapp 'ditti

"the leopard pounced behind towards the cow."

(j) As in the other dialects of the Khaś. group, the Prolative case occurs in the sense of "over" and the postposition 'tikre is used in this sense, cf. the difference:—

'ghore tikre 'makhi 'udre 'ketti

"the fly is flying over the horse"

but 'ghore tir 'makhi 'bijjuri

"the fly is sitting on the horse."

(k) As regards the declension of Adjectives, masculine adjectives ending in a are not fully declined in all the cases. In oblique cases, as in Hindi, the final a is changed into e, e. g., cf.

'rora mānu "good man"

but i 'rore mānuan 'bolla "speak to this good man."

Feminine adjectives ending in i change the final i into ia in oblique cases. cf.

'rori 'kuri "good girl"

but ia 'roria 'kuria 'bolla

"speak to this good girl."

All feminine pronominal or possessive adjectives participate in this declension. cf.

tòria 'ghoria āñi 'mara

"thy mare struck me."

mària 'Ammā āñi 'mara

"my mother beat me."

'rameria 'ghoria mīan du'latti 'ditti

"Rāma's mare kicked me."

'razeria mālia mīan 'bolla

"the king's mother said to me."

(l) The Definite Article. There occurs in the Dialects of the Khaś group a form of the pronominal adjective ending in -zīna (Rājpūt) or -jha (Megh-Thakkur) in High Rudhārī. The sense of this zīna or -jha somewhat corresponds to that of the Definite Article in English. cf.

būḍdāzīna 'kēdi ga "whither is the old man gone?"

Here būḍdāzīna refers to the old man of the house, or the old man already mentioned. Similarly

būḍīzīni 'kēdi gei

"where is the old woman gone?"

chēlluzīna 'cāli pja

"the kid (already mentioned in the story) started"

'bhēdruzīne 'cāli gee

"the sheep (already mentioned) went away."

(m) The declension of numerals in oblique cases is somewhat irregular. cf.

|      |            |                  |
|------|------------|------------------|
| ekk  | 'ekki sēī  | "with one"       |
| dui  | 'duī sēī   | "with two"       |
| trae | trēī sēī   | "with three"     |
| sa   | seī sēī    | "with six"       |
| satt | 'satta sēī | "with seven"     |
| nao  | 'nauwa sēī | "with nine"      |
| bī   | bīa sēī    | "with twenty"    |
| lao  | 'lauwa sēī | "with a hundred" |

(2) In the declension of Pronouns the following features may be mentioned:—

(a) The gender in the personal Pronoun 2nd person Plural has been already pointed out (p. 451).

(b) The genitive Personal Pronoun 1st and 2nd person sg. is peculiar:—

|       | High Rudh. | Khaś. | Bhad. |
|-------|------------|-------|-------|
| "my"  | māra       | 'mēra | 'mero |
| "thy" | tōra       | 'tēra | 'tero |

(c) As in Khaś., the stem of the 1st person plural is à or ā — e. g.

|      |           |
|------|-----------|
| à    | "we"      |
| āra  | "our"     |
| āka  | "from us" |
| ātir | "on us"   |

(d) In the forms of the Demonstrative Pronouns there are variations among some villages. In Bilandpur the pronouns are

|    |              |                          |
|----|--------------|--------------------------|
| i  | "this"       | (very near)              |
| e  | "this"       | (less near, but visible) |
| u  | "that"       | (distant but visible)    |
| tè | "he or that" | (distant and invisible)  |

In the village Kharaōṭh, however, neither i nor u occurs. e or u is used instead.

As in Khaś., the word for "his" and "her" is the same, viz., tērd (Thakkur), tr'hara (Rājpūt).

(3) In Conjugation, High Rudhārī has the following notable features:—

(a) The Verb Substantive has an interesting form 'esi "thou art," so much resembling the corresponding Sanskrit and (Homeric) Greek forms. The only modern Indian language with a similar form is Bāshgalī, which has ēsi. A comparison with the neighbouring dialects will show the distinctive features of the Rudhārī Verb Substantive:—

|          | H. Rudh.          | Khaś. | Bhad. |
|----------|-------------------|-------|-------|
| Singular | 1. 'esā           | 'āsā  | ēī    |
|          | 2. 'esi, ēsi, isi | 'āsu  | ās    |
|          | 3. 'ese           | 'āse  | āe    |
| Plural   | 1. 'esu           | 'āsū  | ām    |
|          | 2. 'esa           | 'āsū  | āth   |
|          | 3. 'esen          | 'āsū  | ān    |

(b) The terminations of the Present Indefinite Tense are simple: sg. ta (masc.), ti (fem.); pl. te (masc.); the fem. pl. has a peculiar tia (Rājpūt), t'a (Megh-Thakkur), cf.

"(women) become":—

|          |                  |                       |
|----------|------------------|-----------------------|
| H. Rudh. | 'bhōtia (Rājpūt) | 'bhōtā (Megh Thakkur) |
| Khas.    | 'bhāo̤tī         |                       |
| Bhad.    | bhōcēn           |                       |

Verbs ending in a vowel have a nasal final of the stem in this tense. cf.

|            | H. Rudh. | Bhad.  |
|------------|----------|--------|
| "I eat"    | 'khāta   | 'khotā |
| "I drink"  | 'pīta    | 'pitā  |
| "I become" | 'bhōta   | 'bhotā |

(c) As in other dialects of the Khaś group, there is a rich variety of Tenses, with delicate and specific shades of meaning. Besides the Present Indefinite Tense, there occurs the Durative, which is of 3 kinds:—

(i) Incipient Durative. This indicates that the action is either just going to occur, or its early stages have just started. It is formed by adding the Verb Substantive to the present participle. cf.

|                       |  |
|-----------------------|--|
| Aū 'zhulta 'esā       | "I am just going to sleep, or I am napping, overpowered with sleep." |
| but Aū 'zhulta        | "I sleep" — indefinitely with reference to time or place.            |
| Aū 'kāsri 'bhōta 'esā | "I am getting ill."  |
| Aū 'khāta 'esā        | "I am about to take my meal, or, I have sat down to take my meal."   |

(ii) Imperfect Durative. This indicates that the action has passed the incipient stage, but is yet incomplete. It is formed by adding the present participle of the verb 'kēnna "to do,"' cf.

|                   |               |
|-------------------|---------------|
| Aū khae 'kētta    | "I am eating" |
| Aū 'kere 'kētta   | "I am doing"  |
| Aū gñ eshe 'kētta | "I am going". |

(iii) The continuous Durative. This has a frequentative or habitual sense. It is formed by adding the present participle of rāna "to keep, remain" to the present participle of a verb. cf.

tè səda 'khāta rāta      "he is always eating."

(d) The present and the past Perfect are formed from the Static Participle:—

ñū 'kñsri 'bhura 'esā

or ñū 'kñsri bhoī 'gñora esā

"I have become ill."

tè gñora thia

"he had gone."

(e) As in other dialects of the Khas. group, there is a Pluperfect, which is formed by 'ñatti "had been", which is used either independently, as

tè mñnu tèri 'ñatti      "that man had been there."

or as an auxiliary, e. g.

tè jerap pie 'këtta 'ñatti      "he had been drinking wine."

A notable feature of this 'ñatti is that it is unaffected by gender and number. Thus it remains the same whether the subject is mase. or fem., sg. or pl. cf.

tè mñnu tèri 'ñatti      "that man had been there."

tè zənan tèri 'ñatti      "that woman had been there."

'ñeni 'bare gor 'mari 'saore 'ñatti

"he had killed many thieves."

'ñeni 'bñria zənania 'mari 'saoria 'ñatti

"he had killed many women."

It is used only in the 2nd and the 3rd person, not in the 1st person.

It necessarily implies the absence of the subject at the time or place referred to by the speaker.

'ñera tèri 'ñatti "the camp had been here," implying that "the camp now is not here."

ñū tèri ga te tè 'Agru tèri 'ñatti

"he had been there before I had reached there."

(f) The future tense, as in the majority of the dialects of the Khaś. group, has a suffix l in the 2nd and 3rd persons, but n in the 1st person. The Megh-<sup>T</sup>hakkur 1st person plural in this tense is peculiar. cf.

|                          | Megh- <sup>T</sup> hakkur | Rājpūt  |
|--------------------------|---------------------------|---------|
| “we (men) shall die”     | mārnue                    | mārne   |
| “we (women) shall die”   | mārn,uiā                  | mārnīā  |
| “we (men) shall speak”   | bōnnue                    | bōnne   |
| “we (women) shall speak” | bōnn,uiā                  | bōnnīā  |
|                          | Megh <sup>T</sup> hakkur  |         |
| “we (men) shall go”      | gācchnue                  | gāune   |
| we (women) shall go      | gāchnurā                  | gāniā   |
|                          |                           | gāchnīā |

Note the peculiar pronunciation of the palatalized n, in Megh-<sup>T</sup>hakkur speech (cf. P. 450).

(g) The Subjunctive (Present) has the following terminations: —

|    | Singular | Plural         |
|----|----------|----------------|
| 1. | —ā       | —ū             |
| 2. | —ī       | —ā             |
| 3. | —e       | —ū, n, t or th |

In the third person plural, after verbs ending in a vowel, the terminations are ū (Rājpūt), n (Thakkur) t or th (Megh) cf.

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| “they may give” | dēu (Rājpūt)<br>den (Thakkur)<br>dēt or dēth (Megh) |
|-----------------|---|

(h) As in the other dialects of the Khaś. group, there are three kinds of the Imperative in Rudh., viz. (i) Present (ii) Future (iii) Importunative.

#### (i) Present Imperative

|          | Singular | Plural |
|----------|----------|--------|
| “become” | bho      | bhōe   |
| “come”   | āi       | ēcha   |
| “go”     | gā       | gāchā  |
| “sit”    | bij      | 'brīja |

## (ii) Future Imperative

|                      | Singular | Plural  |
|----------------------|----------|---------|
| "become (in future)" | bhōīā    | bhōīā   |
| "come (in future)"   | 'ēchīā   | 'ēchīā  |
| "go (in future)"     | gāchīā   | 'gāchīā |
| "sit (in future)"    | bījīā    | bījīā   |

(iii) The Importunative Imperative, corresponding to Hindi phrases with sahī as Hi. zarā khā to sahī "just eat a little" occurs in High Rudh., as in Khaś and Bhad.

## Singular only

|               |        |
|---------------|--------|
| "just become" | bhoī   |
| "just come"   | 'ēchī  |
| "just go"     | 'gāchī |
| "just sit"    | bījī   |

(i) Irregular Verbs The following irregular verbs occur very frequently:—

|         |                  |                 |
|---------|------------------|-----------------|
| 'ēchna  | "to come."       | Various forms:— |
|         | 'ethā            | "he comes"      |
|         | 'ēcche           | "he may come"   |
|         | 'ēchla           | "he will come"  |
|         | ai               | "come"          |
|         | a                | "(he) came"     |
| 'gāchna | "to go"          |                 |
|         | gāta             | "he goes"       |
|         | gāe (Thakkur)    |                 |
|         | 'gācche (Megh)   | "he may go"     |
|         | 'gācche (Rājpūt) |                 |
|         | gāla (Thakkur)   |                 |
|         | gāchla (Megh)    | "he will go"    |
|         | gāghla (Rājpūt)  |                 |
|         | gā               | "go!"           |
|         | ga               | "(he) went."    |
| 'bonna  | "to say"         |                 |
|         | 'botta           | "he says"       |
|         | 'bolle           | "he may say"    |
|         | bōl:la (Rājpūt)  | "he will say"   |
|         | bōlla (Megh)     |                 |

|                        |                |
|------------------------|----------------|
| boll                   | "say!"         |
| bolla                  | "(he) said"    |
| kenna                  | "to do"        |
| 'ketta (Rājpūt)        | } "he does"    |
| 'ḡetta (Megh Thakkur) |                |
| 'kere                  | "he may do"    |
| k̄rla (Rājpūt)         | } "he will do" |
| k̄lla (Megh-Thakkur)   |                |
| k̄r                    | "do"           |
| kia                    | "(he) did"     |

'sanna } "to put, to finish, to be able" (generally an auxiliary  
'channa } in the perfective sense).

|                              |                       |
|------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 'keri satta (Rājpūt-Thakkur) | } "he finishes off"   |
| ,, 'chanta (Megh)            |                       |
| 'keri sae (Rājpūt)           | } "he may finish off" |
| ,, 'sare (Thakkur)           |                       |
| ,, chae (Megh)               |                       |
| 'keri salla (Rājpūt-Thakkur) | } "he will finish"    |
| ,, challa (Megh)             |                       |
| 'keri sar (Rājpūt-Thakkur)   | } "finish off!"       |
| ,, chay (Megh)               |                       |
| 'keri su (Rājpūt)            | } "(he) finished off" |
| ,, cha (Megh)                |                       |
| ,, 'sara (Thakkur)           |                       |

(j) Besides the above moods and tenses, the following compound verbs are a special feature of Rudhārī, as of the other dialects of the Khaś group:—

(i) The Past Conditional. The peculiarity consists in the optional use of tia (Rājpūt) or thia (Megh Thakkur) cf.

ze aū iṛi 'bhōta tia te tā 'razi bhoī gāta tia  
or ze aū iṛi 'bhōta te tā 'razi bhoī gāta

"if I had been here, I would have recovered."

Note the peculiar use, in protasis and apodosis respectively of  
'bhōta tia — gāta tia (Rājpūt)

'bhōta thia — gāta thia (Megh Thakkur)

(ii) The Contingentive or "Probable-mood" is a type of the Past Conditional, in which both the protasis and the apodosis are formed from the Static Participle, and the apodosis indicates

a stronger probability than in the case of the ordinary Past Conditional cf.

**Aū dēwā pī 'gĀora tā 'raži bhōi 'gĀora**

"If I had taken medicine, I would have (probably) recovered ed".

(iii) The Dubitative or "Perhaps mood" is another variety of the Subjunctive. It is used with the participle 'zēni "perhaps".

It is formed by the addition of the auxiliary thi to the Subjunctive, irrespective of gender, number or person. It is used only in the Past or the Present, not in the Future sense cf.

'zēni tē mānu 'hunnia 'raži bhoi gĀcche thi

"Perhaps the man may now recover".

'zēni tē zānan hij 'raži bhoi gĀcche thi

"Perhaps the woman would have recovered yesterday."

(k) Of the Participles, the following may be noted:—

(i) The Present Participle. Its form is the same as that used in the Present tense, the verbs with a final vowel having a nasality at the end. cf.

|        |            |
|--------|------------|
| 'bhōta | "becoming" |
|--------|------------|

|        |          |
|--------|----------|
| 'khāta | "eating" |
|--------|----------|

|       |            |
|-------|------------|
| 'pīta | "drinking" |
|-------|------------|

|        |         |
|--------|---------|
| 'mārta | "dying" |
|--------|---------|

|        |            |
|--------|------------|
| 'bottā | "speaking" |
|--------|------------|

|      |         |
|------|---------|
| gāta | "going" |
|------|---------|

|        |         |
|--------|---------|
| 'kētta | "doing" |
|--------|---------|

e.g. i 'maṭṭha mī kādī 'kāstri 'bhōta nēi lā

"I never saw this boy becoming ill".

(ii) The Past Participle. This Participle, which serves as the Past Indefinite Tense, has the following features:—

(x) Monosyllabic forms like

|   |        |
|---|--------|
| a | "came" |
|---|--------|

|    |        |
|----|--------|
| ga | "went" |
|----|--------|

|    |            |
|----|------------|
| sa | "finished" |
|----|------------|

|    |        |
|----|--------|
| ba | "sown" |
|----|--------|

(y)      tīā                  "was"                  in Rājpūt and occasional  
Megh pronunciation.

(z) The greater frequency of t in Megh-Thakkur pronunciation, cf.

'pita (Megh-Thakkur) "drank". Rājpūt pia  
'dhota "washed" , dhoa.

Some more examples:—

|  |             |                               |          |              |
|--|-------------|-------------------------------|----------|--------------|
| bhuā                                     | "became"    | pea                           | (Rājpūt  | } "lay"      |
| bolla                                    | "said"      | poa                           | Thakkur) |              |
| kha                                      | "ate"       | 'ditta                        |          | "gave".      |
| za                                       | "delivered" | niq                           |          | "brought".   |
| 'z̄arma                                  | "was born"  | mua                           |          | "died"       |
| 'z̄ita                                   | "won"       | lā                            |          | "saw"        |
| rūa                                      | "implanted" | sa                            | (Rājput) | } "finished" |
| 'k̄atta (Rājpūt)<br>bλḍda (Megh-Thakkur) | "cut"       | cha (Megh)<br>'s̄ra (Thakkur) |          |              |

(iii) The Static Participle. A special feature is, in the case of roots ending in a, the greater frequency of the diphthong ao (cf. p. 3) as in

|         |   |                      |
|---------|---|----------------------|
| 'kh^ora |   | "(has or had) eaten" |
| 'aora   | " | arrived"             |
| 'ḡaora | " | gone"                |
| l̄ora   | " | seen"                |
| 'z̄ora  | " | delivered"           |

More examples:—

|   |   |                       |
|---|---|-----------------------|
| 'bhura                                    |   | "(has or had) become" |
| 'dhora                                    | " | washed"               |
| 'bollura                                  | " | said"                 |
| 'zitura                                   | " | won"                  |
| rūra                                      | " | implanted"            |
| 'piura (Rājpūt)<br>'pitura (Megh-Thakkur) | " | drunk"                |
| 's̄ora (Rājpūt Thakkur)<br>'chaora (Megh) | " | finished              |
| 'peura                                    | " | laid"                 |
| 'dittura                                  | " | given"                |
| niyra                                     | " | brought"              |
| 'mura                                     | " | died"                 |
| kiura                                     | " | done"                 |

|   |                         |   |   |       |
|---|-------------------------|---|---|-------|
| { | 'kyāt̪ura (Rājpūt)      |   |   |       |
|   | 'bλddura (Megh-Thakkur) | " | " | "cut" |

As in other allied dialects, the Static Participle is also used in the Absolute sense, cf.

'bʌṇa 'gʌore tè dui bʌri bhue  
"it is two years since he went to the forest"

'mī 'pani prure əkk 'ghʌṛi bhui  
"it is half-an-hour since I drank water"

(iv) The Conjunctive Participle represents a vowel system which indicates a pre-Bhadarwāhī stage, for the latter has epenthesis where the former has two vowels, each in a different syllable (cf. p 3).

| Rudh.            | Bhad.       |
|------------------|-------------|
| "having died"    | 'mərīta     |
| "having sit"     | 'kʌt̪iṭ̪ita |
| "having started" | 'calīta     |
| "having reached" | 'puzzīta    |

When verbs end in a vowel, the final vowel is nasal cf.

|         |                    |
|---------|--------------------|
| 'pīta   | "having drunk"     |
| rūita   | "having implanted" |
| 'bhoīta | "having become"    |

If the verb ends in a, the Rājpūt speech changes the a into e, but in Megh-Thakkur speech a remains unchanged cf.

| Rājpūt             | Megh-Thakkur |
|--------------------|--------------|
| "having eaten"     | 'khēīta      |
| "having delivered" | 'zeīta       |
| "having put on"    | 'leīta       |

(i) The Causatives are formed by the addition of a, with the necessary vocalic changes, as piāna "to make drink," khvāna "to feed."

In some verbs l is further added, as in

|           |                    |
|-----------|--------------------|
| zul'hlanā | "to make to sleep" |
| nu'halnā  | "to make to bathe" |

(i) A special feature of Rudhārī and the allied dialects is a compound causative passive participle in the perfective sense, cf.

mī 'maṭṭha žul'haī ū̄ha

"the boy was made to sleep by me," the act being finished.

Similarly : -

|               |                      |
|---------------|----------------------|
| rūṣāī ū̄ha    | "was irritated"      |
| khūcāī ū̄ha   | "was fed"            |
| cēlāī ū̄ha    | "was made to start"  |
| nuhaluāī ū̄ha | "was made to bathe." |

(ii) Causative conjunctive participle is formed by the above-mentioned rules. cf.

|           |                        |
|-----------|------------------------|
| khūdīta   | "having fed"           |
| nuhaluīta | "having made to bathe" |
| cēlāita   | "having made to start" |
| prāīta    | "having made to drink" |

(iii) Causative Past Participle is simple. It ends only in a (masc.) cf.

|          |                 |
|----------|-----------------|
| pīa      | "made to drink" |
| khua     | "fed"           |
| žulha'lā | "made to sleep" |
| nuha'lā  | "made to bathe" |
| cēlā     | "made to start" |
| bōlā     | "called"        |
| ma'rā    | "made to beat"  |

This formation gives interesting doublets : -

|                 |                    |
|-----------------|--------------------|
| mī tē 'mara     | "I beat him"       |
| but mī tē ma'rā | "I got him beaten" |
| 'bākra 'cāla    | "the goat started" |

but mī 'bākra 'ghāran cēlā

"I started the goat for home."

(m) Denominatives, intransitives as well as transitives, are another interesting feature of Rudhārī as of other allied dialects cf.

| Intransitive | Transitive     |
|--------------|----------------|
| 'uccōna      | "to be high"   |
| 'lāmmōna     | "to be long"   |
| 'rōrōna      | "to be good"   |
| uc'cernā     | "to make high" |
| lām'mernā    | "to lengthen"  |
| ro'rernā     | "to improve"   |

| Intransitive      |               | Transitive        |                 |
|-------------------|---------------|-------------------|-----------------|
| ' <i>ghittonā</i> | "to be white" | <i>ghit'terna</i> | "to whiten"     |
| ' <i>kalona</i>   | "to be black" | <i>ka'lerna</i>   | "to blacken"    |
| ' <i>māndhonā</i> | "to be bad"   | <i>mēn'dherna</i> | "to aggravate"  |
| ' <i>nīkronā</i>  | "to be small" | <i>nīk'perna</i>  | "to make small" |

(n) The Potential mood with the "can"—significance (cf. p. 444) has two roots, *viz.*, *bAṭ-* or *sAn-* (Megh *gh̄n-*) cf.

|                     |  |                  |  |
|---------------------|--|------------------|--|
| Aū 'k̄eri bAṭṭā     |  |                  |  |
| „ „ 'sAtta (Rājpūt) |  | "I can do"       |  |
| „ „ 'chAnta (Megh)  |  |                  |  |
| „ „ bAṭṭna          |  |                  |  |
| „ „ sĀnna (Rājpūt)  |  | "I shall be able |  |
| „ „ 'chĀnna (Megh)  |  | to do"           |  |

Note that in Bhad. the root used in this sense is *bAṭ-*, in Low Rudh. *JAk-* (cf. p. 444).

(o) The Passive voice, as in other dialects of the Khaś. group, is synthetic. It is formed by the addition of ū, (hō) to the root, as '*marōta* "I am beaten". It is also optionally quasi-synthetic. In this case it is formed by the addition of participles from '*gAchhna* "to go", cf. '*marōi gāta* "I am beaten".

The synthetic form can be declined in all the Tenses and Moods, as the following examples will show:—

|                    |          |
|--------------------|----------|
| "I am eaten"       | 'khaūōta |
| "I may be eaten"   | 'khaūwā  |
| "I was eaten"      | khaūwa   |
| "I shall be eaten" | khaūwōna |

The Passive in Rudh., as in Khaś. group, is "Absolute Passive" because both the agent and the subject of the action are here felt as Passive, having absolutely no control over the action. The English sentence "I am beaten by him" cannot be translated in the Passive form into Rudhārī, because the Rudhārī Passive is beyond the control of the agent. This Absolute Passive, however, can be used for such a sentence as "Look here! I am beaten" 'hera! Aū 'marōta. Here the fact of being beaten is said to occur independently of the agent. If the agent is mentioned at all, the Ablative, and not the Instrumental case, is used, cf.

**tēka** **Δū 'marōta** “can I be beaten by (lit. from) him?” Here the Ablative indicates that the so-called agent is no agent at all; at the most he may be a medium through which the action may independently proceed.

This Absolute Passive is often used in the involuntary sense cf.

**'mika s̄erap 'piōōta**

“Wine is (involuntarily) drunk by (lit. from) me.”

Similarly:—

**'mīka zhullua** “I slept involuntarily”. lit. “It was slept from me”.

Even the verb **'bhona** “to be” takes this Absolute Passive, as it does in Sanskrit, cf.

**tē lappu razi bhōuṇra** (**bhura** being the active form) “he was cured spontaneously”, lit. “he was become healed by himself.”

**tōre bonne-sēi Δū cor 'bhāōōta**

“can I be a thief with thy telling?” lit. “Can I be become thief with thy telling?”

(p) For the future Passive participle the Infinitive of the Absolute Passive is used:—

|                  |                   |
|------------------|-------------------|
| <b>'bhāōōna</b>  | “to be become”    |
| <b>'dhaōōna</b>  | “to be washed”    |
| <b>'bollōna</b>  | “to be said”      |
| <b>'khaōōna</b>  | “to be eaten”     |
| <b>'zāōōna</b>   | “to be delivered” |
| <b>'zārmōna</b>  | “to be born”      |
| <b>'zitōna</b>   | “to be won”       |
| <b>'ruōna</b>    | “to be implanted” |
| <b>'piōōna</b>   | “to be drunk”     |
| <b>'gāchōna</b>  | “to be gone”      |
| <b>'pjēōōna</b>  | “to be laid”      |
| <b>'njeōōna</b>  | “to be brought”   |
| <b>'marōna</b>   | “to be dead”      |
| <b>kātōna</b>    | (Rājpūt)          |
| <b>'bāqdhōna</b> | (Megh-Thakkur) }  |
| <b>'ečhōna</b>   | “to be cut”       |
|                  | “to be arrived”   |

|                  |                    |
|------------------|--------------------|
| <b>'b̥iʃ̥ona</b> | “to be seated”     |
| <b>'laṛ̥ona</b>  | “to be fought”     |
| <b>'mar̥ona</b>  | “to be beaten”     |
| <b>'car̥ona</b>  | “to be grazed”     |
| <b>kāṛ̥ona</b>   | “to be boiled”     |
| <b>zal̥ona</b>   | “to be burnt”      |
| <b>'ṭal̥ona</b>  | “to be evaded”     |
| <b>'pal̥ona</b>  | “to be brought up” |

Note some Causative forms of these Passive infinitives or Future Passive Participles:—

|                     |   |
|---------------------|---|
| <b>'p̥jaδ̥ona</b>   | “to be made to drink”                                   |
| <b>kh'uaδ̥ona</b>   | “to be made to eat”                                     |
| <b>zʌr̥omʌona</b>   | “to be made to be born i. e. to be made to be begotten” |
| <b>ru'ʃ̥aδ̥ona</b>  | “to be irritated”                                       |
| <b>zu'l̥aδ̥ona</b>  | “to be made to sleep”                                   |
| <b>nu'hal̥ona</b>   | “to be made to bathe”                                   |
| <b>bol̥l̥aδ̥ona</b> | “to be made to say”                                     |
| <b>ma'r̥aδ̥ona</b>  | “to be made to be beaten”                               |

(q) For the Causative Passive participle in the perfective sense as *zul'halai cha* “was made to sleep” see p. 467, (i).

(r) The Absolute past Passive participle is another peculiarity of Rudh, and other allied dialects. cf.

|                 |   |
|-----------------|---|
| <b>khañwa</b>   | “was eaten involuntarily or with difficulty”  |
| but <b>kha</b>  | “was eaten”                                   |
| <b>piuya</b>    | “was drunk involuntarily or with difficulty”  |
| but <b>pia</b>  | “was drunk”                                   |
| <b>dhoñya</b>   | “was washed involuntarily or with difficulty” |
| but <b>dhoa</b> | “was washed”                                  |
| <b>kərua</b>    | “was done involuntarily or with difficulty”   |
| <b>kia</b>      | “was done.”                                   |

The intransitive forms of this participle are also used in the impersonal sense, for which see below (p. 472).

(s) The Absolute Passive has also a Static participle, cf **bhoñyra** “(has or had) been become”

**tè appu 'razi bhoūyra** "he recovered spontaneously"

**khaūyra** "(has or had) been eaten"

**kāl 'mīka 'nasa kṝd̄ khaūyra**

"Yesterday I could eat pudding with difficulty," lit.

"pudding had been eaten from me with difficulty."

**dhoūyra** "(has or had) been washed"

**piuūyra** "(has or had) been drunk"

(i) The Absolute Passive has also a compound participle in the perfective sense, the Causitive passive form of which has already been mentioned (p. 471, (q)). cf.

**bhoūyīga** "was become spontaneously"

**'maṭṭha 'appu 'razi bhoūyīga**

"the boy was cured spontaneously"

**bōlluī ga** "was said spontaneously"

**'khaūyī ga** "was eaten spontaneously"

**'zārmūyī ga** "was born spontaneously"

**piuūyī ga** "was drunk spontaneously"

(ii) The Denominatives also have an Absolute Passive form  
cf. **uccāḍona** "to be made tall"

**i 'maṭṭha uccāḍona muskēl ēse**

"This boy can be made tall with difficulty". Similarly

**chittāḍona** "to be made white"

**rōḍāḍona** "to be improved"

**mandāḍona** "to be aggravated"

**lammaḍona** "to be made tall"

**kalaḍona** "to be blackened"

**nikṛāḍona** "to be made small"

(v) The Impersonal, which occurs in Rudh. as in other allied dialects, can be studied under the following heads:—

(i) Absolute Passive Impersonal (ii) Non-objective Impersonal (iii) Non-subjective Impersonal (iv) Categorical Impersonal.

(i) The Absolute Passive Impersonal is often a past participle formed from Intransitive verbs. cf.

|       |  |                                |
|-------|--|--------------------------------|
| 'mīka | 'hass <u>ya</u>                        | "I laughed involuntarily" lit. |
| "     | "it was laughed from me involuntarily" |                                |
| "     | 'zull <u>ya</u>                        | "I slept involuntarily"        |
| "     | pj <u>ey</u> a                         | "I lay "                       |
| "     | g <u>λ</u> eschua (Rājpūt)             | "I went "                      |
| "     | g <u>λ</u> ua (Thakkur)                | "I " "                         |
| "     | 'khirk <u>a</u>                        | "I fell "                      |
| "     | n <u>λ</u> ʃua                         | "I ran "                       |
| "     | h <u>λ</u> llua                        | "I moved "                     |
| "     | 'puzz <u>ya</u>                        | "I reached "                   |
| "     | 'ech <u>ya</u>                         | "I came "                      |

(ii) The non-objective Impersonal is a quasipassive (*i.e.* the ordinary) past participle and has no reference to any particular object. Thus

|                   |            |
|-------------------|------------|
| mī p <u>λ</u> ra  | "I read"   |
| mī c <u>λ</u> kha | "I tasted" |

Here "I read" refers simply to the act of reading, and may be translated "I did reading".

(iii) The non-subjective Impersonal corresponds to English "it rains", "it thunders". cf.

|                |               |
|----------------|---------------|
| 'gurkne 'laora | "it thunders" |
| 'jine laora    | "it snows".   |

(iv) The "categorical" Impersonal in the Imperative sense corresponds to Hindī cāhiye, and is translated as "ought to". It is formed from the root 'lqr - "to require", e.g. ðe tqri 'gλora 'lotqta "we ought to go there", lit., to us there become-gone needs".

IV. Syntax. The syntax of the various grammatical forms has been discussed above under their respective heads.

But the concord in Rudhārī, as in other allied dialects of the Khaś group is peculiar. The past tense always agrees with the subject in these dialects, and is not used impersonally. cf.

mī dədd 'puchi "I asked sister" but cf. Hindī māi ne bāhin ko pūcha.

Again cf. 'rāme āñ māra "Rāma struck me" but Hindī ram ne mujh ko mārā. In the Rudh. sentence āñ is the nominative case.

While in Rudh. the verbs 'puchi and 'mara fully agree with their subjects, in Hindī these verbs are impersonal in the sense that they are independent of the gender or number of the subject.

### PARADIGMS.

#### t. Declension

##### (1) Nouns.

###### (a) 'ghoṛa

"horse"

|              | Singular   | Plural                      |
|--------------|--|-----------------------------|
| Nominative   | 'ghoṛa   | 'ghoṛe                      |
| Accusative   | 'ghoṛa   | 'ghoṛe                      |
| Agent        |  | Singular & Plural<br>'ghoṛe |
| Instrumental |  | 'ghoṛe s̄eī                 |
| Dative       |  | 'ghoṛian                    |
| Genitive     |  | 'ghoṛera                    |
| Ablative     | 'ghoṛeka (Rājpūt)<br>'ghoṛega, ghorega   |                             |
| Allative     | 'ghoṛega (Megh.-Thakkur)<br>'ghoṛeka (Rājpūt)<br>'ghoṛega, ga, ga<br>(Megh.-Thakkur)     |                             |
| Eitative     | 'ghoṛe mātā (Rājpūt)<br>'ghoṛe māga (Megh.-Thakkur)                                      |                             |
| Locative     | 'ghoṛe mā (Illative)<br>'ghoṛetir (Rājpūt)<br>'ghoṛe dr̄, -dir̄, dir̄<br>(Megh.-Thakkur) |                             |

|                    |  |   |
|--------------------|--|---|
| Delative           |  | 'gho <sup>r</sup> etīra (Rājpūt)<br>'gho <sup>r</sup> e dīra, -dīra, dīra<br>(Megh-Thakkur)       |
| Directive          |  |   |
| Allative-Directive |  | 'gho <sup>r</sup> ekān (Rājpūt)<br>'gho <sup>r</sup> egān, gān, gān<br>(Megh-Thakkur)             |
| Illative-Directive |  | 'gho <sup>r</sup> e mān   |
| Locative-Directive |  | 'gho <sup>r</sup> e tīrgān (Rājpūt)<br>'gho <sup>r</sup> e dīran, -dīran<br>'dīran (Megh-Thakkur) |
| Relative-Directive |  | 'gho <sup>r</sup> e patian  |
| Prolative          |  | 'gho <sup>r</sup> e tīkre   |
| Vocative           | Sg.                                    | Pl.   |
|                    | 'gho <sup>r</sup> ia                   | 'gho <sup>r</sup> io  |
| (b) 'hati          | "elephant"                             |   |
|                    |  | Sg. & Pl.   |
| Nom.               | 'hati                                  |   |
| Acc.               | 'hati                                  |   |
| Ag.                | 'hatie                                 |   |
| Instr.             | 'hatie sēi                             |   |
| Dat.               | 'hatiān                                |   |
| Gen.               | 'hatiera                               |   |
| Abl.               | 'hatiaka, -ga, -ga, -ga                |   |
| All.               | 'hatika, -ga, -ga, -ga                 |   |
| El.                | 'hatia māta, —māga                     |   |
| Loc.               | 'hatiamā, hatia tir, .dīr, dir,<br>dīr |   |
| Del.               | 'hatia tīra, -dīra, -dīra, dīra        |   |
| Direc.             | All. Dir.                              | 'hatia kān, -gān, -gān, -gān  |
|                    | Ill. Dir.                              | 'hatiamān   |
|                    | Loc. Dir.                              | 'hatia tīrān, -dīrān, -dīrān,<br>dīrān  |

|                   |                                      |                |
|-------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------|
|                   | Rel. Dir.                            | 'hatia 'patian |
| Prol.             |                                      | 'hatia-ṭikre   |
| Voc.              | Sg.                                  | 'hatia,        |
| (c) mānu "man"    |                                      | Pl. 'hatio     |
|                   | Sg. and Pl.                          |                |
| Nom.              | mānu                                 |                |
| Acc.              | mānu                                 |                |
| Ag.               | mānuə                                |                |
| Instr.            | mānuasə̄i                            |                |
| Dat.              | mānuə̄n                              |                |
| Gen.              | mānuə̄ra                             |                |
| Abl.              | mānuaka, -ga, -gā, -gā               |                |
| All.              | " " " "                              |                |
| El.               | mānuamāta, -māga                     |                |
| Loc.              | mānuamā, mānuatir, dīr, dīr, -dīr    |                |
| Del.              | mānuə̄ tīra, -dīra, -dīra, -dīra     |                |
| Direct. All.-Dir. | mānuakān, -gān, -gān, gān            |                |
| Ill.-Dir.         | mānuamān                             |                |
| Loc.-Dir.         | mānuə̄ tīrān, -dīrān, -dīrān, -eīrān |                |
| Rel.-Dir.         | mānuapatiān                          |                |
| Prol.             | mānuə̄ṭikre                          |                |
| Voc.              | Sg. and Pl.                          |                |
|                   | mānuə̄                               |                |

Note. After *n* there is some nasality, so that in narrow transcription the word may have been written mānuā.

|          |             |
|----------|-------------|
| (d) ghor | "stone"     |
|          | Sg. and Pl. |
| Nom.     | ghor        |
| Acc.     | "           |

|                   |  |             |
|-------------------|--|-------------|
| Ag.               | 'ghoře                                   |             |
| Instr.            | 'ghorasə̄i                               |             |
| Dat.              | 'ghorān                                  |             |
| Gen.              | 'ghorera                                 | Sg. and Pl. |
| Abl.              | 'ghoraka, -ga, -ga, ga                   |             |
| All.              | " " " "                                  |             |
| El.               | 'ghora māta, -māga                       |             |
| Loc.              | 'ghora mā, 'ghoratir, -dir, dir, ðir     |             |
| Del.              | 'ghora tira, -dīra, -dīra, ðīra          |             |
| Direct. All. Dir. | 'ghořakān, -gān, -gān, gān               |             |
| Ill. Dir.         | 'ghora mān                               |             |
| Loc. Dir.         | 'ghora tīrān, dīrān, -dīrān, -jīrān      |             |
| Rel. Dir.         | 'ghora pātiān                            |             |
| Pro.              | 'ghora tīkre                             |             |
|                   | Sg.                                      | Pl.         |
| Voc.              | 'ghora                                   | 'ghoro      |
| (e) 'ghori        | "mare"                                   |             |
|                   | Sg.                                      | Pl.         |
| Nom.              | 'ghori                                   | 'ghoria     |
| Acc.              | "  | "           |
|                   | Sg. and Pl.                              |             |
| Ag.               | 'ghoria                                  |             |
| Instr.            | 'ghoria-sə̄i                             |             |
| Dat.              | 'ghorien                                 |             |
| Gen.              | 'ghoriera                                |             |
| Abl.              | ghoriaka, -ga, -ga, -ga                  |             |
| All.              | " " " "                                  |             |
| El.               | 'ghoria māta, -māga                      |             |
| Loc.              | ghoria mā, 'ghoria tir, -dir, -dir, -dir |             |

|        |                                  |                                 |             |
|--------|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------|
| Del.   | 'ghoriatira, -dira, -dira, -dira |                                 |             |
| Diree. | All.-Dir.                        | 'ghoriakàn, gàn, -gàn, gàn      |             |
|        | Ill.-Dir.                        | 'ghoriamàn                      |             |
|        | Loc.-Dir.                        | 'ghoria-tırqan, -dirqan, dirqan |             |
|        | Loc.-Dir.                        | 'ghoria patian                  |             |
| Pro.   |                                  | 'ghoria tıkre                   |             |
| Voc.   | Sg. 'ghorie                      |                                 | Pl. 'ghorio |

(f) 'ammā “mother”

|        |                     |
|--------|---------------------|
|        | Sg. and Pl.         |
| Nom.   | 'Ammā               |
| Acc.   | “ ”                 |
| Ag.    | “ ”                 |
| Instr. | 'Ammāsèi            |
| Dat.   | 'Amman              |
| Gen.   | 'Ammerā             |
| Abl.   | 'Ammāka,-ga,-gā,-ga |
| All.   | “ ” “ ” “ ”         |

Note. 'ammā remains unchanged in the succeeding cases.  
Add the usual postpositions.

|            |                       |
|------------|-----------------------|
| Voc.       | Sg, and Pl. 'Ammā     |
| (g) 'Jassu | “mother-in-law”       |
|            | Sg. and Pl.           |
| Nom.       | 'Jassu                |
| Acc.       | 'Jassu                |
| Ag.        | 'Jassu                |
| Instr.     | 'Jassu sèi            |
| Dat.       | 'Jassuən              |
| Gen.       | 'Jassuera             |
| Abl.       | 'Jassuaka,-ga,-gā,-ga |
| All.       | “ ” “ ” “ ”           |
| El.        | 'Jassuakdà,-māga      |

|                |                                       |
|----------------|---------------------------------------|
| Loc.           | 'ʃʌʃʃuəmā, 'ʃʌʃʃuatir,-dɪr,-dɪr,-dɪr  |
| Del.           | 'ʃʌʃʃudɪra, dɪra, -dɪra -dɪr          |
| Dir. All. Dir. | 'ʃʌʃʃuəkàn, gàn,-gàn,-gàn             |
| Ill. Dir.      | 'ʃʌʃʃuəmàn                            |
| Loc. Dir       | 'ʃʌʃʃuə tıraq, dıraq, -dıraq, -dıraq  |
| Rel. Dir.      | 'ʃʌʃʃuəpatian                         |
| Prol.          | 'ʃʌʃʃuətikre                          |
| Voc.           | Sg. and Pl.                    'ʃʌʃʃu |

(h) **zìb** (f.) “tongue”

|        | Sg.                                      | Pl.                               |
|--------|--|-----------------------------------|
| Nom.   | zìb                                      | zìbba                             |
| Acc.   | „  | „                                 |
|        | Sg. & Pl.                                |                                   |
| Ag.    | zìbbə                                    |                                   |
| Instr. | zìbbə səi                                |                                   |
| Dat.   | zìbbən                                   |                                   |
| Gen.   | zìbbəra                                  |                                   |
| Abl.   | zìbbəka, -ga, -gə, -ga                   |                                   |
| All.   | „ „ „ „ „                                |                                   |
| El.    | zìbbəmāta, māga                          |                                   |
| Loc.   | zìbbəmā, zìbbə -tir, -dir, -dɪr,<br>-dɪr |                                   |
| Del.   | zìbbə tıra, -dɪra, -dɪra, -dɪra          |                                   |
| Direct | All. Dir.                                | zìbbəkàn, -gān, gàn, -gān         |
|        | Ill. Dir.                                | zìbbə-mān                         |
|        | Loc. Dir.                                | zìbbətıraq, -dıraq, -dıraq, dıraq |
|        | Rel. Dir.                                | zìbbəpatian                       |
| Pro.   | zìbbətikre                               |                                   |

(i) **akkh** (f.) "eye"

|                  | Sg.                                     | Pl.    |
|------------------|---|--------|
| Nom.             | <b>akkh</b>                             | 'akkhi |
| Acc.             | "                                       | "      |
| Sg. & Pl.        |   |        |
| Ag.              | 'akkhi                                  |        |
| Instr.           | 'akkhi s̄ē̄                             |        |
| Dat.             | 'akkhiən                                |        |
| Gen.             | 'akkhiera                               |        |
| Abl.             | 'akkhika, -ga, -ga, -ga                 |        |
| All.             | " " " "                                 |        |
| Sg. and Pl.      |   |        |
| El.              | 'akkhi māta, -māga                      |        |
| Loc.             | 'akkhi mā, 'akkhitir, -dir, -dir, -dir  |        |
| Del.             | 'akkhitira, -dira, -dīra, -dīra         |        |
| Direc. All. Dir. | 'akkhikàn, -gàn, -gàn, -gàn             |        |
| Ill. Dir.        | 'akkhimān                               |        |
| Loc. Dir.        | 'akkhitırqan, -dırqan, -dırqan, -dırqan |        |
| Rel. Dir.        | 'akkhipatiān                            |        |
| Pro.             | 'akkhiṭikre                             |        |

## (2) Adjectives.

(a) **'rora** (masc.) "good"

|                             | Sg.              | Pl.       |
|-----------------------------|------------------|-----------|
| Nom.                        | <b>'rora</b>     | 'rōrē     |
| Acc.                        | "                | "         |
| Sg. and Pl.                 |                  |           |
| Ag. and other oblique cases | 'rōrē            |           |
| Voc.                        | Sg. <b>'rora</b> | Pl. 'rōrē |

(b) 'rori (fem.) "good"

|                                 | Sg.                   | Pl.        |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| Nom.                            | 'rori                 | 'roria     |
| Ag. and other<br>oblique cases} | Sg. and Pl.<br>'roria |            |
| Voc.                            | Sg. 'rorie            | Pl. 'rorio |

## (3) Pronouns.

(a) Aū "I".

|        | Singular            | Plural        |
|--------|---------------------|---------------|
| Nom.   | Aū                  | à             |
| Acc.   | ×                   | ×             |
| Ag.    | mī                  | aē            |
| Instr. | mī-sēī              | āsēī          |
| Dat.   | mīan                | ān            |
| Gen.   | māra                | āra           |
| Abl.   | mīka, -ga, -ga, -ga | āka, -ga, -ga |

*Note.* mī and à remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

(b) tū "thou".

|        | Singular   | Plural                                  |
|--------|--|---|
| Nom.   | tū   | tū (masc.) tūa (fem.)                   |
| Acc.   | ×  | ×                                       |
| Ag.    | {tūi (Rājpūt and Megh)<br>tī (Thakkur)}            | tūē                                     |
| Instr. | {tūi sēī (Rājpūt-Megh)<br>tī sēī (Thakkur)}        | tūa sēī                                 |
| Dat.   | {tūian (Rājpūt and Megh)<br>tīan (Thakkur)}        | tūān                                    |
| Gen.   | tōra   | {tūra (Megh-Thakkur)<br>tō'ra (Rājpūt)} |
| Abl.   | {tūika (Rājpūt)<br>tūiga (Megh)<br>tīga (Thakkur)} | tūāka, -ga, -ga, -ga                    |

*Note.* tūi, tī and tūa remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

## (c) i "this" (Rājpūt)

Masculine.

|        | Singular | Plural |
|--------|----------|--------|
| Nom.   | i        | m      |
| Acc.   | "        | 'mā    |
| Ag.    | 'ni      | 'mē    |
| Instr. | 'isēi    | 'māsēi |
| Dat.   | ijan     | 'mhan  |
| Gen.   | ijara    | m'hara |
| Abl.   | 'ika     | mākā   |

Note. i and 'mā remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

Feminine.

|        | Singular | Plural                   |
|--------|----------|--------------------------|
| Nom.   | i        | 'mā                      |
| Acc.   | "        | "                        |
| Ag.    | 'nia     | The rest as in masc. pl. |
| Instr. | iāsēi    |                          |
| Dat.   | iān      |                          |
| Gen.   | iāra     |                          |
| Abl.   | iaka     |                          |

Note. ia remains unchanged in the succeeding cases.

## (d) e "this" (Thakkur)

Masculine.

|        | Singular | Plural  |
|--------|----------|---------|
| Nom.   | e        | en      |
| Acc.   | "        | 'enā    |
| Ag.    | 'eni     | 'enē    |
| Instr. | 'esēi    | 'enāsēi |
| Dat.   | 'ean     | 'enan   |
| Gen.   | 'era     | en'hara |
| Abl.   | 'ega     | 'enāga  |

Note. e and 'enā remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

## Feminine.

|        | Singular | Plural                   |
|--------|----------|--------------------------|
| Nom.   | e        | 'enā                     |
| Acc.   | "        | "                        |
| Ag.    | 'enia    | The rest as in masc. pl. |
| Instr. | èasə̄ī   |                          |
| Dat.   | èan      |                          |
| Gen.   | èra      |                          |
| Abl.   | èaga     |                          |

Note. èa remains unchanged in the succeeding cases.

(e) ū "that" (Rājpūt)

## Masculine. "he or it" (distant but visible)

|        | Singular | Plural   |
|--------|----------|----------|
| Nom.   | ū        | un       |
| Acc.   | "        | 'unā     |
| Ag.    | 'uni     | 'unē     |
| Instr. | 'usə̄ī   | 'unāsə̄ī |
| Dat.   | uwān     | u'nhān   |
| Gen.   | uwāra    | u'nhara  |
| Abl.   | 'uka     | 'unāka   |

Note. u and 'unā remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

## Feminine. "she" (distant but visible).

|        | Singular. | Plural.                  |
|--------|-----------|--------------------------|
| Nom.   | ū         | 'unā                     |
| Acc.   | "         | "                        |
| Ag.    | 'unia     | The rest as in masc. pl. |
| Instr. | ūasə̄ī    |                          |
| Dat.   | ūwan      |                          |
| Gen.   | uwāra     |                          |
| Abl.   | ūaka      |                          |

Note. ūa remains unchanged in the succeeding cases.

(f) tē (Megh-Thakkur) tē (Rājpūt).

Masculine. "he" (distant and invisible).

|        | Singular.                              | Plural.  |
|--------|--|--|
| Nom.   | tè, tè                                 | tèn  |
| Acc.   | " "                                    | "  |
| Ag.    | 'tèni                                  | 'tènē  |
| Instr. | tèseī                                  | 'tènāseī   |
| Dat.   | (Thakkur) tèan }<br>(Rājpūt) tèan }    | { tènan (Thakkur).<br>{ tèn'hàn (Rājpūt) (Thakkur) |
| Gen.   | (Thakkur) tèra }<br>(Rājpūt) tì'hara } | { tènra (Thakkur)<br>{ tèn'hara (Rājpūt)           |
| Abl.   | tèaga (Thakkur) }<br>tèaka (Rājpūt) }  | { tènāga (Thakkur),<br>{ tènāka (Rājpūt)           |

Note. tè and 'tènā remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

Feminine. "she" (distant and invisible).

|        | Singular                               | Plural                   |
|--------|--|--------------------------|
| Nom.   | tè (Thakkur) }<br>tè (Rājpūt) }        | 'tènā<br>,,              |
| Acc.   | "                                      | "                        |
| Ag.    | 'tènia                                 | The rest as in Masc. Pl. |
| Instr. | tènaseī                                |                          |
| Dat.   | tjōn (Thakkur) }<br>tèan (Rājpūt) }    |                          |
| Gen.   | tèra (Thakkur) }<br>tì'hara (Rājpūt) } |                          |
| Abl.   | tèaga (Thakkur) }<br>tèaka (Rājpūt) }  |                          |

Note. tèa remains unchanged in the succeeding cases.

The Relative Pronoun zè (Megh.-Thakkur)

zè (Rājpūt) "who"

is similarly declined.

(g) kùn "who?"

|      | Singular. | Plural. |
|------|-----------|---------|
| Nom. | kùn       | kùn     |
| Acc. | "         | "       |
| Ag.  | 'kèni     | 'kènē   |

|        |                                     |                                       |
|--------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| Instr. | kèsēi                               | 'kēnāsēi                              |
| Dat.   | kēān (Thakkur),<br>keñān (Rājpūt)   | 'kēnan (Thakkur)<br>kē'nān (Rajput)   |
| Gen.   | kēra (Thakkur),<br>kr'hara (Rājpūt) | 'kēnra (Thakkur)<br>'kēnhara (Rājpūt) |
| Abl.   | kēga (Thakkur),<br>kēka (Rājpūt)    | 'kēnaga (Thakkur)<br>'kēnāka (Rājpūt) |

Note. kē and 'kenā remain unchanged in the succeeding cases.

### Feminine.

|        | Singular                            | Plural                   |
|--------|-------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Nom.   | kun                                 | kun                      |
| Acc.   | ×                                   | ×                        |
| Ag.    | 'kēnia                              | The rest as in masc. Pl. |
| Instr. | kēasēi                              |                          |
| Dat.   | kēān                                |                          |
| Gen.   | kēra (Thakkur),<br>kr'hara (Rājpūt) |                          |
| Abl.   | kēaga (Thakkur),<br>kēka (Rājpūt)   |                          |

Note. kēa remains unchanged in the succeeding cases.

## II. Conjugation.

### 1. Present Indefinite Tense

#### (a) Verb Substantive.

|    | Singular         | Plural |
|----|------------------|--------|
| 1. | 'esā             | 'esu   |
| 2. | 'esi, 'esī, 'isi | 'esa   |
| 3. | 'ese             | 'esu   |

#### (b) 'bhōta "to become"

| Masculine | Feminine | Masc.  | Fem.                              |
|-----------|----------|--------|-----------------------------------|
| 1. 'bhōtā | 'bhōti   | 'bhōte | 'bhōtia 'bhōtā<br>(Megh-Thakkur). |
| 2. "      | "        | "      | "                                 |
| 3. "      | "        | "      | "                                 |

(c) **'khāna** "to eat".

## Singular

Masc. Fem.

1. **'khāta** **'khāti**

## Plural

Masc. Fem.

**'khāte khātia, 'khāt,a**  
(Megh-Thakkur)

2. „ „ „

„ „ „

3. „ „ „

„ „ „

(d) **'mArna** "to die"

## Singular

Masc. Fem.

1. **'mArta** **'mArti**

## Plural

Masc. Fem.

**'mArte 'mArtia mArt,a**

2. „ „ „

„ „ „

3. „ „ „

„ „ „

(e) **'bonna** "to say"

## Singular

Masc. Fem.

1. **'bottā** **'botti**

## Plural

Masc. Fem.

**'botte 'bottiā 'bott,a**

2. „ „ „

„ „ „

3. „ „ „

„ „ „

(f) **'sAnna** (auxiliary) "to finish, or to be able"

## Singular

Masc. Fem.

1. **'sAtta** **'sAtti**

## Plural

Masc. Fem.

**'satte 'sAttia, sAtta**

(Rājpūt Thakkur)

'shanta (Megh) **'shanti**'chante **'chanta**

2. „ „ „

„ „ „

3. „ „ „

„ „ „

(g) **'kennā** "to do"

## Singular

Masc. Fem.

1. **'ketta** (Rāj) **'ketti** (Rāj)

## Plural

Masc. Fem.

'getta (M-Th) **'getti** (M.-Th.)'kette (Rāj) **'kettia** (Rāj)

(M-Th.)

2. „ „ „

„ „ „

3. „ „ „

„ „ „

(h) **gà̄chna** "to go"

|    | Singular |       | Plural |               |
|----|----------|-------|--------|---------------|
|    | Masc.    | Fem.  | Masc.  | Fem.          |
| 1. | gà̄ta    | gà̄ti | gà̄te  | gà̄tia, gà̄ta |
| 2. | "        | "     | "      | "             |
| 3. | "        | "     | "      | "             |

(i) **'echna** "to come"

|    | Singular |       | Plural |               |
|----|----------|-------|--------|---------------|
|    | Masc.    | Fem.  | Masc.  | Fem.          |
| 1. | 'etha    | 'ethi | 'ethe  | 'ethia, eth,a |
| 2. | "        | "     | "      | "             |
| 3. | "        | "     | "      | "             |

(2) Past Indefinite Tense. For this Tense see lists under Past Participle on P. 473.

## (3) Subjunctive (Present)

(a) **'bhona** "to be"

|    | Singular | Plural   |
|----|----------|--|
| 1. | bhoā     | bhōū   |
| 2. | bhōī     | bhōā   |
| 3. | bhōe     | bhōū (Rāj.)<br>bhon (Th.)<br>bhōt or bhōth (M) |

(b) **'khana** "to eat".

|    | Singular. | Plural.  |
|----|-----------|--|
| 1. | khā       | khāu   |
| 2. | khēi      | khā  |
| 3. | khāe      | khāū (Rāj.)<br>khān (Th.)<br>khāt or khāth (M) |

1. In these abbreviations, M stands for "Megh," Th. for "Thakkur,"

(c) 'marna "to die"

|           |         |
|-----------|---------|
| Singular. | Plural. |
| 'marā     | mārū    |
| mārī      | māra    |
| 'mare     | mārū    |

(d) 'bonna "to speak".

|           |         |
|-----------|---------|
| Singular. | Plural. |
| 'bollā    | böllū   |
| bölli     | böllä   |
| 'bolle    | böllū   |

(e) 'sannā "to finish, or to be able".

(i) Rājpūt:—

|           |         |
|-----------|---------|
| Singular. | Plural. |
| 1. sā     | sāū     |
| 2. seī    | sā      |
| 3. saē    | sāū     |

(ii) Megh:—

|           |         |
|-----------|---------|
| Singular. | Plural. |
| 1. chā    | chāū    |
| 2. chēī   | chā     |
| 3. chae   | chānt   |

(iii) Thakkur :—

|           |         |
|-----------|---------|
| Singular. | Plural. |
| 1. 'sārū  | sārū    |
| 2. sārī   | sāra    |
| 3. 'sāre  | sārū    |

(f) 'kenna "to do".

|                 |                        |
|-----------------|------------------------|
| Singular.       | Plural.                |
| 1. 'kērā (Rāj.) | 'kērū (Rāj.)           |
| 'gērā (M.-Th.)  | 'gērū (M.-Th.)         |
| 2. 'kērī (Rāj.) | 'kēra (Rāj.)           |
| 'gērī (M.-Th.)  | 'gēra (M.-Th.)         |
| 3. 'kēre (Rāj.) | 'kērū (Rāj.)           |
| 'gēre (M.-Th.)  | 'kenn or genn (M.-Th.) |

(g) **gλchna** "to go".

(i) **Rājpūt**:

| Singular.  | Plural. |
|------------|---------|
| 1. 'gʌcchā | 'gʌcchū |
| 2. 'gʌcchi | 'gʌccha |
| 3. 'gʌcche | 'gʌcchū |

(ii) **Megh**:

Same as above, except that ch corresponds to ch, as 'gʌcchā etc.

(iii) **Thakkur**:

| Singular. | Plural. |
|-----------|---------|
| 1. gā     | gāu     |
| 2. gāī    | gā      |
| 3. gāe    | gān     |

In Megh speech ch corresponds to this ch, as 'gʌcchā etc.

#### 4. Future Tense.

(a) **'bhona** "to be"

| Singular       | Plural               |
|----------------|----------------------|
| Masc. Fem.     | Masc. Fem.           |
| 1. bhōna bhōni | bhōne bhōni,a bhōn,a |
| 2. bhōla bhōli | bhōle bhōlia, bhōla  |
| 3. „ „         | „ „ „                |

(b) **'khana** "to eat"

| Singular       | Plural                         |
|----------------|--------------------------------|
| Masc. Fem.     | Masc. Fem.                     |
| 1. khōna khōni | khōne (Rāj.) khōnia (Rāj.)     |
| 2. khōla khōli | khōne (M.-Th.) khōn,a (M.-Th.) |
| 3. „ „         | khōle khōlia, khōla            |

(c) **'marna** "to die"

| Singular       | Plural                     |
|----------------|----------------------------|
| Masc. Fem.     | Masc. Fem.                 |
| 1. mλrna mλrni | mλrne (Rāj.) mλrnia (Rāj.) |

mλrnue (M.-Th.) mλrn,uiā (M.-Th.)

|   |                       |               |                       |                      |
|---|-----------------------|---------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 2.  | <b>mλrla</b>          | <b>mλrlia</b> | <b>mλrle</b>          | <b>mλrlia, mλrla</b> |
| 3.  | "                     | "             | "                     | "                    |
| (d) <i>'bonna</i> "to speak"              |                       |               |                       |                      |
|   | Singular              |               | Plural                |                      |
|   | Masc. Fem.            |               | Masc. Fem             |                      |
| 1   | <b>bònna</b>          |               | <b>bònne</b> (Rāj.)   |                      |
|   | <b>bònni</b>          |               | <b>bònnia</b> (Rāj.)  |                      |
| 2.  | <b>bò:la</b> (Rāj.)   |               | <b>bò:le</b> (Rāj.)   |                      |
|   | <b>bòlli</b>          |               | <b>bòllia</b> (Rāj.)  |                      |
|   | <b>bòlla</b> (M.-Th.) |               | <b>bòlle</b> (M.-Th.) |                      |
| 3.  | ,,                    |               | ,,                    |                      |
| (e) <i>'sÀnna</i> "to finish, to be able" |                       |               |                       |                      |

(i) Rājpūt:—

|    | Singular |       | Plural |        |
|----|----------|-------|--------|--------|
|    | Masc.    | Fem.  | Masc.  | Fem.   |
| 1. | sʌnna    | sʌnni | sʌnne  | sʌnnio |
| 2. | sʌlla    | sʌlli | sʌlle  | sʌllia |
| 3. |          |       |        |        |

(ii) Megh:-

|    | Singular |        | Plural |            |
|----|----------|--------|--------|------------|
|    | Masc.    | Fem.   | Masc.  | Fem.       |
| 1. | chʌnna   | chʌnni | chʌnne | chʌnn,uɪd̩ |
| 2. | chʌlla   | chʌlli | chʌlle | chʌll,a    |
| 3. | "        | "      | "      | "          |

(iii) Thakkur:—

Same as above, except that  $s$  corresponds to  $ch$ .

(f) 'kenna "to do"

|    | Singular       |         | Plural |                    |
|----|----------------|---------|--------|--------------------|
|    | Masc.          | Fem.    | Masc.  | Fem.               |
| 1. | kènna          | kènni   | kènne  | kènnia (Rāj.)      |
| 2. | kèrla (Rāj.)   | kèrli   | kèrle  | kènni,urā (M.-Th.) |
|    | kèlla (M.-Th.) | kèlli   | kèlle  | kèll,a (M.-Th.)    |
| 3. | „              | „       | „      | „                  |
|    | (g) gλachna    | “to go” |        |                    |

## (i) Rājpūt:—

|    | Singular |        | Plural |         |
|----|----------|--------|--------|---------|
|    | Masc.    | Fem.   | Masc.  | Fem.    |
| 1. | gλchna   | gλchni | gλchne | gλchnia |
| 2. | gλchla   | gλchli | gλchle | gλchlia |
| 3. | "        | "      | "      | "       |

## (ii) Megh:—

Same as above, except that ch corresponds to *gh*, and the fem. 1st person plural is 'g^cchn̄ia.

## (iii) Thakkur:—

|    | Singular |      | Plural. |       |
|----|----------|------|---------|-------|
|    | Masc.    | Fem. | Masc.   | Fem.  |
| 1. | gàna     | gàni | gàne    | gània |
| 2. | gàla     | gàli | gàle    | gàlia |
| 3. | "        | "    | "       | "     |

(h) 'echna "to come"

## (i) Rājpūt Thakkur:—

|    | Singular |        | Plural |         |
|----|----------|--------|--------|---------|
|    | Masc.    | Fem.   | Masc.  | Fem.    |
| 1. | 'echna   | 'echni | 'echne | 'echnia |
| 2. | 'echla   | 'echli | 'echle | 'echlia |
| 3. | "        | "      | "      | "       |

## (ii) Megh:—

Some as above, except that ch corresponds to *gh*, and the 1st. pers. fem. pl. is 'echn̄ia.

## (5) Imperative Mood.

## (a) Present Imperative.

|         | Singular | Plural                           |
|---------|----------|----------------------------------|
| "eat"   | kha      | kha                              |
| "drink" | pi       | pi                               |
| "be"    | bho      | bhō                              |
| "come"  | ai       | 'eccha (Rāj.-Th.)<br>'eccha (M). |

|                       |      |                    |
|-----------------------|------|--------------------|
| "go"                  | gà   | gācchā (Rāj.-Th.). |
| "say"                 | boll | gācchā (M.).       |
| "give"                | dè   | böllä              |
| "beat"                | mar  | dea (Rāj.-Th.)     |
| (used with de—"give") |      | dja (M.).          |
| "sit"                 | bij  | māra               |
| "start"               | cäl  | 'bīssa             |

## (b) Future Imperative.

|                   | Singular | Plural.              |
|-------------------|----------|----------------------|
| "eat (in future)" | khāijā   | khāija               |
| "drink "          | 'pijā    | pīja                 |
| "become "         | bhoījā   | bhoīja               |
| "come "           | 'ēchīā   | 'ēchia (M. 'ēchia)   |
| "go "             | 'gāchiā  | 'gāchia (M. 'gāchja) |
| "say "            | bölliā   | böllia               |
| "wash "           | dhöiā    | dhöia                |
| "give "           | dēiā     | dēia                 |
| "beat "           | mārāi    | māria                |
| "sit "            | bīssiā   | bīssia               |
| "start "          | cälliā   | cällia               |

## (c) Importunative Imperative.

|             | Singular                  |
|-------------|---------------------------|
| "just eat"  | khēi (Rāj), khāi (M.—Th.) |
| " " drink"  | pīe                       |
| " " become" | bhoī                      |
| " " come"   | 'ēchī (M.'ēchī)           |
| " " go"     | 'gāchī (M.'gāchī)         |

|            | Singular |
|------------|----------|
| "just say" | bölli    |
| " " wash"  | dhoī     |
| " " give"  | dēi      |
| " " beat"  | mārī     |
| " " sit"   | bīssi    |
| " " start" | cällī    |

To indicate the plural, the plural of the future Imperative is used, as **khlīja**, **pīja** etc.

(6) (Absolute) Passive Voice.

**'khlōd̄qna** "to be eaten"

(a) Present Indef. Tense

|    | Singular         |                  | Plural           |                   |
|----|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
|    | Masc.            | Fem.             | Masc.            | Fem.              |
| 1. | <b>'khlōd̄ta</b> | <b>'khlōd̄ti</b> | <b>'khlōd̄te</b> | <b>'khlōd̄tia</b> |
| 2. | "                | "                | "                | "                 |
| 3. | "                | "                | "                | "                 |

(b) Past Indef. Tense

|  | Singular      |                | Plural        |                 |
|--|---------------|----------------|---------------|-----------------|
|  | Masc.         | Fem.           | Masc.         | Fem.            |
|  | <b>khlūwa</b> | <b>khʌ̄w̄i</b> | <b>khlūwe</b> | <b>khʌ̄w̄ia</b> |

(c) Subjunctive

|    | Singular        |      | Plural                         |                                 |
|----|-----------------|------|--------------------------------|---------------------------------|
|    | Masc.           | Fem. | Masc.                          | Fem.                            |
| 1. | <b>khlūwā</b>   |      | <b>khlūwō̄ū</b>                |                                 |
| 2. | <b>khlūwōī</b> |      | <b>khlūwa</b>                  |                                 |
| 3. | <b>khlūwō̄e</b> |      | <b>khlūwō̄u</b> ( <b>Rāj</b> ) |                                 |
|    |                 |      | <b>khlūwō̄n</b> ( <b>Th</b> )  |                                 |
|    |                 |      | <b>khlūwō̄t</b>                | <b>khlūwō̄th</b> } ( <b>m</b> ) |
|    |                 |      | or                             |                                 |

(d) Future Tense

|    | Singular         |                  | Plural           |                   |
|----|------------------|------------------|------------------|-------------------|
|    | Masc.            | fem.             | Masc.            | fem.              |
| 1. | <b>khlūwō̄na</b> | <b>khlūwō̄ni</b> | <b>khlūwō̄ne</b> | <b>khlūwō̄nia</b> |
| 2. | <b>khlūwō̄la</b> | <b>khlūwō̄li</b> | <b>khlūwō̄le</b> | <b>khlūwō̄lia</b> |
| 3. | "                | "                | "                | "                 |

Vocabularies.

General features of vocabulary have been noted above (p. 5). An alphabetical list of words found by me exclusively in Rudhārti is given below. In the allied Khasālī dialects these words either do not appear at all, or occur in a different phonetic form.

**'Abbu**, m., scar (of wound).

**əchəchka**, adj., naughty.

**ədhit̪ha**, m., a "half-empty" vessel, a vessel not full.

**Akkən**, f., a piece of land set apart for public good, in honour of the dead.

**'Aggrōbakhja**, adv., in front.

**agrōna petōna**, adv., before and behind.

**'Agru**, adv., further.

**'Agre**, adv., a little further.

**'Agrian sidda**, adj., horizontal (front-side).

**'Antran**, adv., inwards.

**An'gal**, m. f., large wasp.

**Àögudi**, interj., shout in addressing a dog.

**'Appnebhōta**, adj., voluntary, without permission.

**ətar**, m., Sunday.

**əthorfa**, m., sleet.

**'Auli**, f., the cawing of a crow.

**ədhoi**, m. f., a tenant.

**əkhu**, m., tear (from the eyes).

**əli**, f., (1) egg (2) young one of honey-bee.

**'bʌdlq̪r**, f., cloud.

**be'chorṇa** }, to unplait or comb the hair.

or **be'chorṇa** }, to unplait or comb the hair.

**bəher**, adv., outside.

**'banguri**, f., small tool for weeding or digging purposes.

**'baori**, f., sown land.

**'battmargu**, m. f., traveller.

**bətnəor 'phirna**, to wander.

**bəṭkāru**, m., chisel.

**'bat̪ru**, m., a thick-featured, clumsy-looking man.

**bəboi**, f., a kind of grass used in rope-making.

**bəkhri**, f., a cow within five or six months after calving.

**'barothoria**, adv., in turn.

**bars**, m.f., a responsible guardian,

**bəin**, f., sister,

- bei**, f., creases in feet, due to cold etc.
- bèkhna**, to be arrogantly aloof.
- bèla**, m., adze.
- bhall**, f., cattle's dewlap.
- bhAṄṄR**, f., wave, undulation on surface of water.
- 'bhAṄṄrri, f., corns on feet.
- 'bhAṄṄthe, m. pl., a kind of pulse; Hindi moṭh.
- 'bhara, adv., just now.
- bhāru**, m., a wooden instrument to crush clods of earth.
- 'bheran, adv., outwards, outside.
- bhokk**, f., sound of giving a blow (fisti cuff).
- bhrĀbbu**, m., the brown bear.
- 'bhrĀcu, m., gums of teeth.
- 'bhukna, adj., hungry.
- 'bhunzleri lāṭṭh, f., rainbow.
- 'bhurkli, f., N. of a small bird with a lovely voice.
- bhurz**, m., birch-tree.
- 'bhurdu, m., small stray threads of wool projecting from  
badly woven or old cloth.
- bhuṭlūa**, m., Bhadarwāh.
- bhū**, m., straw of wheat.
- brial**, f., early part of night.
- bihālti**, m. f., an agnatic relation.
- brēbt**, m., Thursday.
- bu'ghorna**, to pout the lips.
- buchorna**, to unplait the hair.
- 'cera, adj., wide.
- 'cerar, m., width.
- che**, inter. pron., what ?
- 'chekkna, to mince.
- 'chittu, m., terror, fright.
- 'cholni (**cha** (whey) ) to churn.
- 'cindu, m., pinching with fingers.
- 'eruri, f., continuous but gentle trickling or oozing of  
water.

**cu'ruru**, m., a perennial spring.

**cux'thor**, m., a wound.

**'camṇa**, to be absorbed through the pores of the soil (said of water.)

**gəthōndla**, adj., said of a carping, sarcastic and inconsiderate person.

**gap**, m., N. of a tree, *Alnus nitida*.

**'geṭṭa**, adj., brown-haired.

**'chalchappel**, m., sound of washing the feet with water.

**'chalona**, to be paralysed with fear.

**'channa** (megh), to finish, to be able, to put.

**'khāṭu**, m., an apple of the smallest variety.

**'chelru**, m., kid.

**shu'mate 'deni**, to bring down ripe fruits by beating the tree with long sticks from below.

**gikhlonā**, to be angry.

**gīn'tal**, m., a mischievous person.

**go**      , f., the apple-tree.

**sōgərəsāṭh**, m. f., an emaciated person with a little flesh on.

**cuat or cuāṭh**, m., a kind of solid (not hollow) bamboo.

**cu'bare**, adv., around.

**gūbbu**, m., ventilator on roof.

**dədəcia**, m., sister's husband

**dēna** , adj., right.

**dern** , m., sheep and goat in general.

**dhekek**, adj. or adv., a little.

**dhe'mana**, m., orphan.

**'dhrūṇa**, to pluck out, uproot.

**'doppha**, m., crust of pine-wood cut with hatchet, before it is sawed.

**dūṣūnda**, m., holy water in a Yajña.

**ḍaddel**, m., precipice.

**'dāngi**, f., bench-like wooden cot in shepherd's hut.

**'dāṇṇa**, to annoy, as a splinter in the eye.

**ḍhāndri'ar**, m., collected refuse of a whole village.

- dùmblu, m., a small pool.
- ek'mukkha, adj., constant.
- 'ende, adv., in this way.
- ènna, adj., of this sort.
- èrn, f., anvil.
- gelola, m., grain.
- gèndoli, f., gourd.
- gerola, m., pimples on the face during puberty.
- gerrana, to grunt forcibly.
- gAÙr, m., a cow-pen within an inhabited house.
- galb, m., an instrument to make bullets with.
- gei, f., a long footstep.
- gèr, m., provisions for a journey.
- 'ghAduri, f., a field once ploughed.
- gham'rora, adj., distracted.
- 'ghatia, f., lengthy songs.
- ghir'phindli, f., whirlwind.
- 'ghrela, m., saliva trickling down in slobbering.
- ghritth, f. span (of hand).
- ghronj, f., crease on cloth.
- ghrup'jherna, (trans), to crumple.
- 'ghrupjhona (intrans), to crumple.
- ghuli'ana, to dissolve.
- giAü or gjéü, village.
- gr'hañi, one who grinds corn.
- gö'tlana, to pass dung.
- 'granu, m., goat's gout.
- 'grecci, f., a narrow and deep way, a gorge.
- 'greri, f., sparrow.
- guàlta, m., the end-pillar to which the frontal beam of a cow-pen is fitted.
- guar, f., a cow-shed not within a house (cf. gAÙr) but at some distance.
- 'gulghulti, f., a sumptuous meal with a large number of dishes.
- gun'dori, f., ulcer.

**gut'koul**, f., a bird black like the cuckoo, with a yellowish beak.

**hälbel**, f., belladonna.

**'halkher**, f., a joint ploughing on the part of many persons with their own ploughs, without any expectation of remuneration.

**haōs**, m., a flood.

**haōsara**, m., shouting to scare away birds or animals.

**'haphu**, m., opium.

**hau**, adv., yet.

**'hori'agrian**, adv. next year.

**huru'ai**, f., a flood.

**r'dhera**, adj., (made) of this thing.

**'idran**, adv., to this side

**jephèkh**, adj., quarrelsome.

**'kabbona**, to abscond, to run away quietly.

**kekraʃ**, f., N. of a grey-coloured ravenous bird with a long tail.

**kelaṭer**, adj., arrogant, obstinate.

**kan'bubbi**, f., ear-hole.

**'kanda**, m., a dilapidated house.

**'kapra**, adj., variegated, with a dark ground (spoken of cattle or dog).

**kərər**, f., intense exertion.

**kaūhar**, m., a large growth of olive trees.

**'kabſi**, f., a kind of fern.

**'kādu**, m., bran (of wheat).

**'kägi**, f., comb.

**kā'got**, m., the common lizard.

**'kamdheneri gèl**, f., milky way.

**ke'ton**, adv., why?

**ker.** f., backbone.

**khʌlru**, m., a hide skin.

**'khāriān**, adv., upwards.

**khärk**, m., N. of a tree: *Celtis Australis*.

**kheron sidda**, adj., vertical.

**'kharka**, adj., new.

**khjep**, f., immigration to a foreign land for business.

**'khreru**, m., descending water.

**khrer**, f., bruise due to a splinter etc.

**khreru**, m., foot-disease among cattle, sheep and goats.

**'khrēṣri**, adj., standing.

**'khrippi**, f., a precipice with small projecting stones to climb through.

**khund**, m., the pole or peg to which an animal is tied.

**khu'rala**, m., severe hunger.

**'khuja**, adv., willingly, of one's own accord.

**kiſt**, f., small chip of wood, splinter.

**'kleju**, m., slight loss of skin by a hurt.

**kōkli'anā**, to growl (as a bear does).

**kōlna**, to pull out by pecking.

**'krappna**, to keep chewing or eating something all the day long.

**'krat̪tna (dant)**, to gnash (the teeth).

**krę'lat̪**, f., long-winded talk.

**'kreri**, f., coarse wool.

**ku'bhesta**, adj., (1) naughty.

(2) pandering to the lewd tastes of other people by obscene poems and stories.

**ku'lakk̪er**, adj., stiff-necked.

**kulu'hal**, f. oil-press.

**'kunjha**, Pron., which or who (of the many) ?

**'kungli**, f., cleaned wool.

**laapp'deni**, to fire, to heat by firing.

**laṭru**, m., that part of the pole of a palanquin which is put upon the shoulder.

**'lāohona**, to appear.

**lāṭh**, f., waste of time and trouble.

**le'rət̪**, adj., habitually whining (child),

- leter**, f., sand.
- 'likur**, m., a species of fern.
- l̄injuni**, f., tail of sheep or goat.
- l̄oṭa**, adj. emaciated (owing to sickness etc.) and destitute of hair.
- 'makkhu**, m., axe.
- 'mandhāni**, f., churning-stick.
- 'māṇu**, m. small barrier or embankment in cultivated fields.
- 'māṇji**, interj. shout for addressing a cat. "O cat!"
- 'māda**, m., Maha Deva.
- māru**, m., spruce (a species of oak).
- māruhaṛ**, m., a large growth of oak-trees in a place.
- met**, m., oracular or astrological ascertainment of some event.
- met 'herna**, to try to ascertain an event astrologically etc.
- mīna**, m., month.
- mlāṇa**, m., blindness.
- mlēṛ**, m., a twist in a rope, thread etc.
- 'mocchna**, to trim a lamp.
- mōkṛi**, f., any avowed thing.
- 'mommaṛa**, m., eyebrow of cattle.
- mu'caki**, f., smacking of the lips.
- muṣḍder**, f., the hole of a rat or of an ant.
- 'mura**, f. pl., a frown.
- 'nadi**, f., a kind of amulet.
- 'nāwā**, adj., new.
- 'nilī ṣebel**, f., perfect verdure.
- 'nindroṛ**, m., the first day of the marriage ceremony, in which the parents of the bride and the bridegroom give a dinner in their respective homes to their friends.
- nr'sphukku**, m., a carping, sarcastic and inconsiderate person.
- nrtlona**, to be filtered.

- o'gat**, f., jeering, ridicule.
- 'oddna**, to roof a house.
- osà**, m., a sigh.
- pækokru**, m., pinching with the whole hand.
- pelali**, f., straw of paddy.
- pelázna**, to coax or cajole a person.
- 'palconá** fighting, with loud noise, of dogs or cats with each other.
- 'palkra**, m., a halter of willow put round the neck of cattle.
- 'palkru**, m., puppy.
- pelott**, m., changing sides in sleep.
- 'pane**, m. pl., bundles of reaped paddy.
- pe'trija**, m., father's brother.
- 'patra**, adv. a little behind.
- 'patrjan sìdda**, adj., horizontal (backward).
- petakkha**, adj., large-eyed.
- paṭṭh**, f., female kid.
- pà**, conj., but.
- pa'lania**, m., a foster-child.
- pàra**, m., a kind of wild goat, with a brownish colour.
- 'pathar**, f., a line of reaped paddy before bundling.
- 'pedakh**, f., black strawberry.
- pèn**, m., mill-stone.  
or **pèn**
- 'peri**, f., foot print.
- 'perjan**, m., a staircase of stone.
- 'petabhurði**, f., pregnant.
- 'petberagi**, m. f., a glutton.
- 'phankna**, to become hot (said of water only).
- 'phedda**, m., a bullock, one of whose horns turns to the right and the other to the left.
- 'phindli**, f., whirlwind.
- 'phitkna**, to be begone (contemptuous).
- phi**, f., wooden shovel to remove snow.
- phokerna**, to lighten (in weight).

**plet̄gna**, to writhe with spasms.

**'pocru**, m. f., a grasping person.

**po'ñhao**, m., "sacred day"—the ceremony in connection with ploughing on the first day.

**'ponpru**, m., talon on claw of a bird

**'poru**, m., an insect which attacks the various pulses.

**pot̄a**, m., small wooden plate through which the axle of a spinning-wheel passes.

**'pot̄u**, m., tip of finger.

**pu'nerna**, to strain a liquid.

**pu'nokhra**, N. of a yajña for rain. Lambs are killed in it.

**'punzwal**, f., threat disease among cattle.

**re**, f., a species of fir-tree.

**rheo**, m., N. of a large tree with small leaves and rather weak wood.

**sAM'rāṇa**, to ooze spontaneously (said of water).

**sAnder**, m., tool.

**sAðtha**, adj., slow.

**seploc**, m., slough of serpent.

**sao**, f., whitish mildew in rainy season.

**sat̄ia**, f., (1) the star Arcturus (*svāti*)

(2) the week from the 13th of Hār to the 20th of Hār.

**se**, f., a shave.

**sēk**, postposition, "up to", *eʃAOj sēk*  
or **sēk'** "up to Asuj".

**'sekla**, adj., full of gravel or sand.

**'sizna**, to sprinkle.

**'sihar**, m., in tilling, the first line of furrow.

**'sila**, m., ear of corn.

**'sithuri**, f., a field twice ploughed.

**so**, m., delivery (cattle's).

**sor**, f., ice.

**'subna**, m., dream.

**suklla**, adj., easy.

**su'pAtt**, adv., well-done! (ironical), used with some verb, as  
 'kənna "to do".

**surrona**, to be of stunted development.

**'sural**, m. pl., hog's hair.

**'Jammabali**, f., a shoe used during the season of snow. It  
 keeps tight.

**'Jassu**, f., mother-in-law.

**Jatther**, m., a small iron bar attached to the wooden post of a  
 flour-mill.

**'jakli**, f., a kind of clay.

**Jal**, m., a small rice-field.

**Ja'mao**, m., a weed which injures the paddy crop.

**Jēil**, m., the "hedge-hog pig". A pig like animal with prick-  
 les or spines.

**Jēin**, f., the kite (bird).

**'Jēplabar**, f., nonsensical talk.

(**Jēkhura**)      } panting with the tongue coming out (said  
 (or)                  } of a dog).

**'Jeli**, f., bran (of maize).

**Jēph**      }, f., foam.  
 or **Jēphī**

**'Jinthuli**, f., the prickles or spines of a hedge-hog pig (vide  
 Jēil).

**'Jina**, used in the impersonal phrase, 'Jine 'laora "it snows."

**Jotti**, f., a small hole.

**Julkar**, m., vegetable-field.

**'Jundi**, f., kiss.

**'Jutru**, m., waste kernel of maize, after removal of grain.

**'Tantu**, m., chips of pine-wood used as torch.

**'tende**, adv., in that way.

**trāng 'deni**, to stitch.

**trēthna**, to stumble.

**'triyna**, to be rent.

- 'troppna**, to tatoo.
- 'tunga**, m., N. of a tree, a species of Cormus.
- tadd**, f., log of wood burnt in forest
- tāndholi**, f., stem of a flower.
- tāor**, f., tail of dog or bear.
- 'tāplona**, to err.
- 'tāpru**, m., hut.
- tāia**, m., bars in the lettice-work constituting the front of a cow-pen.
- ṭallia** mullia, f. pl., rags.
- 'tetrōna**, to cry in pain (said of a goat).
- 'thalōna**, to be arranged.
- 'thorku**, m. f. tale-bearer.
- ṭigrōna**, (bat) wind coming from above.
- 'tintū**, m., stye (in the eye).
- tīnjighri**, f., lullaby.
- 'tonna**, m., leg of sheep or goat (below the knee).
- 'tumbi**, f., vexation, annoyance.
- u'dāg**, m. f. a very tall person.
- u'dhera**, adj., (made) of that thing.
- ugħa'rona**, to be opened.
- uhākna**, to bray.
- u'khor** (uniform stress on both syllables), m., walnut.
- u'lāngre khane**, to walk unsteadily, as a drunkard, a very old person, or a child does.
- uniað**, m., sexual appetite in a goat.
- u'prant**, adv., beginning from, e. g. **'Azzaka u'prant** 'from to-day'.
- 'urni**, f., lamb (female)
- 'urnu**, m., lamb (male).
- usūngər**, m., close weather.
- utōnera**, adj., belonging to that side.
- u'trna**, (1) to fall (spoken of hair : dandruff).  
 (2) to be slightly removed (said of skin).
- u'tumpra**, adj., reclining.

**üzəl**, m., handful.

**ürni**, f. sewing by stitching two separate pieces of cloth.

**'wala**, m., udder of cattle.

**zəü**, adv. at first.

**zəügər**, m. f., a person on whose shoulders the whole responsibility of a business rests.

**zənu**, m., knee.

**'zhalmal**, m., dusk, evening time.

**'zharnā**, to be lost.

**zhōzəl**, m., tattered and wretched garment.

**zhu'lət**, m. f., a lazy, sleepy person.

**'zhulnel**, f., time for sleep.

**zhung**, f., tangled hair owing to being uncombed.

**'zuzhořna**, to awaken a person by shaking his arms.

### TEXTS.

#### I. Story of the North wind and the sun.

##### (a) Megh—Thakkur version

bat te dr'hara

bat te dr'hara èa 'galladir 'lařne 'laore thie, ke ã duio mä 'kunjha 'jorabala 'ese. 'etremä u'nala kot 'lařta ekk 'battmargu utōnä a. 'tənä duio mä e şart 'bəni ki zè 'Agri batt'marguera kot khöll: la, tè 'jorabala bhöla. tèdir bat 'jorasi 'calne 'laga, pà zekhən bat 'jorasi 'calne 'laga, təkhən tè 'battmargu 'Apñä kot 'Apñi 'jndusi 'bherne laga. bat phir 'hati ga. 'phiri dr'hara 'jorasi 'nissa. 'phiri 'təni batt'margue 'taola kot khölli 'sara (Megh sha). e'dherekide 'bata 'manna pea ke ã duio mä di'hara 'jorabala 'es-e.

*Note.*—There is no word for any direction (as “North”) in most of these dialects.

(b) Rājpūt version.

bat te di'haṛa

bat te di'haṛa ēa 'gallatir lai ne 'lagure tie, ke ā duio mā 'kunzīna 'zorabala es e. 'etremā ī'nalā koṭ 'leitā ękk 'battmargu utōnā a. 'tenā duio mā ī Jart 'bani ki ze 'Agri batt'marguera koṭ khōl:la, te 'zorabala bhōla. tētir bat 'zorasei 'calne 'Aga, pā 'zékhēn bat 'zoras-ei 'calne 'Aga tēkhēn te batt'margu 'apna koṭ 'appi 'jndasēi 'bherne 'Aga. bat phir 'hāṭiga. 'phiri di'haṛa 'zorasei 'nissa. 'phiri 'teni batt'margue taola koṭ khōlli sa. ędherekite 'kata manna pea, ke ā duio mā di'haṛa 'zorabala 'ese.

II. The " Prodigal Son ".

(a) Megh-Thakkur Version.

'ekki mānuere dui 'nāṭṭhe thie. 'nikre 'māṭṭhe 'apne 'bavian 'bolla, 'bava, ja'dastira ze 'hesa māra 'ese, te mān deī 'sāra (Megh ḡha). ędīr 'teni tēra 'hesa 'bānti 'sāra (Megh ḡha). 'kēci di'haṛe 'patta ē'nikra 'māṭṭha 'apna 'sara kich 'gh:nita 'kēci dur 'mulkhamā 'caliga. tēri ḡāita (Megh 'gacchita) 'teni 'apni sāb dāolət 'mānde 'kammamā bərbad 'keri 'sāri (Megh ḡhai). zékhēn tēri dāolət 'mukki gei, te 'mulkhamā kal pea. 'phiri tēan 'taṅgi 'bhōne 'Agi. te 'mulkhamā 'kēci 'bāste mānuere 'ghāramā tē nāoker bhoī ga. tēre 'malke 'apniā 'zimjā mā sur 'carne 'bheža. zen 'kādu sur 'khātethie, tēn 'bāṛja 'khusjasi 'khāṭa this, ze mēlte thie tā te tēn bi 'kēci nāī 'ditte. zékhēn tē 'apniā 'hośamā a, te 'bonne 'Aga, māre bavega 'kēdre 'talba vale 'kame esen, 'zenāga 'bāṛja 'rotṭja esen, te aū 'bhukna marne 'lora. aū 'khāṛa 'utt̄hita 'apne bavega ḡā (Megh 'gacchā) tēsi 'bonnā, mī pēn 'meṣrāga tē 'kāne tuāga pap 'kerura 'ese, aū 'hunjā tēra 'māṭṭha bu'lānere laik nāī rā. mān 'appu ga 'talbāvala 'kama 'rākhi 'sāra (Megh ḡha).

tè 'khāṛā 'ut̄ha, tè 'apne 'bavegān 'cāla, te hau dur thia, tère 'babbe lā, tère 'babban dārd ai, tè 'dāura, tè si 'gāle 'aggita 'kokka 'ditta. tère 'māṭha tesi 'bolla, 'bava, mī pən'meṣra ga tè 'kāṇe tuāga pap 'kērurā 'ese aū 'hunjā tōra 'māṭha bu'lanere la ik nāī rā tère 'babbe 'apne kamien 'bolla, khub 'rore 'ṭalle ḥnnā, ēan (Meghījan) luāi 'sāra (Megh sha). ère 'hātta aŋ'guṭhi tè 'pera trappēr luāi 'sāra (Megh sha). ekk khub 'badda 'bacchu ḥnnā, tè māra, 'phiri 'eṣha dham khāū tè 'khuji mānnū 'kide e māra 'māṭha 'mari' gāora thia, 'phiri 'zīta bhoī ga, e 'ghajji 'gāora thia, 'hunjā 'phiri mēlli ga. tā tēn 'khuji 'kēnne 'lāge.

tēkhēn tēra 'badda 'māṭha 'apne 'bagre mā 'gāora thia. zēkhēn te a, tè 'gharaga 'puzza, 'tēni 'gitera 'kāṇe 'nācnera (Megh 'nācnera) 'rāola 'juna. 'tēni ekk 'apna mānu 'jāddā, tè 'puchne lāga, ki e chē gall 'ese 'tēni tesi 'bolla, ki tōra bīha 'āora 'ese tē tōra 'bave 'khub 'tākṛā 'bacchu 'marura 'ese, 'kide tē te 'razi 'khuji mēlli ga. ēa 'gallad.ra tē roj a, te bher 'bījji ga. tērekide tēra babb bher a, 'tēni tēra 'chānde kie, 'tēni 'māṭha ḥnnā 'babian 'bolla, ki her, aū 'kēdre bārjaga tōri tēl 'lāorasā 'kēnne, te tōra 'bollura 'kādi nāī thia 'partura, tā bi tī mārekide 'chelru bi nāī thia 'marura. 'zēkhēn e tōra 'māṭha a, 'zēni tōri ja'dast 'kāp jīja ga lāṭai 'sāri (Megh sha) tī tērekide khub 'tākṛā 'bacchu 'marura 'ese. tēre 'babbe tēgn 'bolla, ki 'māṭha tū hemejsa mīsi rāta, ze kich māra ese tē tē tōra 'ese; māri 'khuji 'kēnni 'roj thi, 'kide e tōra bīha 'mari 'gāora thia, až'phiri 'zīta bhoī ga, tē 'ghajji gāora, thia, 'hunjā 'phiri mēlli ga.

(b) Rājpūt version.

'ekki mānuere du 'māṭha tie. 'nikṛe 'māṭha 'apne 'babban 'bolla, 'babba, ja'dastira ze 'hesa māra 'ese tē mīan deī sa. 'kēci dīha je 'pātta ē'nikṛā 'māṭha 'apna 'sara kich 'ghinīta 'kēci dur 'mulkhamū 'caliga. tēri 'gāchita 'tēni 'apni sab dāolēt

'mānde 'kamma-mā bərbad 'kəri sai. zəkhən tı'hari dəolet  
 'mukki gei, tə'mulkhamā kəl peə. 'phıri tıgn 'təŋgi 'bhone 'ləgi  
 tə 'mulkhamā 'kəsi 'bəste mānuere 'ghəramā tə nəoker bhoi ga.  
 tı'hare 'malke tə 'apnia 'zimiamā sur 'carne 'bheza. zən 'kədu  
 sur 'khāte tie, tən 'bəria 'khusia səi 'khāta tia, ze məlte tie tā.  
 tə tən bi 'kəsi nəi 'dittə. zəkhən tə 'apnia 'hosamā a, tə 'bonne  
 'ləga, məre 'babbaka 'kətre 'talbavale 'kame 'esu, 'zenəka  
 'bəddia 'rottia 'esu, te Aū 'bhukna 'mərne 'ləgura. Aū 'khəra  
 'ütħita 'apne 'babbaka 'għəschā, tə səi 'bonnā, mi pən'mejraka  
 tə 'kəne tučka pap 'kərura 'es e. Aū 'hunia tòra 'mətħha  
 bu'lənere laik nəi rà. mian 'appu ka 'talbavala 'kama 'rakhisa.  
 tə 'khəra 'uħħa tə 'apne 'babba-kàn 'cal. tə hau dur tia,  
 tı'hare 'babbe lə, tı'hare 'babban dərd ai, tə 'daura, tə səi 'għale  
 'ləggħita 'jundi 'ditti. tı'hare 'mətħe tə s-əi 'bolla, 'baba, mi  
 pən'mejraka te 'kəne tučka pap 'kərura 'es e. Aū 'hunia tòra  
 'mətħha bu'lənere laik nəi rà. tı'hare babbe 'apne kamien 'bolla,  
 khub 'rof 'talle annā eaq lu'qī sa. tı'hare 'hadda Aħġu għi  
 tə'pera 'trappor lu'qī sa. əkk khub 'bəddha 'babħru annā, tə  
 māra 'phiri 'qasha dham khlu tə'kuji mħannu. 'kide i māra  
 mətħha 'mari 'għoratia, 'zitā phiri bhoiġa. iż-żħarri 'għoratia,  
 'hunia 'phiri məlli ga. tā tən 'khuji 'kenne 'ləga. tə'khen tı'hara  
 'bəddha 'mətħha 'apne 'bagħże mā 'għora tia. zəkhən tə a,  
 tə 'gharaka 'puzza, təni 'gitera 'kəne 'nlaġnera 'rəola  
 'juna. təni əkk 'apna mānu 'jAdda, tə 'puchne 'ləga, ki ē chè  
 gall 'qese. təni təsəi 'bolla ki tòra bhra 'ħora 'qese tə tòre 'babe  
 khub 'takra 'Jakkur 'marura 'qese, 'kide tə tə 'razi 'khuji məlli  
 ga. əagħallatira tə chapp ai, tə bher 'bissi ga. tı'harekrite  
 tı'hara babb bher a, təni tı'lare 'chande kie. təni 'mətħe  
 'apne 'babban 'lolla, ki her, Aū 'kətre bħariaka tòri təl 'ləguras  
 'kenne, te tòra bollura 'kadi nəi tia 'partura. tā bi tuī

màrekrite 'chelru bi nēi tia 'marura. zékhēn i tōra 'māttha a, 'zēni tōri já'dast 'kāpriaka luteī sai, tuī tu'hare kite khub 'takrā 'jakkur 'marura 'ese. tī'hare 'babbe tān 'bolla, ki 'māttha, tū hemeja mīsei rāta, zē kich màra 'ese tē tē tōra 'ese; màri 'khuji 'kenni 'rori ti, 'kide i tōra bhra 'mari 'gāora tia, az 'phiri 'zīta bhoi ga, tē 'zhāri 'gāora tia, 'hūnīa 'phiri mēlli ga.

Standard List of words and sentences in (High) Rudhārī.

| English.    | High Rudhārī.                           |
|-------------|---|
| 1. one      | ekk                                     |
| 2. two      | dui                                     |
| 3. three    | trae                                    |
| 4. four     | seur                                    |
| 5. five     | pāng                                    |
| 6. six      | Ja                                      |
| 7. seven    | satt                                    |
| 8. eight    | ātṭh                                    |
| 9. nine     | nāo                                     |
| 10. ten     | dās                                     |
| 11. twenty  | bī, bī                                  |
| 12. fifty   | pēzā                                    |
| 13. hundred | Jau                                     |
| 14. I       | āū                                      |
| 15. of me   | māra                                    |
| 16. mine    | mārā                                    |
| 17. we      | ā                                       |
| 18. of us   | āra                                     |
| 19. our     | āra                                     |
| 20. thou    | tū                                      |
| 21. of thee | tōra                                    |
| 22. thine   | tōra                                    |
| 23. you     | tu                                      |
| 24. of you  | tōra (Thakkur)<br>to'hara (Megh-Rājpūt) |

| English.    | High Rudhārī.  |
|-------------|--|
| 25. your    | { <b>tura</b> (Thakkur)<br>{ <b>to'hara</b> (Megh-Rājpūt)    |
| 26. he      | { <b>tē</b> Megh. Thakkur)<br>{ <b>tē</b> (Rājpūt)           |
| 27. of him  | { <b>tēra</b> (Thakkur)<br>{ <b>tr'hara</b> (Megh-Rājpūt)    |
| 28. his     | { <b>tēra</b> (Thakkur)<br>{ <b>tr'hara</b> (Megh-Rājpūt)    |
| 29. they    | <b>tēn</b>   |
| 30. of them | { <b>'tenra</b> (Thakkur)<br>{ <b>tēn'hara</b> (Megh-Rājpūt) |
| 31. their   | { <b>'tenra</b> (Thakkur)<br>{ <b>tēn'har</b> (Megh-Rājpūt)  |
| 32. hand    | <b>hatt</b> or <b>hattr</b>                                  |
| 33. foot    | <b>per</b>   |
| 34. nose    | <b>nakk</b>  |
| 35. eye     | <b>akkh</b>  |
| 36. mouth   | { <b>'khākhra</b> (Rājpūt)<br>{ <b>mū</b> (Megh-Thakkur)     |
| 37. tooth   | <b>dant</b>  |
| 38. ear     | <b>kann</b>  |
| 39. hair    | <b>kej</b>   |
| 40. head    | <b>sir</b>   |
| 41. tongue  | <b>zib</b>   |
| 42. belly   | <b>peṭ</b>   |
| 43. back    | <b>prīṭh</b>   |
| 44. iron    | <b>lōa</b>   |
| 45. gold    | <b>'sunna</b>  |
| 46. silver  | <b>'cādi</b>   |
| 47. father  | { <b>bava</b> (one's own)<br>{ <b>babb</b> (another's)       |
| 48. mother  | { <b>'ammā</b> (one's own)<br>{ <b>ma</b> (another's)        |
| 49. brother | { <b>br̥ha</b> (Megh-Thakkur)<br>{ <b>bhra</b> (Rājpūt)      |
| 50. sister  | <b>bēn</b>   |

| English.       | High Rudhārī.                              |
|----------------|--|
| 51. man        | mānu                                       |
| 52. woman      | zēnān                                      |
| 53. wife       | zēnān                                      |
| 54. child      | 'māt̄ha, 'mat̄ha                           |
| 55. son        | putter or 'māt̄ha                          |
| 56. daughter   | {kui (one's own)<br>'kuri (another's)      |
| 57. slave      | 'aogi                                      |
| 58. cultivator | 'jimdār                                    |
| 59. shepherd   | pū'hal                                     |
| 60. God        | pə̄meser                                   |
| 61. Devil      | jētan                                      |
| 62. sun        | dī'hāra                                    |
| 63. moon       | {'canni (Megh-Thakkur)<br>'cādēni (Rājpūt) |
| 64. star       | 'tara                                      |
| 65. fire       | agg  |
| 66. water      | 'pāni                                      |
| 67. house      | ghar                                       |
| 68. horse      | 'ghora                                     |
| 69. cow        | gao  |
| 70. dog        | {'kutta (Megh-Thakkur)<br>'juna (Rājpūt)   |
| 71. cat        | belaṛ                                      |
| 72. cock       | kukar                                      |
| 73. duck       | bʌdk                                       |
| 74. ass        | 'khota                                     |
| 75. camel      | ut   |
| 76. bird       | {'pakhru<br>or<br>'sr̄rollu                |
| 77. go         | gā   |
| 78. eat        | khē  |
| 79. sit        | br̄f                                       |
| 80. come       | āi   |

|      | English.      | High Rudhāri.  |
|------|---------------|--|
| 81.  | beat          | <b>mər</b>   |
| 82.  | stand         | 'khar̥a uṭh  |
| 83.  | die           | <b>mar</b>   |
| 84.  | give          | dè, de   |
| 85.  | run           | daur̥  |
| 86.  | up            | ṭikkər   |
| 87.  | near          | 'nere  |
| 88.  | down          | ündə   |
| 89.  | far           | dur  |
| 90.  | before        | Agər   |
| 91.  | behind        | 'patta   |
| 92.  | who           | kun̥   |
| 93.  | what          | che  |
| 94.  | why           | kə'tan   |
| 95.  | and           | te, tə, 'kane  |
| 96.  | but           | pər  |
| 97.  | if            | ze   |
| 98.  | yes           | hā   |
| 99.  | no            | nāp̥   |
| 100. | alas          | hae  |
| 101. | father        | {'baud (one's own)<br>'babd (another's)                  |
| 102. | of a father   | 'baudera, 'babbera                                       |
| 103. | to a father   | 'baudran, 'babban  |
| 104. | from a father | {'babdaka (Rājpūt)<br>'babdaga, -ga, ga (Megh.-Thakkur)} |
| 105. | two fathers   | duri babd  |
| 106. | fathers       | babd   |
| 107. | of fathers    | 'babbera   |
| 108. | to fathers    | 'baudran, 'babban  |
| 109. | from fathers  | 'babdaka,-ga, -ga, -ga                                   |
| 110. | a daughter    | {kui (one's own)<br>'kuri (another's)}                   |
| 111. | of a daughter | 'kuriera   |

|      | English.        | High Rudhārī.             |
|------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| 112. | to a daughter   | 'kuriān                   |
| 113. | from a daughter | 'kuriāka, -ga, -ga, -ga   |
| 114. | two daughters   | dui 'kuriā                |
| 115. | daughters       | 'kuriā                    |
| 116. | of daughters    | 'kuriāra                  |
| 117. | to daughters    | 'kuriān                   |
| 118. | from daughters  | 'kuriāka, ga, ga, ga      |
| 119. | a good man      | 'roṣa mānu                |
| 120. | of a good man   | 'roṣe mānuera             |
| 121. | to a good man   | 'roṣe mānuan              |
| 122. | from a good man | 'roṣe mānuakā, ga, ga, ga |
| 123. | two good men    | dui 'roṣe mānu            |
| 124. | good men        | 'roṣe mānu                |
| 125. | of good men     | 'roṣe mānuera             |
| 126. | to good men     | 'roṣe mānuan              |
| 127. | from good men   | 'roṣe mānuakā-ga, ga, ga  |
| 128. | a good woman    | 'roṣi zēnan               |
| 129. | a bad boy       | 'manda 'maṭṭha            |
| 130. | good women      | 'roṣia zēnani             |
| 131. | a bad girl      | 'mandi 'kuri              |
| 132. | good            | 'roṣa                     |
| 133. | better          | ('ika-) 'roṣa             |
| 134. | best            | (sābñāka-) 'roṣa          |
| 135. | high            | 'uccā                     |
| 136. | higher          | ('ika-) 'uccā             |
| 137. | highest         | (sābñāka-) 'uccā          |
| 138. | a horse         | 'ghoṣa                    |
| 139. | a mare          | 'ghoṣi                    |
| 140. | horses          | 'ghoṣe                    |
| 141. | mares           | 'ghoṣia                   |

| English.           | High Rudhārī.                             |
|--------------------|---|
| 142. a bull        | sān                                       |
| 143. a cow         | gāo                                       |
| 144. bulls         | sān                                       |
| 145. cows          | 'gauwa (Megh-Thakkur)                     |
| 146. a dog         | 'kutta<br>jund (Rājpūt)                   |
| 147. a bitch       | {'kutti (Megh-Thakkur)<br>jundi (Rājpūt)  |
| 148. dogs          | 'kutte, jund                              |
| 149. bitches       | 'kuttia, sunaia                           |
| 150. a he-goat     | 'bakkra, thuāt                            |
| 151. a female goat | bakkri                                    |
| 152. goats         | 'bakkre, thuāt                            |
| 153. a male deer   | harn                                      |
| 154. a female deer | 'harni                                    |
| 155. deer          | harn                                      |
| 156. I am          | Aū 'esā                                   |
| 157. thou art      | tū 'esi (or 'esī), 'isi                   |
| 158. He is         | tē 'ese                                   |
| 159. We are        | à esen                                    |
| 160. you are       | tu 'esa                                   |
| 161. They are      | tēn esen                                  |
| 162. I was         | {Aū tia (Rājpūt)<br>Aūthia (Megh-Thakkur) |
| 163. Thou wast     | tū tia, thia                              |
| 164. He was        | tē tia, thia                              |
| 165. We were       | à tie, thie                               |
| 166. You were      | tu tie, thie                              |
| 167. They were     | tēn tie, thie                             |
| 168. Be            | bho                                       |
| 169. To be         | 'bhona                                    |
| 170. Being         | 'bhōta                                    |
| 171. Having been   | bhoīta, 'bhōda<br>(Rājpūt) (Megh-Thakkur) |

| English.            | High Rūnhāri.                                |
|---------------------|--|
| 172. I may be       | bhoā   |
| 173. I shall be     | bhōnā  |
| 174. I should be    | ñū 'bhura 'lortā                             |
| 175. Beat           | mar  |
| 176. To beat        | 'marna                                       |
| 177. Beating        | 'marta                                       |
| 178. Having beaten  | 'marita, 'marida                             |
| 179. I beat         | ñū'marta                                     |
| 180. Thou beatest   | tū 'marta                                    |
| 181. He beats       | tē 'marta                                    |
| 182. We beat        | à 'marte                                     |
| 183. You beat       | tu 'marte                                    |
| 184. They beat      | tēn 'marte                                   |
| 185. I beat (Past)  | mī 'mara                                     |
| 186. Thou beatest   | {tūj (Rājpūt) or tī (Megh-<br>Thakkur) 'mara |
| 187. he beat.       | 'teni 'mara                                  |
| 188. We beat        | de 'mara                                     |
| 189. You beat       | tūe 'mara                                    |
| 190. They beat      | 'tenē 'māra                                  |
| 191. I am beating   | ñū 'mare 'kētta 'esā                         |
| 192. I was beating  | ñū 'mare 'kētta tia (or thia)                |
| 193. I had beaten   | mī 'marura tia (or thia)                     |
| 194. I may beat     | ñū 'marā                                     |
| 195. I shall beat   | ñū mārna                                     |
| 196. Thou wilt beat | tū mārla                                     |
| 197. He will beat   | tē mārla                                     |
| 198. He shall beat  | à mārne                                      |
| 199. You will beat  | tu mārle                                     |
| 200. They will beat | tēn mārle                                    |
| 201. I should beat  | (tē) mī 'marura 'lortā                       |
| 202. I am beaten    | ñū 'marhōta or 'marōta                       |
| 203. I was beaten   | ('teni) ñū 'mara                             |

| English.   | High Rudhārī.   |
|--|---|
| 204. I shall be beaten                               | ñū 'mārhona or 'marqna  |
| 205. I go  | ñū gāta   |
| 206. Thou goest                                      | tū gāta   |
| 207. He goes   | tē gāta   |
| 208. We go   | ā gāte  |
| 209. Thou go   | tu gāte   |
| 2'0. They go   | tēn gāte  |
| 211. I went  | ñū ga   |
| 212. Thou wentest                                    | tū ga   |
| 213. He went   | tē ga   |
| 214. We went   | ā ge  |
| 215. You went  | tu ge   |
| 216. They went                                       | tēn ge  |
| 217. Go  | gā  |
| 218. Going   | gāta  |
| 219. Gone  | ga  |
| 220. What is your name                               | tōra chē nñū 'qse   |
| 221. How old is this horse?                          | i 'ghoṛa 'kētre bāriera 'qse  |
| 222. How far is it from here to Kashmir ?            | { 'it̄hja kis'mir 'kētri dur 'qse                                     |
| 223. How many sons are there in your father's house? | { tōre 'baeere 'gharamā 'kētre 'mat̄the qsen                          |
| 224. I have walked a long way to-day.                | { mī Az 'bāri 'batt'hāṇthi  |
| 225. The son of my uncle is married to his sister    | { māre 'nrkre (or 'badde) 'baeera 'mat̄tha tēria bēni-sēi bjāura 'qse |
| 226. In the house is the saddle of the white horse   | { i 'gharamā 'chritte 'ghoṛeri 'kaṭhi 'qse                            |
| 227. Put the saddle on his back                      | { 'kaṭhi tēria 'piṭhitir rak̄h  |
| 228. I have beaten his son with many strips          | { mī tēra 'mat̄tha 'bāṛa 'kolre sef 'marq                             |

| English.   | High Rūdhārī   |
|--|--|
| 229. He is grazing cattle on the top of the hill | { tè 'dharere 'Jiratir 'gorümejī 'care këtta 'qse    |
| 230. He is sitting on a horse under that tree    | { tè u 'butṭahetṭh 'ghoġretir bissura 'qse           |
| 231. His brother is taller than his sister       | { tèra br̥ha tèria bənika 'Lamma 'qse                |
| 232. The price of that is two rupees and a half  | { tèra mul ḏhai ruipajje 'qse                        |
| 233. My father lives in that small house         | { māra 'baṛea u-'nīkṛe 'gharamā rāta                 |
| 234. Give this rupee to him                      | { i repajja tèan dea                                 |
| 235. Take those rupees from him                  | { tēn repajje tèka 'ghmna                            |
| 236. Beat him well and bind him with ropes       | { tèan khub 'mara 'kane tèan rassia sei bħandi 'sAṛa |
| 237. Draw water from the well                    | { khùa māga 'pañi kħadda mīka 'Agru 'Agru 'calo      |
| 238. Walk before me                              |  |
| 239. Whose boy comes behind you ?                | { tōāpata kera 'mātħha 'Aora 'qse                    |
| 240. From whom did you buy that?                 | { i tūe keka għmrua 'qse                             |
| 241. From a shopkeeper of the village            | { 'għejjeria 'haġġaq-va-leka                         |

# HERODOTUS'S ACCOUNT OF TWO STANDARDS OF MEASURE OF ANCIENT PERSIA COMPARED WITH THE ACCOUNTS OF OLD PERSEE BOOKS.

By Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, C. I. E., Ph. D.

## INTRODUCTION.

"It is with a feeling of gratitude for having been permitted to finish a work extending over *thirty* years that, after writing this Preface the pen will be laid down". (Grierson in his Preface of Volume I, Part I (1927) p. 1).

While reading the above words of Dr. Sir George Grierson written at the close of his Monumental work, relating to India, I am reminded of the following words of Firdousi (about 941—1020 A. C.) at the close of his Monumental work of the Shah-Nameh relating to Persia, uttered about 900 years ago.

سی و پنج سال از سرای سپلچ  
بسی رنج بردم بامیده کنج

Sī o panj sāl az sarāye sepanj

Basi ranj bōrdam ba ūmid-i ganj.

"I bore a good deal of trouble for 35 years in this transient world in the hope of (being rewarded with) money".

Firdousi died disappointed at want of appreciation of his work at the hands of his King. Dr. Grierson has the satisfaction to see, that his monumental work is appreciated not only by his sovereign, but by an admiring number of scholars. Firdousi's work was in a different line. Sir George Grierson's work is in a different line but it also includes (Vol. X) a linguistic survey of the languages of the Iranian family of Firdousi's Persian. Firdousi wrote his last line with a broken heart. Grierson has written his last lines with "a feeling of gratitude", gratitude towards God,

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(1) Macan's Calcutta Edition, Vol. IV, p. 2095.

who inspired him, and gratitude towards all, who helped him. The present Volume, for which this paper is written, is an expression of the gratitude of Indian scholars towards Sir G. Grierson, and, it gives me great pleasure to be associated with this work, expressive of gratitude. Sir George Grierson's name has often come to my lips in some other directions. When I occasionally cast a glance on the past work of my dear Anthropological Society of Bombay, of which I am a member since its very foundation, and of which I was the Honorary Secretary for a long period of about 30 years, I remember him as a past-President of our Society. When I occasionally cast a glance on the past work of my dear Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, of which I have the pleasure and honour of being the President to-day, I think of Sir George Grierson as the Honorary Fellow of the Society and as the recipient of its Campbell Medal, in the Committee of the selection of which I had the pleasure of acting. All these associations and thoughts and to the pleasure of doing honour to one who has served India well.

#### **OBJECT OF THE PAPER.**

The object of the paper is to present a Note upon old Iranian standards of weight and measures, as described in the writings of Herodotus in old Iranian books.

#### **ARTABA.**

Herodotus, while speaking of the power of the Babylonian Empire says :— “Whereas there are twelve months in the year, the Babylonian territory provides him (the King) with subsistence for four months and all the rest of Asia for the remaining eight; thus the territory of Assyria amounts to a third part of the power of all Asia, and the government of this region which the Persians call Satrapy, is considerable; since it yielded a full *artaba* of silver every day to Tritedchmes, son of Artabazus, who held this district from the King; the *artaba* is a Persian measure, containing three Attic chaemices more than the Attic *medimnus1*

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(1) Herodotus Book I, 192. Cary's Translation (1889) p. 83.

Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson gives a table which helps us to know the weight of an artaba. He says:— “This (artaba) is the same name as the Artab of modern Egypt and, like the medimnus, is a corn measure. The artab is nearly five English bushels and contains 8 med. This too is the Latin Modicus, which last was equal to one-sixth of the Greek medimus. But ardaba differs in quantity from the *artaba*”.

1 Medinus = 48 chaemices or 6 Latin modii.

1 Madius = 8 chaemices.

1 Artaba = 51 chaemices.

1 Artaba = a little more than  $6\frac{1}{3}$  modii.

1 Modicus = nearly 1 peck English.

a artaba =  $1\frac{3}{4}$  bushel.

When Herodotus gives us an artaba as a standard of measure corn, in the Avesta we find *danarē* as a measure of weight.<sup>1</sup> It is *dānar* in Pahlavi, *dinār* and *danār* دینار or دنار in Persian. According to Anquetil du Perron, a *dinār* is equal to 4 tolas. Now, as one tolla is equal to 175 grains, 1 *dinār* (*danare*) comes to  $4 \times 175 = 700$  grains.

According to Mr. Harlez also, a *danarē* comes to 700 grains. He speaks of *adamire* as “measure de capacité ou de poids dont la base est une certaine quantité de grain. Elle parrait peser environ 700 grains”<sup>2</sup>.

Now one artaba, as given in the above table, is  $1\frac{1}{4}$  bushels. For bushel, we find the following table in our modern books of arithmetic:—

7000 grs. = 1 pound

10 pounds = 1 gallon.

8 gallons = 1 bushel.<sup>3</sup>

(1) Vendidad XVI 7; Le Zend Avest, Tome I, Partie II,— page 398, n. 1.

(2) Avesta, Livre sacré du Zoroastrisme 1881. Translation: It is a measure of capacity or of weight of which the base is a certain quantity or grain. It appears to weigh about 700 grains.

(3) Cornwell's Arithmetic,

So 1 bushel is equal to  $8 \times 10 \times 7000 = 560000$  grs. and  $1\frac{1}{4}$  bushels = 980000 grs.

Thus the Avesta danarē which contains, as said above, 700 grains, is  $\frac{1}{14}$  part of an artaba. In other words, 1 artaba = 1400 danarēs. A danarē, therefore, seems to be a very small measure.

### Parsang a Measure of Distance.

Herodotus thus refers to a measure of distance in connection with a road in Persia: — “There are royal stations all along, and excellent inns, and the whole road is through an inhabited and safe country. There are twenty stations extending through Lydia and Phrygia and the distance is ninety-four parsangs and a half”. (Bk. V 52).

The paresang of Herodotus is the parsang of Pahlavi and farsang فرسنگ of Persian. In the Zand Phalavi glossory, a parasang or farsang is said to be “a measure of one thousand foot-marks” (hazār gāmi do pāe)<sup>1</sup>

According to Herodotus, “the parasang is equal to thirty stades” (Bk. V, 53). A Greek stade is one furlong<sup>2</sup>. So Herodotus’s parasang is equal to 30 furlongs.

Sir George Rawlinson says that the above figures of Herodotus were correct Greek figures. According to Strabo, some took a parasang to contain 49 stades or furlongs and others 60.

Herodotus seems to be right in taking a parasang (farsang) to be 30 stades or furlongs. He is supported by the Phalavi Zād-sparm<sup>3</sup> where a farsang is taken to measure 20000 ft. and 20000 ft. come to about 30 furlongs.

(1) Zand-Pahlavi Glossary of Dastur Hoshang and Haug p. 42, 1. 2 of the Text, Translation, p. 75.

(2) Webster.

(3) Chapter VI, 8. S. B. E. V, p. 170.

## ACCENT IN TELUGU SPEECH AND VERSE.

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My object in contributing this article is to show that there is in Telugu, what is commonly known as accent and that it plays a significant part not only in Telugu Speech but also in Telugu Metres. It may look strange to students of Linguistic Science that I should make an effort to prove what is, after all, a natural characteristic feature of any spoken tongue. "Only a machine" says Prof. Blackie<sup>1</sup> "could produce a continuous series of sounds in undistinguished monotonous repetitions like the *tum, tum, tum* of a drum; a rational being using words for a rational purpose to manifest his thoughts and feelings necessarily accents both words and sentences in some way or other." But many Telugu scholars do not seem to have recognised the presence of accent in their own speech. The failure to recognise it is the result of a prejudice against the spoken tongue. About eighteen years ago, when the Government of Madras accepting the views of the Modern School of thought recognised the spoken Telugu as a proper medium of instruction in all the Educational institutions, a monster memorial was presented by the conservative Telugue Academy to the Government, in the name of the whole Telugu population, praying that "Classical" and not "Modern" Telugu should be the proper medium of instruction. The leaders of the "Classical" school declared in that memorial :— "The Telugu of Nannaya of the 11th century is not different from that of Rao Bahadur K. Veerasingam Pantulu of to-day. The language of the one is the same as that of the other. The same rules of grammar, rhetoric and prosody govern both. It is, therefore, wrong to say that the literary

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1. Place and power of Accent in Language in the Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh 1871—quoted in Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol. I. pp. 80—81.

language is archaic or antiquated as the few advocates of the Modern School represent it to be.” In the opinion of the leaders of the “Classical” school, the Telugu language has undergone no change and has, therefore, no history; and the rules of the old Telugu grammars govern or must govern and fix the Telugu language for ever! But these grammars as Rao Bahadur K. Veerasingam Pantulu stated in his autobiography (Vol. II. p. 156) treat only of the ancient poetic dialect and were prepared before the cultivation of the Telugu Prose. As the spoken dialect was not the subject of study for the grammarians, the question of accent did not arise. The opinion of the classical school prevailed and thanks to the influence of its leaders, the Government of Madras had to withdraw its recognition of “Modern” Telugu and the Syndicate of the University of Madras announced that “it is not at present in a position to recognise what is known as Modern Telugu for University purposes.”<sup>1</sup> The very idea of accent in Telugu is not, therefore, appealing to advocates of the classical school; in the first place, it refers to the spoken tongue that deserves no study; and in the second place, it was not noticed by the old grammarians and it is, therefore, a foreign product that should be boycotted!

Nevertheless, there is accent in Telugu. It may not be so strong and distinct as in English. “That the accentuation of some languages is more distinct, various and effective than that of others is beyond question but there are, none so far as we know, in which its power is not felt. The statement sometimes made that the French have no accent in their words can only mean that their accent is less emphatic or less variously so than that of certain other nations. If it means more; it is not merely an error but an absurdity.”<sup>2</sup> The same may be said of Telugu.

Ordinarily it is the first syllable of a word that has the main accent as in ‘paləkə’ (a plank or slate), ‘veduru’<sup>3</sup> (bamboo),

- 
1. The modern school has, since then been steadily making progress and gaining strength in the Telugu country.
  2. Encyclopædia Britannica Vol. I, p. 81.
  3. The medial d as in this word is more a fricative than a stop.

'sagemu (half) 'enimidi (eight). In words of more than four syllables, which are generally compounds, the secondary accent may fall on the prominent syllable of the words or particles that enter into the compound. The ordinary man is not conscious of the composition of the word but nevertheless accentuates as accurately as the grammarian. Ex. '*mage ,tqə̄emu* (manliness), '*telusu'konu* (to know), '*velikile,padu* (to fall flat on the back). In polysyllabic words which are not compounds, the secondary accent is rarely noticed. *palu kuduru*, may mean 'they speak or say' or 'the arrangement of teeth', but the difference in meaning is brought out by accentuation. In the former sense, it is '*palukuduru* and in the second sense, it is *,palu 'kuduru*. '*rend ,edlə 'bandlu* means carriages (each) drawn by two bullocks, while '*rend 'edlə- ,bandlu* means two bullock-carts.

The final syllable of a Telugu word is generally unaccented; but if it is a significant particle, the secondary accent may fall on it. '*ka:ni* (but), '*ka:,ni:* (let it be) are etymologically the same; *ka:n* means 'to become' and *i:* means 'give (thou)'. The ordinary Telugu man is quite ignorant of this derivation; but accentuates correctly to bring about the difference in meaning. The final *i* in *ka:ni* was originally *i:* but became short as it was unaccented. The final short, unaccented and therefore weak vowel disappears in liaison when followed by a word beginning with a vowel. '*va:du* (he) + '*appudu* (then) + '*undenu* (was) = '*va :'dappu 'dndenu*.

'*atəni* (his) + '*odde* (a particle denoting place) was in old Telugu '*atəni 'jodde* (with or near him) because *i(j)* was in old Telugu, a glide. In modern Telugu, such glides are disappearing. So, one would expect in modern Telugu, the form '*atə,nodde* and so it is in the speech of some Telugus. In my speech as in the case of many others, a bilabial voiced fricative has developed before the initial back vowels *o* and *u*. So, we hear, '*atəni vodde* '*t a: ti* (of palm) + '*a:ku* (leaf) = *t:a:ti'ja:ku* = '*ta:,ta:ku*. The

second form is of later Telugu and the **æ** : sound is the result of the assimilation of **a** : with the palatal **i**.

In words where the first syllable has a short vowel and the second syllable has a long vowel the accent is on the second syllable:—**su'ma** : [from **tsu** : **du**.**ma** : look thou !], **i'de**: (Is it this ? or It is only this), **kə'da**: (verily, is it not ?). The final vowel in such words is accented and strong and does not, therefore, disappear when it is followed by a word beginning with a vowel:—

**'ni** : **v-** **'in̪t̪i-** **'voddan-****'un̪ta** : **vu** **su'ma** : **'ippude** :  
you house near remain look ! now only  
(= note)

**'vastānu.** **i'de** : — **'atən(i)** — **'illu** **ke'da** : — **'ani**  
I come this only his house verily that  
**'ne** : **n** — **'anu,konna:nu.**

I thought

In the old Telugu form **'atədə** (it is only he) the final syllable had the primary accent though it had only a short vowel but since the tendency is, in later Telugu, to shift the accent to the first syllable unless the previously accented syllable had a long vowel, **'atədə** developed as a dialectal form, but the force of the particle **a** at the end of the word could not be brought out unless that vowel was clearly pronounced. Hence, has developed the modern form **'atə'de** : **'qte,de**:

The old Telugu form **ko'landi** (of measurable capacity, size, number etc.; limited; little; few) has gradually undergone several modifications with the tendency to shift the accent to the first syllable:— **ko** **'lādi**, **'koledi**, **'koldi**, **'koddi**.<sup>1</sup>

The evolution of some of the modern from the old Telugu forms illustrates the gradual disappearance of the unaccented syllables. For want of space, I shall content myself with a few typical examples:—

1. A few more similar examples are given under syncope below.

1. Aphesis:—*e'van\**(he) (Prem. Dravidian) > *e'vanu* > (ə) *'vāndu* > *'vā : n̩du* > *'vā : d̩u* > *'vadu*<sup>1</sup>
2. Apheresis:—*wi'larti* (foreign from Hindusthani-wilāyati)  
*lā : ti*
3. Apocope:—*undedu* adj. remaining, staying) >  
*unde :* ; *'unṭini* (I was) > *'unṭin* > *'unṭī* > *'unṭi*.
4. Sycope:—*'molekə* (sprout) > *'molkə* > *'mokkə*;  
*'ma : ninedi* (is cured) > *'ma·nindi*;  
*'unnədi* (is) > *undi*; *'kottinərva : də-nu*

(that beat person am, i. e. I am the person who beat or I beat) >  
*'kotti·'nādə-nu* > *kottiṇa : nu* > *kottiə-nu* > *kottiə :* >  
*kottiə :* *ti : sitinv-e : nin* (removed-you if; i. e if you removed) >  
*'ti : sit* (i)- (v)i- *'eṇi* > *'ti:sit* (i)-(v)-*'eṇi* > *ti : sit* (i)-(v)-  
*'eṇi* > *'ti:sitē*: > *'ti : site*: > *'ti : s* (i) *te* : > *'ti:ste*.<sup>2</sup>

The syncope in the following words in due to the shifting of the accent to the first syllable:—*'kalte* from *kə'lante* (affliction); *'altsu-konu* from *tə'lantsu ,konu* (to think about); *'anti·'pandu* from *e'nānti·'pandu* (plantain-fruit).

The part played by accent in determining the rhythm of Telugu metres has been altogether ignored by the writers on Telugu prosody. So far as metres borrowed from Sanskrit are concerned, they have simply translated the rules laid down in the Sanskrit works; and so far as genuine Telugu metres are concerned, they have adopted the classes of *gapams* or feet arranged for Canarese metres and modified them in accordance with the structure of the Telugu verses they had before them. The classification of these *gapams* or feet shows however, that they had felt the force of accent in determining the rhythm; but they made no reference to it. Under *Sūrya ganams*, they provided for a trochee and a tribrah but not for an iambus; though it 'has three moras

1. *vā : n̩du* from *e'van* had developed before the tendency to shift the accent to the first syllable commenced.

2. The earliest form is a compound *'ti : siti-vi + 'e : nin* (removed-you+if) and was used in the second person singular; and after-*vi* (a suffix denoting second person, singular) was dropped, the later forms came to be used indiscriminately in every number and person.

3. The development of *koddi* from *kollandi* is traced above,

or measures as the former two have. The exclusion of this kind of foot is, indeed, very significant because in the Telugu metres where these *Sūrya ganams* find a place, the first syllable of each foot should be accented and while it is possible to have an accent on the first syllable in the case of the two *ganams* included in the group, it is impossible to have the first syllable accented in an iambus.<sup>1</sup> But as the *ganams* are arranged with reference to quantity but not quality or accent, no safeguard is provided against the use of a foot of three short syllables in such a way that the first syllable of this foot may be the last syllable of a word and the second syllable may begin a new word. When used in this way, the foot is not a tribrach but practically an amphibrach with the middle of the three syllables having an accent. For example a poet held in high esteem by the advocates of classical Telugu composed the following line(vide *Pracanda-Cānakya* p.94).-

'naruni | 'nuddhe | tē 'gati | ki 'raje | mu gənu  
man high State quickly

This is a line which should, according to the rules of Prosody, contain five *Sūrya ganams* and as it has the required *ganams*, it is considered to be quite correct. But it runs like a piece of prose having no rhythm at all. I wonder if any could readily say to what kind of metre it might belong. The absence of rhythm is due to the displacement of accents in the third and fourth feet and the absence of any accent in the fifth foot. A secondary accent may be thrown on the second syllable in the fifth foot but that would only make it as bad as the third or fourth. Without altering the sense, it is possible to improve the rhythm thus:—

'naruni | 'goppa | 'daśēku | 'tvarita | 'gatini

Similarly the writers on Prosody have provided for six *Indraganams*, four of which have, each, five moras or measures.<sup>2</sup>

1. This feature is noted in the case of Canarese mora metres also. "Observe that no foot dare begin with an Imbus i. e. —! Such a foot being foreign to true Canarese metres" vide Nagavarma's Canarese Prosody edited by Rev. F. Kittel, pp. 76 and 98.

2. A short syllable has one mora or measure and a long syllable two moras or measures.

- (1) — — — (5 moras or measures) (*ta-ganam*) *Antibacchicus*  
 (2) — — — „ (*ra-ganəm*) *Amphimacrus*.  
 (3) — — — (4 „ ) (*bha-ganəm*) *Dactyl*  
 (4) — — — — (5 „ ) (*sa-lam*)  
 (5) — — — — „ (*na-gəm*)  
 (6) — — — — (4 „ ) (*naləm*) *Proceleusmatic*.  
 but not for — — — (4 „ ) (*ja-ganəm*) *Amphibrachys*.  
 or — — — (5 „ ) (*ja-ganem*) *Bacchicus*.

The first six feet may be indiscriminately used in some Telugu metres as they have a similar rhythmic character. The Canarese prosodists note the difference in the total number of moras or measures among these feet. For example, in a verse known as *sīṣəm* while the Telugus use any of these six, the Canarese use the feet of only five moras as measures each and exclude the third and the sixth. In my opinion, their *sīṣəm* is more rhythmical than the Telugu *sīṣəm*. The exclusion of the last two feet where the first short syllable is immediately followed by a long one is as significant as the exclusion of the iambus under *Sūryaganams*. But as there is no reference to accent, it is possible, without violating the conventional rules, to compose a line in such a manner that the first short syllable of the fourth, fifth or sixth foot is the last unaccented short syllable of the previous word and the second syllable of the foot is the first accented short syllable of a new word ; or that the last syllable of — — — begins a new word and is therefore accented. In either case the cast of accents does not harmonise with the cast of the feet and the line does not run well. The following lines satisfy the conventional rules of prosody but do not run well for reasons explained above.

1. '*janəni* : 'ja | *nakulu* 'put | *runəku* 'jin | ne'tane  
                  (mother and father to son childhood)
- '*man* | da vi'va : he | *munu* 'se'si | ne 'phale | mu 'gade  
                  at marriage of having done fruit is it not
2. '*kannu* | le "karevu | 'dirə 'gan | ge 'ganu | gonti  
                  (of eyes want to remove water saw (I))

The first line belongs to a *sisem* and should have 6 *Indraganams* + 2 *Suryaganams*. The second line belongs to a *tertegiti* and should have 1 *Suryaganam* + 2 *Indraganams* + 2 *Suryaganams*. To maintain the rhythm, of which we can have an idea from the verses composed by good poets, each of the *ganams* should have run of the ordinarily the accent on the first syllable. In the case of the *Indra ganams* it may fall on the first or the third or both. In none of them should the second or the last have an accent.

With slight alterations the rhythm of these two lines may be improved thus:—

- (1) 'pit̄arulu | 'sutunēku | 'pinne'ka:l | | a:n̄e-vi |  
     parents     to son       childhood-time  
     'vā:hembu | 'se:sine |                   'phalēmu | 'ga:de  
     marriage    of having done       fruit    is it not ?  
(2) 'gāngə | 'ganu-:gonti | 'kannu lə | 'kārevu | 'dīrē  
     water     found (I)    of eyes   want to remove.

The metrical rule relating to a kind of verse known as *Vṛṣebhēgati-ragēḍē* says that every line should contain 28 moras or measures with a *cœsura* after the 14th measure; but says nothing about the distribution of the longs and shorts or about the east of accents. So, the line may vary from one of fourteen long syllables (amounting to twenty-eight measures) to twenty-eight short syllables. The following lines are all in accordance with the rule but no two are of the same rhythm and the last has no rhythm at all. They show how rhythm varies with accent:

- (1) 'cevini      'badinēdi | 'celiјe      'palukani |  
     in the ear    that fell friend's speech that  
     'ciluke      'palukulēk | - 'alērē      'jendenu  
     of parrot    to words     to be delighted began  
(2) 'cilekèle | 'palukulu | 'vinebādē 'ga: |  
     of parrots   words     are heard when

'celi 'palu | 'kani 'bhrame | 'padenu gə 'da: |  
 friend's word that surprised fell verily

- (3) 'cilekələ | 'palukulu | 'vinin-'antan |  
 of parrots words as soon as heard  
 'celi palk- | 'anije: | 'bhrame 'nonden |  
 of friend's word that indeed surprise got

- (4) 'oke 'ciluke | 'paluku 'vini | 'taləcen |  
 one parrot's word having heard thought.  
 'oppuga: | 'celi paluke 'janetsun  
 rightly friend's word saying

- (5) 'cilekə 'palukulu 'vin-n'antene:  
 parrot's words as soon as heard  
 'celje: 'paliken —'ani 'taləcinədi  
 friend only spoke that (she) thought

According to the metrical rule all these are known as lines of *vṛjbhēgati-ragede*; but I would give each of the first four a separate name and refuse to accept the fifth as a line of poetry as there is no definite rhythm in it.

The Telugus have borrowed the Sanskrit *Vṛttams* and *Arya* metres and have adopted the metric rules given in Sanskrit works on Prosody. But neither the classification of *Vṛttams* nor the Scansion has any relation to the rhythm in them. A line is scanned not into rhythmic feet but into feet each of three syllables. The cast of *gapams* or feet prescribed for a kind of verse does not determine the rhythm. For example the *Halamukhi Vṛttam* is defined as a verse of four lines, each having *ra-ganam*, *na-ganam* and *sa-ganam i.e.*

— — | — — | — — |

The Telugu verse given in an authoritative work on Prosody, to define and illustrate this kind of verse runs thus :—

*kiŋkeri: kṛte sure vara:*  
*pajkəja:tə dale najəndə:*  
*ponkəməu ra-na-sa-gapamul*  
*sankə le:ke haləmukhi-kin*

It is impossible to determine the rhythmic nature of this kind of verse from the definition and illustration given here. On experimenting I have found that the cast of longs and shorts given here lends itself to four varieties of rhythm and I illustrate them below:—

(N. B. The order of longs and shorts is the same in every line given below.)

(1) — — | — — | — — — | — — |

'sauri\* 'muddu 'paluku vi'nan  
 'sauri 'mo: mu 'sogasu ga'nan  
 'sauri 'to: den 'epudu c'anan  
 'go:ru 'tsundu 'madini se'da:

(2) — — | — — — — | — — — |

'sauri 'pa: təlenu 'vinuma:  
 'sauri 'ru: pəmunu 'ganuma:  
 'sauri 'centəkunu 'januma:  
 'sauri 'cittəmunən 'iduma:

(3) — — | — — — | — — — — |

'sauri 'pa:təlu 'vinuṭəkun  
 'sauri 'ru:pəmu 'ganuṭəkun  
 'sauri 'centəku 'januṭəkun  
 'go:ru 'cundunu 'manəmunən

(4) — — — | — — | — — — — |

'nja:jəma: 'prija 'nuḍuvumə:  
 'pre:jəsin 'nanun aḍəvilo:  
 'ba:jude: 'ninu vedəkutsun  
 'ro:jede: 'madi paguləga:n

The orthodox scholar would call every one of these verses a **Halamukhi Vṛttam** and scan every line in the same way as is indicated in the definition; but I should like to give each a separate name and scan the lines in the way indicated above. The difference in rhythm should be explained with reference to the changing position of the accents.

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\* For the palatal in Sibilent in Sanskrit words I have used this symbol s

The Telugu Kandam is based on the Sanskrit Āryā metre. It consists of four lines, the first and third of which are shorter, each containing three feet and the second and fourth are longer, each containing five feet. Ganams of four measures each, only, are to be used. There is, further, a restriction regarding the use of the amphibrach. It should be avoided in the first and third ganams of lines 1 and 3 and in the second, fourth and fifth ganams of lines 2 and 4. The third ganams of lines 2 and 4 should be either an amphibrach or a foot of four short syllables. But as there is nowhere any reference to accent, no safeguard has been provided against the abuse of a ganam of four short syllables. A line may be composed in such a way that the first syllable of a ganam of four short syllables is the last syllable of a previous word and the second syllable begins a new word. Such a ganam has the same rhythm as an amphibrach. For example if in 'Va:ni'paluku, ni'paluku is taken as a ganam of four short syllables it has the same rhythm as an amphibrach like ni'palku in 'Va:ni palku (palku is a variant from paluku—vide examples under Syncope). So, if such a ganam of four short syllables with accent on the second syllable is used in a place where the amphibrach should not be used, there is a practical, though not a theoretical, violation of the rule. The following lines illustrate the point.

- (1) 'varjemu | 'kurisine | di'ga:ne
- (2) 'varjemu 'kurisine | di'ganuke

The orthodox scholar would condemn the first line and accept the second line if they were used as the first or the third lines of a Kandam because the amphibrach comes in the third foot where, according to the metrical rule, it should have been avoided; but a ganam of four short syllables, whatever be its nature, is not so excluded. But I would condemn this ganam because it has an accent on the second syllable and is, therefore, as out of place as an amphibrach in this particular place. With a slight alteration the rhythm of the line may be improved thus:—

varJ̄emu | 'kurisenu | 'ganukēnu

Similarly, I would condemn the use of a **ganam** of four short syllables where the second has no accent, in the third foot of line 2 or 4, because that is the place reserved for a **ganam** of four short syllables or an amphibrach and the **ganam** of four short syllables should be of the same rhythm as an amphibrach. The orthodox scholar would condemn the first and accept the second of the following lines, if they are the second or fourth lines of a **Kandam**, because in the first of the following lines, an amphibrach is used in the second foot where it should have been avoided and in the third foot, a dactyl is used while an amphibrach or a **ganam** of four short syllables should have been used according to the metrical rules:—

- (1) 'ninu 'ne : | nu 'goltu , 'nepdunu||'ninne : | 'talatun.
- (2) 'ninu ne : | nu 'goltu | 'nepudunu||'ninne : | 'talatun.

you I              worship always you only I think of

But I would condemn both because **nu'goltu** and **'nepudunu**, though they are each a **ganam** of four short syllables and can, therefore, be indiscriminately used according to the metrical rule, are respectively of the same rhythmic effect as **nu'goltu** and **'nepdunu** and if in the first of the above two lines the metrical rule is theoretically violated, in the second, it is practically so. With slight alterations, the rhythm of the line may be improv'd thus:—

'ninu 'ne : | 'niretemu | nu 'goltu | 'ninne : | 'talatun  
you I        always        worship    you only I think of

By using the **ganams** of four short syllables, each with varying accent, it is possible to compose **Kandams** of varying rhythm:—

1. "ciluke | 'paluku | 'cevini | 'badine |  
parrot      word    in the ear    as it fell

1. The idea contained in the verses is the same: “Hearing the parrot’s voice a lover thought it was his sweetheart’s and called to her; but the parrot cried as if it meant to say it was not”.

'celijə | 'palike | -n-'anutsu | 'daleci | 'celini | 'biluve | '-ga:  
 friends spoke saying having thought friend called while  
 ciluke | 'japudu | palike-n-'atenu |  
 parrot then spoke his  
 'celijə | 'paluku | 'gq:d-e | 'tantsu | 'ceppu | -n-'atulu | :-ga  
 friend's word not saying in form like

2. 'ciluke | palukulu || 'vinine | d'ane  
 'celi || 'palike | -n-'ani 'madi || 'daleci | 'celija: || 'janega :  
 'ciluke | 'jappudd || 'palike 'ni :  
 'celi || -j-'etsete | 'gale 'dani || 'celije | 'citteme || 'arpan
3. 'celi 'paluke | 'jagu-n-'anutsu | -n-'oke  
 'ciluke | 'paluku 'vini | 'madidaleci | 'nilici 'cane- | ga :  
 'celi-j-'etsete- | n-'unned-'ani | j-a :  
 'ciluke | | j-'oka 'taruvu | 'paji'ni lici' | ce:se 'rute | mun

The first runs with three-measure-ganams; the second with (3+4) seven-measure-ganams and the third with five-measure-ganams.

The following verse has no rhythm at all as the cast of accents is not based on any principle :—

'vññemu 'nađumenu vi'se:jə 'ra  
 məni:jəmul-'agu 'tarulenu 'sumemule-n'eñule 'ce:  
 seno 'gade 'ja:'brahma 'jani 'kađu  
 n-'alarutsund'-ege va'santuđu 'pilice 'nannuun

The orthodox scholar would accept all these verses as Kandams because every one of them is in accordance with the metrical rules. But I would discard the last as no verse and give each of the first three a separate name.

The following line may be scanned according to the conventional method either as a line of te:tegi:ti or as a line of dvipadə :—

- (1) 'de : ve | ki : 'satu | d-'ante 'de : | di : pjə'mane
- (2) 'de : veki : | 'sutud-'ante | 'de : di:pjə | 'ma : ne

But the scansion as a line of dvipadə (3) Indra-ganams + 1 Sūrya ganam) agrees with the cast of accents and is, therefore, natural as is shown in the second example given above but the

scansion as a line of Tētagīti (1 Sūrya gaṇam + 2 Indra gaṇams—2 Sūrya gaṇams) does not agree with the cast of accents and is, therefore, quite artificial and conventional for a line of this type.

The examples shown above are, I hope, clear enough to convince the reader, whether he knows Telugu or not, that the conventional method of scansion has no reference to rhythm; that the existing metrical rules are not adequate enough to determine the rhythm of a verse; that the rhythm varies with accent as well as the number of measures and that the natural scansion should be made with reference to the cast of accents in a line.



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